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Egyptian Antiquities in the Nile Valley

A Descriptive Handbook

James Baikie



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**EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE
NILE VALLEY**



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EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE NILE VALLEY

A DESCRIPTIVE HANDBOOK

BY
JAMES BAIKIE

D.D., F.R.A.S.



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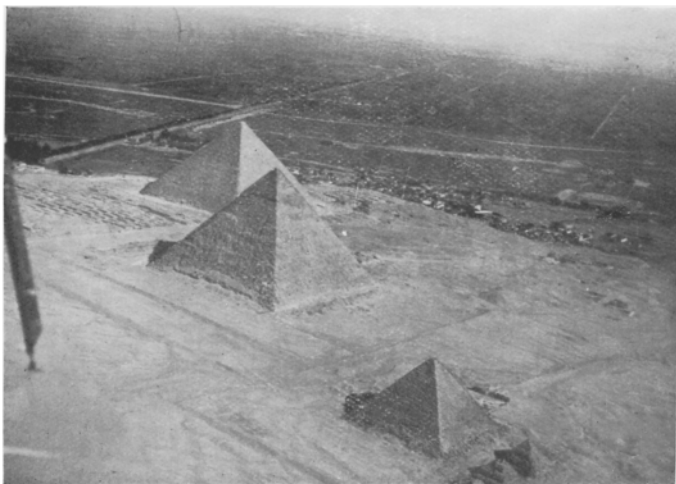
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PLATE I



THE GREAT SPHINX AS NOW CLEARED



THE G¹ZA PYRAMID-FIELD FROM THE AIR

EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE NILE VALLEY

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WITH 61 ILLUSTRATIONS AND 106 PLANS



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* Taken from 'A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt,' by Arthur E. P. Weigall.



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IT is impossible to write such a book as this without referring to, and making use of, the countless existing works on Egyptology. References to many such works, and especially to Mr. A. E. P. Weigall's *Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, will be found in the following pages. But it is usual for the author, when his book has reached its final stages, to prepare a list of acknowledgments to those previous authors to whom he is chiefly indebted. Unhappily, within a month of completing the text of this work, upon which he had been actively engaged for several years, my husband died. It falls to me, therefore, to express thanks on his behalf for much valuable help in the preparation of the work: to Prof. Margaret A. Murray, Mr. Alfred Lucas, Dr. G. A. Reisner, Dr. Robert L. Mond, and to the Rev. J. U. MacGregor.

Although the text was completed by the author, much still remained to be done before publication, and the work of seeing the book through the press, making the index and writing Appendix I has been that of Mr. Reginald Engelbach, Keeper of the Cairo Museum. I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks for his kind and careful co-operation.

CONSTANCE N. BAIKIE



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A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT EGYPTIAN PHARAOKS

THE following list is mainly based upon the Chronological Lists of the *Cambridge Ancient History*. In the case of the earlier dates, up to the rise of the XVIIIth Dynasty, there is a fairly wide margin of error to be allowed for, and such dates are only to be reckoned as approximations, as authorities, in spite of recent modifications of extreme views, still differ considerably. From 1580 B.C. when the XVIIIth Dynasty begins, the chronology may be regarded as pretty accurately determined, as the differences among the various authorities amount only to a few years at most.

PREDYNASTIC PERIOD

The names of a few of the Pharaohs of this period have survived. Seka, Khaiu, Tiu, Thesh, Neska (?) and Uazin appear to have reigned in Lower Egypt, and 'The Scorpion' in Upper Egypt; but it is not possible to assign even approximate dates to them.

OLD KINGDOM

1ST DYNASTY. (Approximate dates, 3500-3350 B.C.)

Narmer (Menes or Mena).

Aha.

Zer (Atoti).

Den Semti.

Anzib Merpebia.

Semerkheth Semsu.

Qa-a.

Sen.

IIND DYNASTY. (Approximate dates, 3350-3200 B.C.)

Hotepsekhemui.
Raneb.
Nineter.
Sekhemib Perenmaet.
Peribsen.
Sened.

IIIRD DYNASTY. (Approximate dates, 3200-3100 B.C.)

Khasekhem (Khasekhemui).
Zoser.
Sanakht.
Neferka.
Snefru.

IVTH DYNASTY. (Approximate dates, 3100-2960 B.C.)

Cheops (Khufu).
Dedefrê.
Chephren (Khafrê).
Mycerinus (Menkewrê).
Shepseskaf.

VTH DYNASTY. (Approximate dates, 2960-2830 B.C.)

Userkaf.
Sahurê.
Nefererikerê.
Shepseskerê.
Newoserrê.
Menkewhor.
Isesi.
Unas.

VITH DYNASTY. (Approximate dates, 2830-2630 B.C.)

Teti.
Merirê Pepi I.
Merenrê Mehtiemisaf.
Neferkerê Pepi II.

FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

VIITH TO XTH DYNASTIES. (Approximate dates, 2630-2300 B.C.)

Only one king of these two Heracleopolitan dynasties is sufficiently well known to be worth mentioning.

Khety (Ekhtai) Merybrê.

MIDDLE KINGDOM

XITH DYNASTY. (Approximate dates, 2375-2212 B.C.)

The overlap between the first date of this dynasty and the last date of its predecessor belongs to the doubtful period when Heracleopolis and Thebes were contending for the sovereignty.

Intef *or* Iniotef Uah-anekh.

Intef *or* Iniotef Nakhnebtpefer.

Mentuhotpe I, Sankhibtaui.

Mentuhotpe II, Nebhepetrê.

Mentuhotpe III, Nebtauirê.

Mentuhotpe IV, Sankhkerê.

XIITH DYNASTY. (Approximate dates, 2212-2000 B.C.)

The overlap on these and other dated reigns are due to co-regencies, the senior Pharaoh adopting his successor as co-regent, in order to secure the succession.

Amenemhêt I, 2212-2182.

Senusret I, 2192-2147.

Amenemhêt II, 2150-2115.

Senusret II, 2115-2099.

Senusret III, 2099-2061.

Amenemhêt III, 2061-2013.

Amenemhêt IV, 2013-2004.

SECOND INTERMEDIATE (HYKSOS) PERIOD

XIIITH TO XVIITH DYNASTIES. (2000 B.C.-1580 B.C.)

With the end of the XIIth Dynasty we enter a period of which comparatively little is known. We have long lists of kings who reigned then, but only a few of them are worth mentioning at

present. Among them may be named Amenemhêt-Sebekhotpe, Ameni-Intef-Amenemhêt, Khenzer, Ugaf, the line of kings, all called Sebekhotpe, of whom Sebekhotpe II, Sekhemsewaz-taurîr, is represented by a fairly well-wrought granite statue in the British Museum, the Sebekemsafs, of whom one was the victim of Theban tomb-robbers in the Ramesside period, eight centuries later, the secondary line of Intefs, and at least five other Pharaohs.

XVTH AND XVIth DYNASTIES. (Approximate dates, ?-1580 B.C.).

These two dynasties are of Hyksos origin, and must have been contemporary, partly with the two preceding dynasties, and partly with the XVIIth Dynasty, which began the War of Independence that liberated Egypt from Hyksos domination. The most notable of their Pharaohs are Khyan and three called Apepa (Apopi), of whom the last was probably contemporary with Seqnenrê III, of the XVIIth Dynasty.

XVIIth DYNASTY. (Approximate dates, 1640-1580.)

Seqnenrê I, 1640?-1615.

Seqnenrê II, 1615-1605.

Seqnenrê III, 1605-1591.

Kamôse, 1591-1581.

NEW EMPIRE

XVIIIth DYNASTY. (1580-1322 B.C.)

Ahmôse (Amasis) I, 1580-1558.

Amenophis I, 1558-1545.

Tuthmosis I, 1545-1514.

Hatshepsut, 1501-1479.

Tuthmosis III, 1501-1447. Overlaps by reason of his co-regency with Hatshepsut. His sole reign begins in 1479.

Amenophis II, 1447-1420.

Tuthmosis IV, 1420-1412.

Amenophis III, 1412-1376.

Amenophis IV, Akhenaten or Ikhnaton, 1380-1362.

Smenkhkerê, 1362-1359.

Tutankhamûn, 1359-1350.

Ay, 1350-1346.

Haremhab, 1346-1322.

XIXTH DYNASTY. (1322-1210 B.C.)

Ramses I, 1321.

Seti I, 1321-1300.

Ramses II, 1300-1233.

Menepthah, 1233-1223.

Amenmesses, 1223-1220.

Siptah (with Queen Tausret), 1220-1214.

Seti II, Menepthah, 1214-1210.

A Syrian usurper Arisu, Aarsu, or Yersew, for a doubtful period, possibly till 1200 B.C.

XXTH DYNASTY. (1200-1090 B.C.)

Setnakht, 1200-1198.

Ramses III, 1198-1167.

Ramses IV, 1167-1161.

Ramses V, 1161-1157.

Ramses VI,

Ramses VII,

Ramses VIII,

Ramses IX,

Ramses X,

Ramses XI,

} 1157-1090 divided among the lot.

XXIST DYNASTY. (1090-945 B.C.)

There are two royal, or quasi-royal, lines to be reckoned—the Tanite line, in the Delta, and the Theban line, which was a priestly one.

TANIS

Nesbenebted (Smendes),
about 1100-1090.

Pisebkhennu I, 1090-1070.

Amenemôpet, 1020-970.

Siamûn, 970-950.

Pisebkhennu II, 950-947.

THEBES

Herihor, about 1090.

Pinûtem I, 1070-1030.

Menkheperre, 1030-1020.

Pinûtem II, 999-954.

Pisebkhennu II, 954-945.

XXIIND DYNASTY. (945-745 B.C.)

The dynasty of the Northern Libyan stock as distinguished

from the so-called Ethiopian Dynasty (XXVth) which was of Southern Libyan origin.

Sheshonq I, 945-924.

Osorkon I, 924-895.

Takeloth I, 895-874.

Osorkon II, 874-853.

Sheshonq II. Died during co-regency with Osorkon II.

Takeloth II, 860-834. Seven years co-regent with Osorkon II.

Sheshonq III, 834-784.

Pimay, 784-782.

Sheshonq IV, 782-745.

XXIIIRD DYNASTY. (745-718 B.C.)

Petubastis, 745-721.

Osorkon III,

Takeloth III,

Tefnakht.

These two last divide the time till 718 between them. Osorkon III was co-regent with Petubastis for an undetermined period. The last three kings, who reigned almost contemporaneously in the Delta, were conquered by the Upper Egyptian King Piankhy.

LATE EGYPTIAN PERIOD

XXIVTH DYNASTY. (718-712 B.C.)

Bekenrenf (Bocchoris), 718-712.

XXVTH DYNASTY. (712-663 B.C.)

This is the co-called Ethiopian Dynasty, actually the dynasty of Southern Libyans which ruled in Napata (see text). It really began, *qua* Egypt, with Piankhy, the predecessor of Shabaka, and ended with Tanutamûn, the successor of Taharqa.

Shabaka, 712-700.

Shabataka, 700-688.

Taharqa, 688-663.

XXVITH DYNASTY. (633-525 B.C.)

Psammetichus I, 663-609.

Necho, 609-593.

Psammetichus II, 593-588.

Apries (Hophra), 588-569.

Ahmôse (Amasis) II, 569-525.

Psammetichus III, 525.

XXVIITH DYNASTY.

Persian kings, ruling from the Persian conquest in 525 B.C., with short interruptions by ephemeral native dynasties, the XXVIIIth, XXIXth and XXXth, of which only the last, under Nectanebis I and II, was of any importance, till the conquest by Alexander the Great in 332. Thereafter the Ptolemaic Dynasty ruled till 30 B.C., at which date Egypt became a Roman Province, each of the Roman Emperors ruling it as a Pharaoh.



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INTRODUCTION

IT is obviously necessary at the very beginning to define the scope and the limitations of the following chapters. Plainly it is impossible, in any single volume of moderate size, to attempt to deal with and describe even the most outstanding examples among the innumerable specimens of household and funerary equipment, of tools and weapons and articles of personal adornment which are found in the great museums. Save in very exceptional instances (as in the case of the most notable specimens in the Cairo Museum), these cannot be dealt with at all; their inclusion would involve the production, not of a single volume, but of many, and would mean a task almost as hopeless as the numbering and cataloguing of the sands of the sea-shore or the stars of heaven. In the main, the book must be confined to description of objects of Egyptian architecture and art in the the larger sense; though occasionally the importance of some exceptionally notable smaller specimen of art or craftsmanship may warrant its inclusion.

Further, it is quite impossible to attempt to include in our survey the many imposing objects of Egyptian architecture and art which are scattered among the great museums of Europe and America. We must limit ourselves (and even within our limits the field is wide enough) to such objects as are to be found *in situ* within the bounds of Egypt and Nubia. Within these territorial limits, it is the purpose of this book to indicate and describe briefly the chief specimens of Egyptian architecture and sculpture, pyramids, temples, colossal and smaller statuary, together with the tombs, royal and otherwise, with their reliefs and frescoes, which are to be seen on all accessible Egyptian sites.

Again, it is obvious that a time limit, as well as a territorial one, is necessary. After all, whatever may be the interest and beauty of the remains of Roman, Coptic and Arab culture, it is not for these that the majority of the multitude of visitors to the Land of the Nile journey from the ends of the earth, but for the evidences of a civilization vastly more ancient and interesting than any of

these. Accordingly the purpose of the descriptions of this book is, in brief, to cover the truly native and ancient work of Egypt from the earliest times down to the Roman occupation. It is in this respect that it differs from the other well-known and useful handbooks to Egypt, concerning itself simply and solely with that great period of, roughly speaking, four millennia, during which the glorious day of ancient Egyptian culture dawned, reached its meridian, and declined, wonderful even in its sunset.

The one exception to the limiting rules which we have just laid down will be met with when we come to deal with the great Egyptian Museum at Cairo. There is gathered within its walls so much that is absolutely necessary to the formation of any right estimate of the accomplishment of Ancient Egypt in art and craftsmanship, that no survey would be complete without a description of the most important treasures of this great treasure-house. Therefore such wonderful works of art as the outstanding examples of personal portrait-statuary, and the more important specimens of 'small art,' such as the Treasures of Dahshûr, El-Lâhûn, and the Tomb of Tutankhamûn are dealt with in some detail in our general survey of the great Museum.

Of the phrases which are most endlessly repeated about the Land of Egypt there is one which sums up the course of its history in the broad epigrammatic generalization that 'In ascending the stream of the Nile, you descend the stream of history.' While such a statement offers a certain specious appearance of accuracy, it is in reality just about as accurate as most such generalizations, and no more so. It is impossible, as we shall find, to generalize in such a fashion about the course of Egyptian history; and while the statement is roughly—very roughly—true, in detail it will be found to break down hopelessly. Nevertheless, we shall find it convenient, in our descriptions, to follow the stream of the Nile upwards from the Mediterranean, rather than to attempt a strictly chronological arrangement of our material, even though in this territorial method we shall find the historical order of the relics with which we are dealing by no means so simple as the comfortable generalization of the past suggests. Our survey, therefore, begins with the antiquities of the Delta.

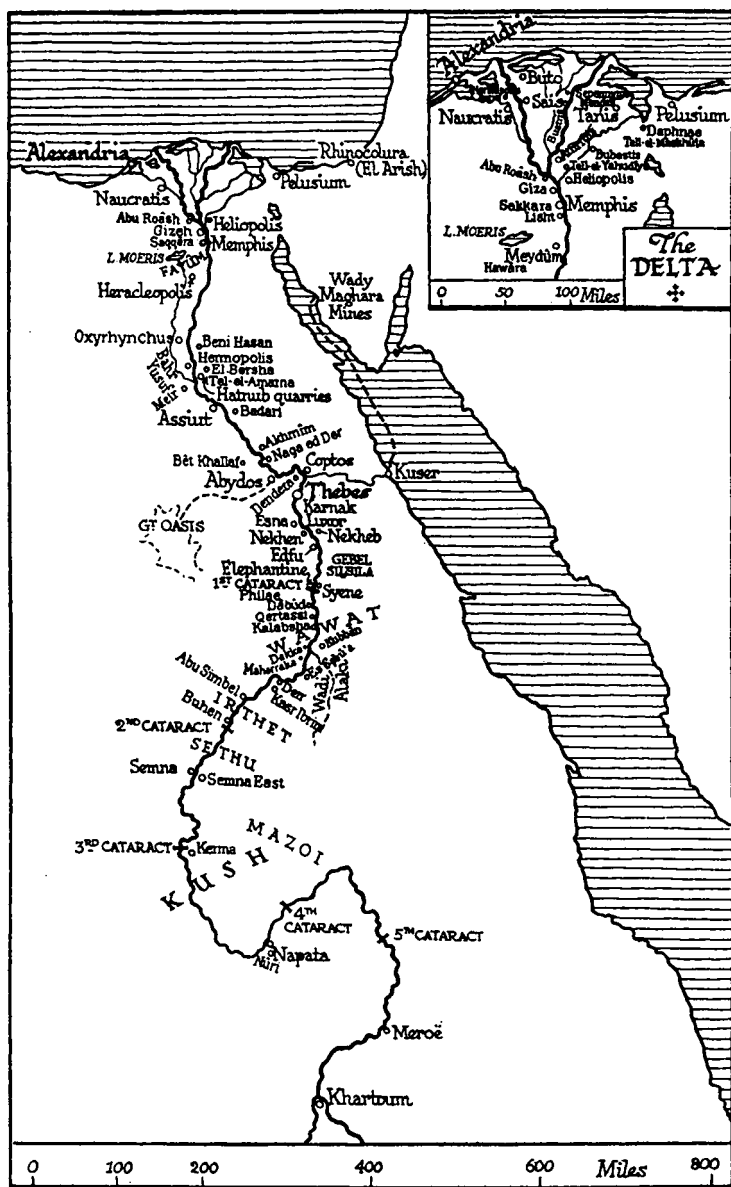
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EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE NILE VALLEY

BOOK I—THE DELTA

CHAPTER I

ALEXANDRIA, AND OTHER SITES BETWEEN ALEXANDRIA AND CAIRO

BY the ordinary visitor to Egypt, the Delta, as a possible source of interest in Egyptian Antiquities, is almost entirely neglected. It is regarded simply as a somewhat uninteresting prelude which has to be gone through before Cairo is reached, and the real and characteristic Egypt begins with the first glimpse of the pyramids on the western horizon. Yet the reason for this comparative neglect does not lie in the absence of important historical material. Some of the Delta sites are among the most ancient and renowned in Egyptian history. First Buto, and then Saïs, both in the Delta, was the seat of the earliest of the shadowy lines of Egyptian predynastic rulers, and the title of the Bee- or Hornet-man of Buto and Saïs finally became an integral part of the titulary of an Egyptian Pharaoh, as the latter half of the *Insi-Bya* which is prefixed to the name of every Egyptian king; while the Cobra, the emblem of the patron-goddess of Buto, remained the royal emblem throughout the whole of Egyptian history. As the dynastic history of the land draws towards its close, the Delta sites, eclipsed in importance during the Old and Middle Kingdoms and the earlier part of the New Empire, rise once more to view, and Tanis, Bubastis and Saïs again become prominent under the later Pharaohs; while with the incoming of the tide of Greek immigrants in the XXVIth Dynasty such sites as Naucratis and Daphnae became of first-rate importance and interest.

In spite of these facts, however, the Delta sites remain on the whole uninteresting, save to the archaeologist. For one thing, they have been more woefully ravaged by war than any other sites in Egypt, so that the Ancient Egyptian levels are submerged beneath successive strata of Greek and Roman remains to a depth often of many feet. Thus Sir Flinders Petrie tells us that in his excavations at Tanis his trial pits often penetrated to a depth of thirty feet through Greek and Roman strata without reaching the Ramesside or Hyksos levels which he was seeking. Much else has been gradually and surely submerged under the constantly accumulating Nile alluvium which has made, and is constantly remaking, the Delta; and work in this rich but difficult and often water-sodden medium is both difficult and costly. Finally, the Delta offers practically nothing in the way of free-standing, above-ground monuments, such as are common in Upper Egypt. The colonnades of Karnak and Luxor were conspicuous before ever a spade or pick was struck into the drift which encumbered their bases; but even where there are important ruins still above ground-level in the Delta they are smothered beneath mounds of debris and drift from which they have to be painfully extricated at great cost and with infinite labour.

Even such sites as have been excavated with more or less completeness, while they have yielded results of extraordinary interest to the archaeologist, offer little that is interesting or impressive to the ordinary visitor. The remains of a city so great and ancient as Tanis may be supremely important from a historical and archaeological point of view; but they have no spectacular attraction. Baedeker dismisses them with a single sentence—'a confused heap of ruins (statues, carvings, obelisks in wild disorder)'; and only a patient and continuous exercise of the historic imagination can reconstruct the ancient glories of one of the most notable of Egyptian capitals as it was in the days of its splendour.

Yet without a knowledge of the part which the Delta has played in Ancient Egyptian history, our view of Egypt's past is incomplete; and whether the Delta sites are visited or not (and since the advent of the ubiquitous taxi most of the most important of them are accessible), it is necessary that we should record what is to be seen at them as evidence of the great past of these earliest seats of Egyptian sovereignty.

ALEXANDRIA

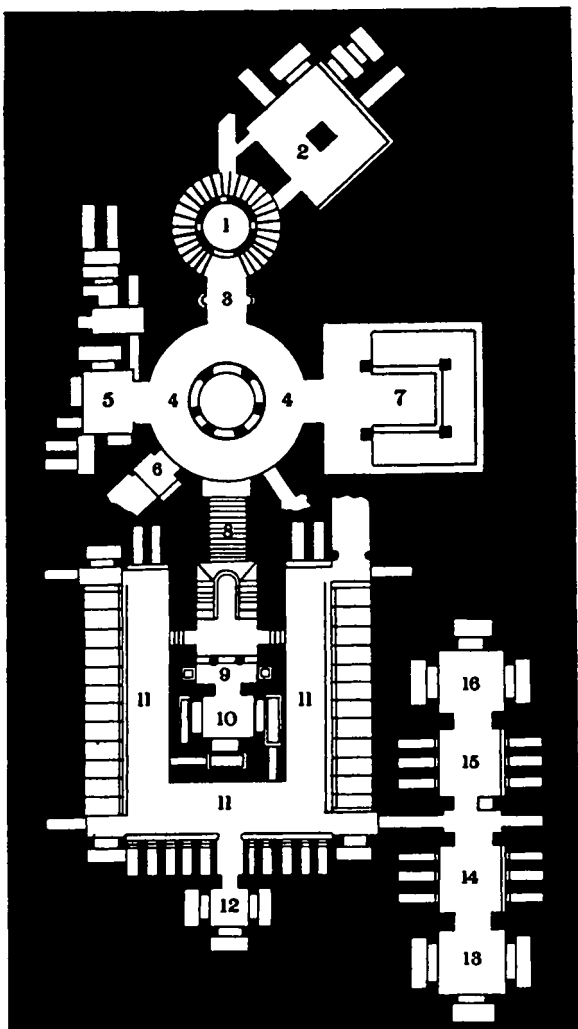
Founded in 331 B.C. by Alexander the Great, and therefore falling almost entirely without the historical limits with which we are concerned, Alexandria has little that is essentially ancient Egyptian to offer. Indeed the main element in the population of the great city was always Greek, though there was also a large Egyptian stratum from the beginning, and, from a slightly later stage, a large and exceedingly turbulent and troublesome Jewish colony. Accordingly the chief antiquities, from the Egyptologist's point of view, are distressingly modern. The only remains of antiquity which fall within the period with which we deal are those remains of what M. Jondet, who discovered them in 1914-15, considers to have been an ancient harbour system. These were discovered by M. Jondet in the course of his excavations on the west side of the island of Pharos, and cover a considerable area, extending to two kilometres in length. Some interest was aroused with regard to these supposed harbour works by the suggestion of a French archaeologist that they were prehistoric, and the work of Aegean engineers, created for the purpose of Minoan trade with Egypt. This view was adopted by Sir Arthur Evans in his *Palace of Minos*, vol. I; but it has failed to win acceptance, and the general opinion now is that, if the works are ancient harbour works at all, they are of Ptolemaic date, and therefore subsequent to the foundation of Greek Alexandria. In any case, they offer nothing of interest to any one but the archaeologist, though they are possibly the oldest surviving relics of the place.

At Kôm el-Shaqfa, on the south-west side of the city, and not far from the so-called 'Pompey's Pillar', there is found, on the south slope of the hill, now used as a quarry, the great rock-hewn catacomb which, since its discovery in 1900, has been one of the chief sights of Alexandria. Strictly this fine burying-place, being probably of the second century of our era, is outside our limits; but it is in itself so notable, and offers such a remarkable example of the combination of Roman and Egyptian styles, as to be worthy of a brief notice. The tomb is open daily from 9 to 5.30 (6 in summer), on payment of a small admission charge (P.T. 5). A combination ticket which admits to the Museum of Graeco-Roman antiquities, Pompey's Pillar, and this tomb may be obtained at the ticket-office in the Museum for P.T. 8.

Entrance to the catacomb is obtained by means of a circular staircase which surrounds a light-shaft. Near the top of the staircase (2 on plan) is a sarcophagus-chamber of more modern work than the rest of the catacomb. The entrance-passage, at the foot of the staircase (3 on plan) has on either side of it a semicircular niche with a bench. From the passage, we enter a rotunda (4 on plan), which has a cupola over a shaft which leads down to the lower stories (under water). From the gallery of the rotunda, two small chambers (5 and 6 on plan) open to the right, and contain niches, sarcophagi and 'loculi', or shelves for the disposal of dead bodies. From the left-hand side of the gallery opens a large chamber whose roof is supported by four pillars, which are placed at the angles of a triclinium or horse-shoe-shaped divan. This chamber was doubtless designed for the accommodation of the relatives of the dead at the regular festivals (7 on plan).

We pass out of the rotunda by a staircase (8), which forks at its lower part into two branches, and gives access to the vestibule (9) which leads to (10) the chief grave-chamber of the catacomb. The entrance to the vestibule is adorned with two columns of late Egyptian style, with florid capitals; the cornice above them bears the winged disk and two hawks, and a dentilled band separates this from the flat-arch which forms the pediment. In either side-wall on the vestibule is a niche, in the form of an Egyptian pylon, containing a limestone statue. That on the right is of a man, that on the left a woman, both in Egyptian dress. The doorway from the vestibule into the sepulchral chamber bears above it the winged disk and a frieze of uraei.

The sepulchral chamber (10) contains three niches with sarcophagi, which are hewn out of the solid rock, and are profusely adorned with the usual festoons, ox-skulls, and Medusa-masks of the Graeco-Roman style. The walls of the niches are adorned with representations of Egyptian gods, priests, and sacrificing kings; and the whole offers an extraordinary mixture of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian taste in decoration. Round three sides of this chamber runs a broad gallery, entered from the passage before the vestibule. This gallery (11) is lined with niches, each capable of holding three dead bodies. There are ninety-one of these shelf-tombs in all, and the names of some of their tenants, with their ages, are still visible, inscribed in red paint. From the centre of the back wall of the gallery opens another sarcophagus-chamber, containing three sepulchral niches (12) and from the



CATACOMB OF KÔM EL-SHAQFA

(The numbers refer to the description in the text)

north-western angle access is gained to four other rooms of later construction (13, 14, 15, 16), which have also shelf-tombs and niches.

Altogether the catacomb is a very remarkable, if not a particularly attractive, specimen of the taste of Graeco-Roman Egypt, and its extraordinary jumble of native Egyptian and classical motives, thoroughly bad in itself, is yet of considerable interest. Sir Wallis Budge has described it as the tomb of the head of a large and powerful family, the lesser members of which were buried round the central tomb-chamber destined for the head of the clan and his immediate relatives. Others, with perhaps more probability, have thought it to be the burial-place of the members of one of the religious societies which were common at the time, the central place of honour being reserved for the founder of the society and his family ; but nothing is really known of the actual facts, and one surmise is perhaps as good or as bad as another.

The other ancient lion of Alexandria, ' Pompey's Pillar ', falls outside our limit, having been erected no earlier than the fourth century of our era, and therefore having no possible claim to any connexion with Pompey. It may possibly have been derived from the Alexandrian temple of Osiris-Apis (Serapis) ; but this is doubtful. The Museum of Graeco-Roman Antiquities is worthy of a visit, especially on account of its collection of smaller articles illustrating the mixture of religious and funerary customs in the cosmopolitan Alexandria of the Ptolemys and the early Roman occupation.

Near the railway station for Ramleh once stood the pair of granite obelisks of which one now stands on the Thames Embankment, and the other in Central Park, New York. Though both are known as ' Cleopatra's Needles ', they were, of course, originally set up and inscribed by Tuthmosis III at Heliopolis. Ramses II subsequently added (according to his usual custom) his own names and titles to the work of a much greater man than himself. The obelisks were removed from Heliopolis, and set up before the Caesaron at Alexandria in 13-12 B.C. One of them was thrown down by the earthquake of A.D. 1301 ; and it was this fallen shaft which was given by Mehemet Ali to Britain early in the nineteenth century. The gift was so little thought of that the obelisk was allowed to lie where it fell until 1877, when it was removed to London by the engineer Mr. John Waynman Dixon, at the expense of Sir Erasmus Wilson. The sister shaft was removed

to New York three years later by Lieut-Commander H. H. Gorrings, of the United States' Navy. In 1801-2, the Earl of Cavan, commanding the British forces in Egypt, caused the uppermost block of the pedestal of the fallen obelisk to be heeled over, so that an inscription describing the triumphs of the expeditionary force might be chiselled on a plate of marble (or brass—descriptions differ) which was inserted in the under-surface of the block for eternal preservation. Unfortunately both pedestal and tablet have entirely vanished, doubtless into the hands of the Alexandrian builders.

The mania for removing from Egypt these striking monuments of her past greatness seems now to have subsided ; but it ought surely to be with shame that we realize that Egypt, the home of the obelisk, now possesses only five of these standing, of which one is quite small ; while Rome alone possesses nine over 20 feet high, which she has disfigured, presumably to the glory of the Christian faith, actually to its disgrace, by placing the emblems of the Cross upon their summits. London, New York, Paris and Constantinople possess each a single large specimen of these forlorn exiles from the land of their creation, while museums and private collections account for many smaller shafts. It is, perhaps, too much to hope that a sense of decency and of the futility of keeping these treasures of the past in alien conditions, where their inscriptions are rapidly perishing, will ever prompt the return of any of them to the sites for which they were made ; but at least we may confess with penitence the wrong which was done to Egypt by their removal.

On the coast to the south-west of Alexandria, and about 5 miles from the station of Bahîg on the Maryût Railway, lies Abusir, which is the ancient Taposiris Magna. The only important relic of the ancient town is the temple, probably originally dedicated to Osiris. The pylon and the remains of the temple walls, all built of limestone, are conspicuous, and the towers of the pylon may still be ascended by an ancient and worn stairway. The view from the top is fine. The temple must have been of some importance, as it measured about 300 feet in length ; but there is little left now to attract attention in detail, and no history of the building has survived.

Enough, or more than enough, has now been said of the extremely scanty remains of Ancient Egypt to be found in or around Alexandria. In dealing with the other ancient sites of

the Delta, the simplest course will be to describe first those which are more or less accessible from one or other of the stations on the two lines by which Cairo is approached, taking first those on or near the Alexandria-Cairo line which goes by Damanhûr, Kafr el-Zaiyât, and Tanta, to Benha, where it joins the line from Port Said and Ismailia, and proceeds to Cairo; and next those accessible from the Port Said and Ismailia line, which reaches Benha by the Wâdi Tumulât, Tell el-Kebir, and Zagazig. The less accessible sites will afterwards be described briefly, though it is perhaps unlikely that any one but an archaeological enthusiast will be at the trouble and expense of visiting them.

Indeed the warning already given with regard to Delta sites ought perhaps to be repeated here; for, however important historically most of them may be, they offer no arresting and spectacular features, and have little to invite the interest of the traveller in comparison with the famous sites of Middle and Upper Egypt.

DELTA SITES BETWEEN ALEXANDRIA AND CAIRO

Thirty-eight miles out from Alexandria, we reach the modern town of Damanhûr, which is now an important cotton-growing centre, and the chief town of the province of Beheira. Its interest for our present purpose, however, lies in the fact that in its immediate vicinity lay the town which the Romans called *Hermopolis Parva*, and which goes back to the very dawn of Egyptian history under the names of *Time-en-Hôr* (City of Horus), and still earlier *Behdet*, which was the city of the falcon-god Horus. In the early predynastic period, Behdet was the capital of Lower Egypt, as Ombos was of Upper Egypt. On the union of the two kingdoms, Horus of Behdet was recognized as the royal god, and remained the patron of the Pharaonic line. In the form of the Winged Disk, he remained the patron deity throughout Egyptian history, and though usually associated in this form with the city of Edfu in Upper Egypt, his original association is with the ancient Delta city. The memory of an almost incredibly ancient past is, however, all that remains to Behdet, and Damanhûr has nothing of the old world to show among its busy modern interests.

From Damanhûr a branch railway will take the enthusiastic seeker after the original sites of Egyptian royalty to Disûq (13 miles), and 7½ miles north-east of Disûq lie the mounds of

Tell el-Fara'in, which cover the remains of Buto, the ancient city which succeeded Behdet as the capital of Lower Egypt, under the Bee or Hornet kings. As Behdet contributed its Horus of the Winged Disk to Egyptian symbolism, so Buto contributed its serpent-goddess Uto, and the Cobra of Buto gleams on the forehead of every Egyptian Pharaoh, sometimes along with the Vulture of Nekheb in Upper Egypt (as on the Tutankhamûn gold mask and coffins) but almost invariably by itself. Again one has to content oneself with the imagination of past glories, for nothing of the ancient city is visible, save the undisturbed rubbish-heaps.

Four miles west of the railway, at a distance of about 10 miles farther on from Damanhûr, the village of El-Nibeira lies near the ancient Canopic branch of the Nile. Near it are the mounds which cover the site of the famous Greek city of Naucratis. According to Herodotus, Naucratis was established by the Pharaoh Ahmôse II (XXVIth Dynasty) as the exclusive Greek settlement in Egypt. Ahmôse, so Herodotus says, granted high privileges to the colony, in the way of forbidding trade from Greece to enter any other port in the Delta. 'If a man arrived at any other mouth of the Nile, he was obliged to swear that "he had come there against his will"; and, having taken such an oath, he must sail in the same ship to the Canopic mouth; but if he should be prevented by contrary winds from doing so, he was forced to unload his goods, and carry them in barges round the Delta until he reached Naucratis. So great were the privileges of Naucratis' (Herodotus, ii, 179).

The site of one of the most interesting of ancient cities, where the active and insatiably curious Greek genius came into intimate contact with that more ancient and sombre civilization for which the Greeks always retained such a high and almost extravagant regard, and which Herodotus himself was to reveal to the classical world in such a charming manner, was identified and partly excavated by Sir Flinders Petrie, in 1885. Subsequent excavations have added to our knowledge of the Greek city in some respects, and modified the impressions of the first excavators slightly in others; but Petrie's work (*Naucratis*, 2 vols., Egypt Exploration Fund) substantially revealed the heart of the mystery of Naucratis. It appeared from the excavations that Herodotus was somewhat misinformed in attributing the first settlement of the Greeks at Naucratis to Ahmôse, as the evidence showed that

the establishment of the Greek colony there was due to Psammetichus (or Psametik) I, the astute founder of the XXVIth Dynasty. Psammetichus owed his crown to the assistance of his Ionian and Carian mercenaries, 'the brazen men from the sea' whose coming the oracle foretold, and he established the Greek mercenaries at two great military stations, at Naucratis on the western side of the Delta, and at Daphnae (the Bilbical Tahpanhes) on the eastern side.

The action of Ahmôse, to which Herodotus refers, seems to have been more in the direction of restricting Greek commerce in Egypt to a single centre, as European trade with China was restricted to the Treaty Ports; and indeed the parallel between the relations of the rising Greek power and the slowly-dying empire of Egypt, and those of the Europeans and China is singularly close, though Psammetichus and Ahmôse were wiser in their generation than the Chinese emperors in theirs.

At present, Naucratis, like so many other Delta sites, has nothing to offer in the way of spectacular ruins to the visitor, and indeed Sir Wallis Budge bluntly dismisses it with the comment: 'The ruins do not repay the traveller who visits them for his time, as they are four miles from the railway'; but the imagination can scarcely fail to be quickened on the site where Greece and Egypt first came into effective contact with one another. 'That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of *Marathon*, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of *Iona*!' But Naucratis was an earlier meeting-place of the new world with the old than Marathon, and a happier one.

At the very least, even if the trouble of visiting Naucratis is too much, and the labour of reading the reports of the excavators too heavy, the visitor to Egypt should not fail to read the delightful chapter of *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt* in which Sir Flinders Petrie has told the story of his adventures and discoveries at the mound of El-Nibeira.

At 64 miles out from Alexandria we reach the station of Kafr el-Zaiyât, from which point an excursion may be made by river to the mounds of Sâ el-Hagar, where, half an hour's journey north of the village, lies the site of the ancient city of Saïs. Sâ el-Hagar may also be reached by the branch railway which is being constructed from Tanta, 12 miles farther on upon the main line. At Saïs, again, we are in touch with one of the most ancient

strata in Egyptian history. Saïs was, of course, the capital of Egypt in the days of the XXVIth Dynasty (The Saite), and its greatest fame in classical days comes from this fact. It was a priest of Saïs, e.g., 'Registrar of the Treasury of Athene (Neith)', as he calls him, who told Herodotus that wonderful story about the sources of the Nile which led even so receptive a traveller as the Halicarnassian to suspect that the Egyptian was 'pulling his leg'. 'He indeed seemed to be trifling with me' says Herodotus, in a pained tone (ii, 28). It was a priest of Saïs, also, who told Solon that story of the Lost Atlantis, which Plato has preserved for the interest and bewilderment of so many people of to-day; and altogether the Saïs of the XXVIth Dynasty bulked very large and magnificent in the eyes of its early Greek visitors.

But Saïs had a great and glorious history long before Greece was dreamt of. Neith, its great goddess, is represented in ancient Egyptian mythology as having woven the world as a weaver does a piece of cloth, and is called 'the mother who brought forth the sun', and is therefore a being even more ancient than the sun-god Rê. Neith was a warrior—as well as a weaver-goddess, and her cognizance is always the shield with crossed arrows; while she herself is represented as wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt (the only Egyptian goddess to be so honoured), and armed with bow and arrows. The mounds of Saïs show that the capital must have been a large city. Like the cities of Sumer and Akkad, and for the same reason—of danger from the flooded river—it was raised upon an artificial mound, and its walls are said to have been 100 feet high and 70 feet thick.

Herodotus vaguely describes the temple of Neith, and alludes to a kind of mystery-play in honour of Neith which was performed there—a play, probably, of a kind not uncommon in Ancient Egypt, and often associated with the life and death of Osiris. In Saïs, of course, Neith, probably identified with Isis, must have been associated with Osiris in the passion-play; but the references of Herodotus are unfortunately very vague, and purposely so. He refers to 'the tomb of one [Osiris] whose name I consider it impious to divulge'; and he says again: 'In this lake [the sacred lake of the temple of Neith] they perform the representation of that person's adventures, which they call mysteries. On these matters, however, though accurately acquainted with the particulars of them, I must observe a discreet silence.' One

could wish that Herodotus, who had plenty to say on less important things, had not been quite so mealy-mouthed about the Osirian passion-play, for a description of it from his lively pen would have been singularly valuable. All that he gives us of the Saite festival, however, is the picture of Saïs illuminated with countless lamps burning oil and salt, on the night of 'The Lighting of Lamps'.

The glory of the ancient Saite capital is now completely departed and Baedeker only can spare three lines to mention 'the considerable ruins of Saïs, the residence of Psammetichus I and the kings of the XXVIth Dynasty, and the centre of the cult of Neith'.

At Benha (101 miles from Alexandria), we are only about one mile from what Baedeker calls 'the insignificant ruins of the ancient Athribis'. Athribis, however (not to be confused with its sister-city of the same name in Upper Egypt), was in its day an important town. Its ancient name was *Hat-her-ib*, 'The Fortress in the Midst' of the plain, as it lay between the two great arms of the Nile.

At Benha, the other main railway-line to Cairo, from Port Said and Ismailia, by the Wâdi Tumilât and Bubastis, joins the line from Alexandria and 8 miles farther on the mountain-wall of the Nile Valley begins to appear in the distance; and in another 12 miles the pyramids begin to show dimly to the south-west. There is nothing more of ancient importance between us and Cairo, and we must turn now to the Eastern Delta and the Ismailia line for the ancient sites in that quarter.

CHAPTER II

PORT SAID AND ISMAILIA TO CAIRO

OUR interest in the route to Cairo through the Eastern Delta begins only after we leave Ismailia, and is largely linked with Scriptural tradition as to the Exodus and its route, rather than with purely Egyptian archaeology. For the railway passes almost at once into the Wâdi Tumilât, which has been held by many to be the easterly extension of that somewhat enigmatical land, the Land of Goshen, the dwelling-place, according to the Scriptural record, of the Hebrews in Egypt. There is no mention of Goshen in any Egyptian inscription, and Brugsch's identification of it with the town and district known to the Egyptians as *Per-Sopd* (the modern Saft el-Hina) is quite untenable; nevertheless, the probability is that the land of Goshen was a part of the Eastern Delta, including the Wâdi Tumilât, though of its extent and boundaries we are ignorant. From this point of view, the interest in this part of the Eastern Delta is warranted, though as we shall see later, questions as to the interpretation of the details of the Scriptural narrative of the Oppression and Exodus are by no means so nearly settled as they were held to be forty years ago, and many of the confident assertions as to the identification of Biblical sites are at present questioned, with more or less reason.

This fact becomes evident almost at once, for when we reach El-Mahâsna, 16 miles from Ismailia, we find ourselves near to the ruins of an Egyptian town which has been found from inscriptions discovered on the spot, to date back to a very much earlier date than that of the Hebrew occupation—in fact to the VIth Dynasty. In 1883, Dr. Edouard Naville began excavation on the site of Tell el-Maskhûta, as the place is now named, on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund. He quickly discovered inscriptions which seemed to point to the place having been anciently named *Per-Atûm*, or House of the god Atûm. In passing, it may be mentioned that Lepsius, many years before, had already identified Tell el-Maskhûta with the city of Raamses of the

Biblical narrative—' And they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities [or store-cities] Pithom and Raamses '—owing to the fact that an inscription on the back of the red granite monolithic group from which the modern name of the place (Hill of the Statue) is derived, gave the name of Ramses II. Naville's new identification, therefore, substituted the first of the ' store-cities ' for the second, but maintained the scriptural connexion. The progress of the excavations soon seemed to offer still more convincing evidence that the actual Pithom of the Exodus narrative had been found, for Dr. Naville discovered a number of rectangular chambers, devoid of doors, and separated, from one another by thick walls of crude brick. These he considered to be the store-chambers which the Hebrews built for the Pharaoh of the Oppression, the grain, according to the regular practice of the ancient Egyptians, having been shot through openings in the roofs. Such a discovery seemed quite conclusive, and the identification of Tell el-Maskhûta with the Pithom of Exodus was generally accepted.

The natural satisfaction with which a result so apparently clear was received was greatly increased by an observation made by Mr. Villiers Stuart, who visited the site during the excavations. He observed : ' I carefully examined round the chamber walls, and I noticed that some of the corners of the brickwork throughout were built of bricks *without straw*.' So complete a confirmation (or what seemed such) of the Bible story was too good to miss, and accordingly the ' bricks without straw ' passed into the stock of all the popular lectures and books of Biblical Archaeology without further question. We find even so careful a writer as Miss Amelia Edwards endorsing the discovery to the fullest extent in her delightful *Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers*. Now it is a very curious and interesting fact that the Pithom bricks are of three qualities. In the lower courses of these massive cellar walls they are mixed with chopped straw ; higher up, when the straw may be supposed to have run short, the clay is found to have been mixed with reeds. Finally, when the last reeds were used up, the bricks of the uppermost courses consist of mere Nile mud, with no binding substance whatever. Unfortunately for the theory that in these Pithom strawless bricks we have the absolute confirmation of the minute accuracy of the Exodus narrative, we must realize that it was the normal Egyptian practice to make crude brick without straw, as the Nile mud

coheres so well as to render any binding material unnecessary. The instance of Pithom, therefore, merely proves that the Egyptians here followed their usual building-practice ; and no inference can be drawn as to the accuracy or otherwise of the Hebrew tradition on the subject. It may be quite correct ; but the evidence from Tell el-Maskhûta does nothing to prove it.

More serious is the fact that even Naville's identification of the place is now questioned. Gardiner's investigations have led him to prefer the site now known as Tell el-Retâba, $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles west from Tell el-Maskhûta as the authentic Pithom. Sir Flinders Petrie, in turn, claims that he has shown that Tell el-Retâba is the real Raamses of the Book of Exodus. Professor Peet questions the proof of the fact, and points out that the name of the place has not been found ; but while this is so, the evidence offered by Petrie, though perhaps not conclusive, appears to offer at least a strong presumption in favour of his identification. Meanwhile the question of Pithom is left in the air, and doctors disagree emphatically about nearly all the points which Naville was held to have settled forty years ago. All which is mentioned simply with the view of making it plain that the whole problem of the Hebrew sojourn in Egypt and Exodus therefrom is at present in the melting-pot, and too confident assertions on either side are to be regarded with suspicion.

The idea that the chambers which Dr. Naville discovered were store-chambers has also been questioned, and is now pretty generally abandoned. The massive walls of these cells are simply the foundation of what was once a strong fortress. ' These late Egyptian fortresses were built up on massive brick platforms containing hollow compartments. No one who examines Naville's plan can remain in doubt as to the real nature of what he found ' (Peet, *Egypt and the Old Testament*, p. 86, note 2).

At the same time, Dr. Naville's excavations revealed a considerable amount of striking and interesting material, mostly of periods ranging from the XXth to the Ptolemaic Dynasty ; and the city, whether Pithom or not, was obviously of some importance, though not of any very great size. Its remains, however, offer nothing of outstanding interest to the traveller.

The same may be said of Tell el-Retâba, which, as already mentioned, lies about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Tell el-Maskhûta. The question of its identification with Raamses, or alternatively with Pithom, has already been mentioned, and certainty is perhaps

impossible. Sir Flinders Petrie, excavating here in 1905-6, found evidence of the site having been a city from the days of the Old Kingdom, 12 to 15 feet of rubbish of the ancient town lying beneath the ruins of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties. The temple was the work of Ramses II, and was adorned by that king with statues in red granite and limestone. One of these, a double statue representing Ramses and the god Atûm, had attached to it in the fourth century of our era one of the most curious of traditions. A woman pilgrim visiting the site in A.D. 380 saw the statue, and was informed that it represented Moses and Aaron ! No more ludicrous metamorphosis can well be imagined ; but it is just possible that the existence of such a tradition in a place, which in one way or another is associated with the Hebrews, may hint, at least, that Tell el-Retâba was not unconnected with the events which led up to the Exodus.

Perhaps the most unexpected and curious of Petrie's finds at the place was that of the fact that the earliest wall of the town had been laid with human sacrifice. Human sacrifice in such a connexion is unknown in Egypt elsewhere ; and the inference seems clear that the original foundation of Tell el-Retâba was due to the Syrians, more especially as the fact that the sacrifice was that of a child links it with the sacrifices of children discovered by Professor Macalister at Gezer.

Most curious was Petrie's discovery of the most extraordinary frog-bowl in blue glaze. Round the bowl sit nineteen frogs, others are scrambling up the sides of the interior, a perfect crowd making for the mouth of the bowl ; while in the middle of the inside a large frog—the Pharaoh of the frogs—sits enthroned upon a pedestal. The bowl is unique in Egyptian ceramics ; but it may be hoped that even the fact of it having been found on a site associated with the Exodus will not lead any enthusiast to proclaim it as a proof of the truth of the Plague of Frogs. The caution is all the more necessary because the bowl dates from the XXIInd Dynasty, when the Hebrews were long since established in Palestine.

We now pass in succession two sites, largely forgotten now, but of surpassing interest to our nation in the early eighties of last century. The first is Qassassin, where General Graham defeated a division of the army of 'Arabi Pasha on August 28, 1882 ; the second is the more famous Tell el-Kebir, where Lord Wolseley finally defeated the army of Arabi on 13th September of the

same year. Both sites seem to mark history almost as ancient as that of the Pharaohs to-day; but these battles were the beginning of that astonishing regeneration of Egypt which our time has witnessed. Forty-eight miles out from Ismailia, we reach Zagazig, where the branch line from Cairo by Bilbeis to Faqûs and El-Salihiya intersects the main line. We shall have to return by this line to visit the ancient sites of Tanis and Nabasha, which can be reached either from Faqûs or from El-Salihiya. In the meantime, our concern is with a site which lies within easy reach of Zagazig, at about half an hour's distance from the railway.

This is Tell Basta, which marks the position of the famous and ancient city of Per-Ubastet (House of Ubastet), consecrated to the great Egyptian goddess Ubastet (' Bast '), who is represented as a cat-headed lioness, and whose sacred emblem was the cat. Ubastet represented the gentle and useful heat of the sun, as opposed to the fierce and destroying heat, whose representative is Sekhmet. The city of Per-Ubastet is, of course, the Pi-Beseth of the prophet Ezekiel (xxx, 17, 18): ' The young men of Aven [On, Heliopolis] and of Pi-beseth shall fall by the sword: and these cities shall go into captivity. At Tehaphnehes [Tahpanhes, Daphnae] also the day shall be darkened.' Its Greek name was Bubastis, a nearer approach to the Egyptian equivalent than the Greeks attained in most Egyptian names; and it is by the Greek name that the place is best known. From early days in Egyptian history Bubastis was an important city; but, as in the case of so many other Delta cities, its greatest renown came late in the national story, when it was greatly favoured by the Libyan Pharaohs of the XXIInd Dynasty, who built largely at the temple of Ubastet. Especially during the later period, the cult of Ubastet became extremely popular in Egypt, and the annual festivals of the cat-headed goddess attracted enormous crowds from all parts of the land—700,000 pilgrims having been entertained on one occasion, according to report.

Herodotus, always at his best in his Egyptian descriptions, is in his most expansive mood when he deals with Bubastis, and has left us vigorous descriptions both of the city and its temple, and of the annual festival. ' Although other cities in Egypt were carried to a great height,' he says, ' in my opinion the greatest mounds were thrown up about the city of Bubastis, in which is a temple of Bubastis well worthy of mention; for though other

temples may be larger and more costly, none is more pleasing to look at than this. Bubastis, in the Grecian language, answers to Diana [a very imperfect equation]. Her sacred precinct is thus situated : all except the entrance is an island ; for two canals from the Nile extend to it, not mingling with each other, but each reaches as far as the entrance to the precinct, one flowing round it on one side, the other on the other. Each is a hundred feet broad, and shaded with trees. The portico is ten orgyae in height, and is adorned with figures six cubits high, that are worthy of notice. This precinct, being in the middle of the city, is visible on every side to a person going round it : for as the city has been mounded up to a considerable height, but the temple has not been moved, it is conspicuous as it was originally built. A wall sculptured with figures runs round it ; and within is a grove of lofty trees, planted round a large temple in which the image is placed. The width and length of the precinct is each way a stade. Along the entrance is a road paved with stone, about three stades in length, leading through the square eastward ; and in width it is about four plethra : on each side of the road grow trees of enormous height : it leads to the temple of Hermes. Such, then, is the situation of this precinct' (Herodotus, ii, 138).

Herodotus has often been blamed for inaccuracy ; but this description, though provokingly vague on some points on which he might have enlightened us, bears witness to the fact that he had certainly seen, and with an understanding eye, the place he was describing. Particularly conspicuous is his faithful description of the sunken precinct of the temple. Bubastis, like most Eastern cities, and particularly such as were built on an alluvial site, rose age by age on the debris of its past, until it stood at last many feet above the level at which the foundations of the original city had been laid. But the precinct of the temple, with its sacred buildings, did not suffer the changes which altered the level of the city ; or suffered them only to a small extent. Accordingly the temple of Bubastis would finally appear, just as Herodotus describes, as standing in the middle of a sunken area in the midst of the city, so that ' you look down upon it where-soever you are '.

The old historian's description of the annual festival is extremely lively, and testifies that the Egyptians, so often foolishly considered as a sombre and gloomy race, did not take either their

pleasures or their religion sadly. The festival of Ubastet was obviously neither more nor less than a great annual beanfeast. ' Now when they are being conveyed to the city Bubastis, they act as follows : for men and women embark together, and great numbers of both sexes in every barge : some of the women have castanets on which they play, and the men play on the flute during the whole voyage ; the rest of the women and men sing and clap their hands together at the same time. When, in the course of their journey, they come to any town, they lay their barge near to land, and do as follows : some of the women do as I have described ; others shout and scoff at the women of the place ; some dance, and others behave in an unseemly manner : this they do at every town by the river-side. When they arrive at Bubastis, they celebrate the feast, offering up great sacrifices ; and more wine is consumed at this festival than in all the rest of the year. What with men and women, besides children, they congregate, as the inhabitants say, to the number of seven hundred thousand ' (ii, 59). From all which it appears that the festivals of Ubastet were great national events ; but more popular than decorous.

The scene of these joyous orgies was excavated in 1887-9 by Dr. Edouard Naville for the Egypt Exploration Fund. It had been visited and described by Napoleon's savants in 1798, and by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in 1840 ; but the years between had wrought sore havoc on the great mass of ruins which was seen by M. Malus or even by Wilkinson. During the interval the *fellahin* had been using the site, and particularly the ruin of the temple, with its wealth of hewn stone, as a convenient quarry and a storehouse of millstones and corn-presses. ' Nearly all the stones left are red granite, no white limestone has remained. In the hall of Nekhthorheb a great part of the building must have been made of red quartzite from Gebel Ahmar, but as it is the best stone for mills and presses it has disappeared. The immense number of chips shows that this part of the temple has been a regular quarry ' (Naville, *Bubastis*, p. 4). Such has been the fate of many an important Egyptian site ; such would have been the fate of them all had it not been for the efforts of the foreign excavating societies.

Naville managed, however, to trace the various stages of the temple's development fairly clearly. The foundation of the building went back to the time of the pyramid-builders, and there

were inscriptions of Cheops, Chephren, and Pepi I. Important work was done by the active monarchs of the XIIth Dynasty, and two singularly noble and important heads in grey granite were found, which, though at first attributed by Naville to the Hyksos period, are now generally believed to be a portrait of the Pharaoh Amenemhêt III. One of these fine portraits—masterpieces of Egyptian sculpture—is now in the British Museum (see Budge, *Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum*, p. 10); the other is in Cairo. Among Naville's other notable finds was the lower part of a statue in black granite of a genuine Hyksos king, the famous Khyan. The pity of pities is that the upper part of this fine work was not discovered, to reveal to us the features of one who was obviously the outstanding personality of the enigmatic Hyksos period.

During the time of the XXIIInd Dynasty, the Libyan Pharaohs did much for the temple, as was natural, Bubastis being the name-city of the dynasty. Osorkon II completed the great Festival Hall, on whose entrance-walls the details of the *Sed*-festival were portrayed, and other Pharaohs of the dynasty also worked upon the building. Nekhthorheb (Nectanebis I) of the XXXth Dynasty added at the west end of the temple another great hall, 160 feet square, and there was evidence that both in Ptolemaic and Roman times the reigning sovereigns were still mindful of the needs of the House of Ubastet. The extraordinary state of ruin in which the place was found was doubtless due, in the first instance, to the tides of war which have wrecked so many famous cities in the Delta, but not less to the persistent attentions of the native quarriers of stone. Bubastis was the key of the Delta, as a glance at its position on the map will show; but the various sieges to which it has been subjected in consequence of this doubtful privilege have done less in the end to wreck its glories than the patient greed of the *fellahin*.

On the western side of the mounds of Tell Basta lies an area of several acres, now thoroughly dug out, in which lay the famous cat cemetery. From this area, countless mummified cats, and bronze statuettes of the same useful animal, have been extracted, and have passed into museums and the collections of curio-hunters. The specimens of cat-skeletons discovered by Naville were submitted to Professor Virchow, who pronounced them to be of the African type named *Felis Maniculata*, perhaps the earliest stock of the common domestic cat. Bubastis has thus another

claim on our interest and affection, as being one of the original sources of an animal which, in spite of its domestication, still retains its consciousness of belonging to a race superior to that of its mundane masters or mistresses. Again, however, the doleful confession has to be made that, unless to one who has a passion for the historic site on which cats were emblems of divinity, the ruins of Tell Basta do not offer any attraction which is sufficient to repay even the slight trouble of a visit.

Close to Zagazig runs the Sweet Water Canal (Ismailia Canal) a comparatively modern work of engineering, which is only mentioned here because it follows in part of its course the ancient canal which was originally dug in the days of the New Empire by Ramses II, and was subsequently cleared and deepened by several of the Pharaohs of a later time, especially by Necho, Darius the Persian, and Ptolemy II. This anticipation of the Suez Canal ran from the Nile by Zagazig (Bubastis in those days) through the Wâdi Tumilât into the Bitter Lakes, and then from the Lakes into the Red Sea, thus establishing a navigable waterway between the cities of inland Egypt and the Red Sea, and also, in the event of necessity, between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea by way of the Nile. Though there is no absolute evidence for the existence of a similar canal at an earlier date, it is not improbable, from the fact that the reliefs of Queen Hatshepsut, at El-Deir el-Bahari, depicting scenes of the voyage to Punt, show no transshipment of cargo between Punt and Thebes, that such a canal did exist, in which case it probably followed the same line of the Wâdi Tumilât. Existing remains of the masonry work of the ancient canal show it to have been about 150 feet broad, and 16 to 17½ feet deep.

Herodotus makes the amazing statement (on what authority he does not tell us) that 120,000 Egyptians perished during the digging, or rather the clearing, of the canal in the reign of Necho ; and he also informs us that the Pharaoh caused the work to be stopped, not on account of this unparalleled mortality among his labourers, but because an oracle informed him that ' he was working for a barbarian ' (ii, 158)—presumably for Darius, who afterwards completed the work. This sounds pretty much like an *ex post facto* prediction ; but in other respects the historian shows that he was well informed about the canal, for his statement that two triremes might be rowed abreast on it agrees well with the measurements, derived from the ancient scarps, and his

estimate of four days' voyage between Egypt and the Red Sea by the canal is quite a reasonable one, for the time.

There are no further ancient sites of any importance between Zagazig and Benha, where the line from Ismailia joins that from Alexandria.

CHAPTER III

OTHER DELTA SITES: TELL EL-YAHUDIYA, TANIS,
DAPHNAE, MENDES, SEBENNYTOS, ETC.

HAVING thus touched the chief sites which are more or less accessible from points on the two main lines which traverse the Delta on its western and eastern sides, we have now to deal with those to which access is more difficult, owing to their comparative isolation and their distance even from the branch lines.

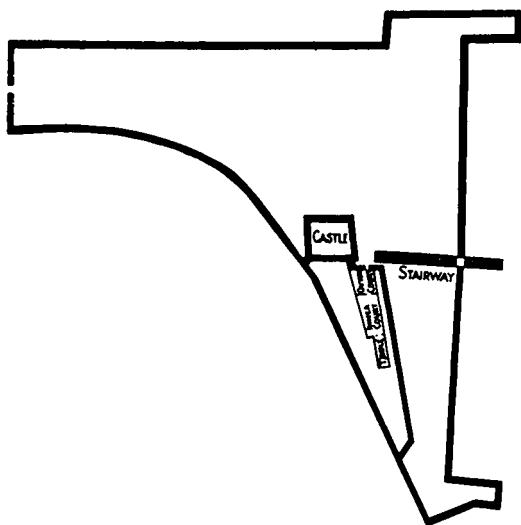
Leaving Cairo by the line to Mansûra, via Bilbeis and Zagazig, we reach ($9\frac{1}{2}$ m.) Qalyûb (Kalioub), where our line diverges to the eastwards from the main line to Benha, and at 20 miles out, Shibin el-Qanâtir. About 2 miles south of the latter station lies Tell el-Yahudiya (Hill of the Jewess), which has been supposed to be the ancient Leontopolis, whose Egyptian name is not known. A temple existed here in the time of the XIXth Dynasty, but more important surviving remains are those of the comparatively small chapel built by Ramses III of the XXth Dynasty. This shrine must have been of singularly gorgeous construction. 'The floor was of oriental alabaster; the roof was supported by columns resting on bases of alabaster and red granite; the limestone walls were covered with patterns in mosaic, and their uniformity was broken by semicircular stands rising in steps, each of which was adorned with rosettes and other devices in variegated enamel.' This remarkable structure has entirely perished; but many of its glazed mosaic tiles were removed by Emil Brugsch, and are now in the Cairo Museum. Tell el-Yahudiya was excavated in 1887 by Dr. Naville and Llewellyn Griffith, with results which, while on the whole disappointing, seemed to confirm the general belief that the place was Leontopolis, and the site of the curious Jewish venture in temple-building to which reference must shortly be made. Griffith, however, was of opinion that the site of the Jewish temple must have lain not here, but on another of the neighbouring tells. Indications were also discovered of the remains of what Naville believed to have been a fortification, though he assigned it to a date very different from the true one.

In 1906 Petrie followed Naville at the site, and discovered the true nature of the fortification. It proved to have been a vast fortified encampment of Hyksos date, a mile in circumference. Its rampart consisted mainly of a huge bank of sand, whose sloping outer face was revetted with a coating of hard white stucco. Later there had been added a wall of fine white limestone, which had been totally destroyed, partly in ancient but mostly in modern times. The further discovery on the spot of a considerable Hyksos cemetery confirmed the dating of the fortification. Petrie inclines on the whole, though with hesitation, to believe that this is the actual Hyksos fortified camp of Avaris, so famous in the history of the Egyptian War of Independence against the Hyksos tyrants. The attribution has not been generally accepted, and modern attempts at the identification of the renowned Hyksos citadel have turned rather in the direction of supposing it to be the same with the city of Pelusium, on the extreme north-eastern edge of the Delta, beyond the Suez Canal ; but certainty has not been attained, and at least Petrie's site can show for itself what no other can show, an authentic Hyksos fortified camp, which, if not nearly large enough to accommodate the preposterously large host of 240,000 men whom Manetho states to have been maintained at Avaris, is yet a considerable and most interesting example of ancient warlike science.

Tradition, however, also associated Tell el-Yahudiya with the interesting experiment in temple-building to which allusion has already been made. In the year 162 B.C. Antiochus Eupator, King of Syria, appointed as high-priest in Jerusalem one Alkimos, who did not belong to the priestly family. Onias IV, the son of the high-priest Onias III, who had been deposed by Antiochus Epiphanes some years before, thereupon fled in despair to Egypt, where he found a welcome from Ptolemy Philometer and his queen Cleopatra. Onias then, according to Josephus, wrote a letter to Ptolemy asking permission for the Jewish exiles to build at Leontopolis a temple to ' Almighty God '. The Egyptian king, obviously surprised at the choice of such a site, yet granted the request in a letter, which if genuine (a very large supposition) does credit to his reverence for the Hebrew prophets of whom he probably heard for the first time from the letter of Onias. He is surprised, he says, at the choice of such a place ; ' but since thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet foretold this long ago, we give

thee leave to do it, if it may be done according to your law, and so that we may not appear to have offended God herein'.

The letters, or at least that of Ptolemy, are obvious forgeries, due to Josephus's idea of what Onias and Ptolemy ought to have written; the building, however, was a reality. 'So Onias took the place, and built a temple, and an altar of God, like indeed to that at Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer.' We have seen the negative conclusion to which the excavations of 1887 led Naville



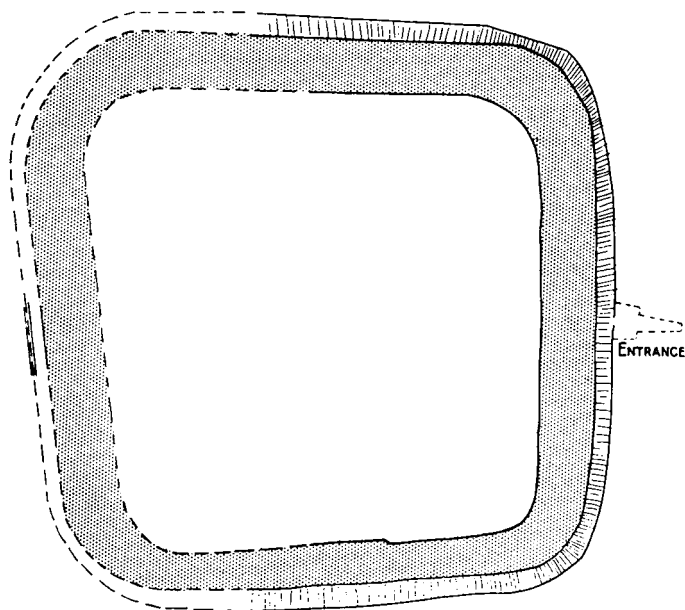
TEMPLE OF ONIAS

(After Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, Pl. XXIII)

(See Text)

and Griffith; Petrie was more fortunate. He discovered the remains of a large structure which appeared to him to fill completely the conditions of the statement of Josephus. 'The plan of the whole hill is strikingly modelled on that of Jerusalem; the temple had inner and outer courts, like that of Zion, but it was smaller and poorer in size. . . . The whole site was formed in imitation of the shape of the Temple hill of the Holy City. It was, in short, a New Jerusalem in Egypt' (see Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, British School of Archaeology).

These highly interesting results have, of course, been questioned. (The traveller will soon learn that all identifications which do not rest upon a positive contemporary inscription naming the place are questioned sooner or later.) On the whole, however, Petrie's case seems stronger than anything which has been brought against it; and in the absence of any more satisfactory site we may continue to believe that Tell el-Yahudiya is what its name claims



HYKSOS FORTIFIED CAMP, TELL EL-YAHUDIYA

(After Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, Pls. II and IV)

for it, and is the Mound of the Jewess, and the probable site of the Temple of Onias. Whether it is so or not matters the less to the ordinary sightseer since 'a visit to the ruins scarcely repays the trouble, as most of them are again buried in rubbish'.

From Shibin el-Qanâtir we travel by Bilbeis past Bubastis, to Zagazig, near which our line, as we saw, intersects the main line from Ismailia. Thence we travel through fertile country,

marked by no sites of special interest, to Abu Kebîr, where we leave the Mansûra line for the branch to Faqûs and El-Salihîya. The important sites of which we are in search may be reached from either of these stations. Near Faqûs is the village of Khatâ'na, near which are the ruins of an ancient town, partly explored by Naville, who discovered remains of XIIth, XIXth, and XXth Dynasty work. Twenty miles north-east of Faqûs is a much more interesting and important site—that of the famous city, once the capital of Egypt, and renowned throughout Egyptian history, which is known to Bible-readers as Zoan. Numbers xiii, 22 states that Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt—a tradition which, in spite of its appearance of minute exactness, must be accepted with the utmost reserve. We have evidence that Zoan not only existed, but had a temple in the time of the Pharaohs of the XVth Dynasty however much earlier it may have been founded. Hebron *may* have been founded even before this early date; but it is needless to say that no evidence to that effect exists.

Zoan is, of course, the ancient Tanis, and the modern Sâh. The twenty-mile journey to it from the railway may help to remind the modern tourist who imagines that excavators live luxurious lives 'watching niggers dig', varied by the thrilling discovery of Aladdin palaces and Tutankhamûn tombs, of the actual conditions of exploration, especially as they were in the Delta during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. When Petrie reached the mound in 1884, he did so by boat from Faqûs, and only maintained communication with the outer world by sending a man once a week on the forty-mile journey to Faqûs and back again; while only a single European was bold enough to visit the place during the months of the excavation.

The prospect, when Sâh was at last reached, was anything but promising. 'The miserable Arab huts of Sâh first meet the eye . . . whose dark and miserable mud rooms are huddled together without any plan or order, on the most unhealthy flat, with, on the one side a muddy stream unto which they throw their dead buffaloes, and from which they drink, and on the other a swamp full of rotting graves and filth. But the high mounds which rise behind this sickening mass of dead fish and live babies, fowls and flies, are the remains of Tanis' (Petrie, *Tanis*, I p. 1). As for luxury in the explorer's camp, it may suffice to note that the camp was so overrun with mice, too crafty to be trapped, that the only

resource at night was to light a night-light and to lie awake and shoot the raiders as they came into the lighted circle. 'Now to lie in bed and shoot mice with a revolver,' says Miss Amelia Edwards, 'is surely a form of sport exclusively reserved for the explorer in Egypt' (*Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers*, p. 20). To-day Sân can be reached comfortably from Faqûs by car, and the Sân drain has improved its sanitation considerably. It is hardly a health resort, but an excavator need not 'pig it' here or, for that matter, anywhere else in Egypt unless he prefers to do so!

The ruins of the temple area, which had already been partly explored by Mariette, were examined with extreme care by Petrie. Two important steles with inscriptions, the 'Stele of 400 years', and one of the copies of the famous 'Decree of Canopus', had already been found here by previous explorers. In the course of his work, during which he turned over and examined an immense number of blocks in the vast temple area, Petrie found evidence that the temple went back at least as far as the reign of the Pharaoh Pepi Merirê (Pepi I), of the VIth Dynasty, that it had been rebuilt and enlarged by the Pharaohs of the XIIth Dynasty, from Amenemhêt I onwards, most of whom had left fine statues of themselves in the place, and that it had been practically reconstructed by that supreme falsifier of records, Ramses II, who covered its architraves with pompous inscriptions, and decorated it with many obelisks and statues. At its greatest extent the temple must have been one of the vastest of Egyptian sanctuaries, measuring about 1,000 feet from end to end. Its *temenos* wall was the work of Pisebkhennu I of the XXIst Dynasty (c. 1050 B.C.), and the hugeness of its scale testifies to the greatness of the building which it encircled. Its total length was about 3,500 feet, its thickness 80 feet, and its probable height 45 feet. (It still stands to a height of some 25 feet.) A moderate estimate gives the number of bricks used in its construction at twenty million, and each one of these was stamped with the name of Pisebkhennu.

Public interest was chiefly captured by the account of the enormous colossus of Ramses II, of which fragments were discovered. From measurements of these, it was computed that the statue, of red granite, originally stood 92 feet high from head to foot, and weighed about 900 tons. It was thus the tallest colossus ever erected, but perhaps not the heaviest, as the sitting colossus of Ramses, at the Ramesseum, Thebes, is computed to have

weighed not less than 1,000 tons. The great toe of this monstrous statue was as large as a man's body. Whatever may be one's opinion of the overweening pride of the man who erected such a memorial of himself in the temple of his god, dwarfing everything else, nothing but wonder and admiration can be felt for the engineering genius which extracted such a mass from the quarry at Aswân, floated it down the hundreds of miles between Aswân and Tanis, and set it up successfully in its place.

Other work of Ramses in the temple was not so praiseworthy. Always a great appropriator of the work of other men, he and his son Menepthah excelled themselves in this respect at Tanis, and mercilessly inscribed their own cartouches on the noble statues of earlier ages which he had brought from Upper Egypt to adorn his Delta capital. Some of these, particularly the powerful sphinxes, were for a time attributed to the Hyksos Pharaohs, and were thought to exhibit the physical type of these conquerors; but it is now more or less agreed that they really belong to the XIIth Dynasty, and the name most generally associated with them is that of Amenemhêt III. Two fine statues in grey granite, however, belong to the usurping Pharaoh Mermeshau, of the XIIIth Dynasty. They have been surcharged by a Hyksos king Apepa and bear his cartouche on the right shoulder. Another fragment of what must have been a fine statue in red granite belonged to Sebekhotpe IV, also of the XIIIth Dynasty, so that Tanis has made notable contributions towards the illustration of the obscure period between the collapse of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos invasion.

Besides the results from the temple area, over one hundred and fifty papyri were discovered, which although carbonized, could still be read by reflected light. The chief objects discovered by excavation have now been removed to Cairo, and Tanis is left devoid of many of its most interesting features. The ruins of the great temple are now pretty much in the same state of indescribable confusion which is shown in Petrie's photographs of the scene of his earliest mission for the Egypt Exploration Fund, save that the plums have been extracted from the pudding.

From Tanis, the traveller may journey about 8 miles across country to Nabasha, south-east from the greater city, or he may continue his railway journey from Faqûs to El-Salihiya, whence a journey of somewhat similar length (with the crossing of several

canals) will bring him to the mound. When Sir Flinders Petrie's attention was directed to it while he was at Tanis in 1884, by the report of a great stone there, and when he returned to it in 1886 for purposes of excavation, he found the approach to the place to be such as might deter any but the most eager archaeologist. He had three miles of wading to accomplish from the spot where he was put ashore, before he reached his destination. Mr. Griffith, who was his fellow-worker, had still worse swamps to cross, with a deep canal which had to be swum. Since then, conditions may have much improved; but Nabasha is still by no means one of the most accessible of sites.

The mound of Nabasha has as its other local name the title of *Ras Fara'un*, 'Pharaoh's Head', or *Tág Fara'un*, 'Pharaoh's Crown', owing to the fact that a great monolith shrine of the Pharaoh Ahmôse of the XXVIth Dynasty stood there. The remains discovered by Petrie indicated that the city of Am or Yemet had been of importance as far back as the XIIth Dynasty. The temple of the city was dedicated to the goddess Wazet (Uto), the patron goddess of Buto, and the patroness of the Pharaohs. It was completely reconstructed by Ramses II, who set up a fine black granite statue of the goddess. His son Menepthah continued to honour the place, and contributed the unusual gift of a free-standing column in red granite. Neglected for a long time Nabasha was again favoured by the alert and active Ahmôse of the XXVIth Dynasty. Finding that the old temple was in too ruinous condition to be worth rebuilding, he substituted for it a new and smaller temple at right angles to the old one. He used up the best materials of the old temple in the construction of the new, and, bringing over the magnificent black granite statue of the goddess, he established it in a splendid monolith shrine of red granite, weighing some 58 tons. It was this huge monolith which gave to the mound its local name of Pharaoh's Head or Crown, the Arabs imagining that the rounded top of the shrine was the top of the great statue.

Tombs of the XIXth, XXth, and subsequent dynasties were found in the cemetery; but the most interesting feature of this part of the excavation was the discovery of a number of Cypriot tombs, belonging to the Greek mercenaries who had been stationed here under the Pharaohs of the XXVIth Dynasty. It can scarcely be said, however, that the mound of Pharaoh's Head at Nabasha is likely to repay a visitor for the trouble incurred in the visiting

of it, though it has its own interest, with regard especially to the later stages of Egyptian history.

Almost due east from Nabasha, and somewhat more than half-way between it and the line of the Suez Canal, lies a much more famous site—that of Tell Dafana, the Daphnae of the Greeks, and the Tahpanhes or Tehaphnehes of Scripture. Dafana is on the whole more accessible, or rather less inaccessible, from El-Qantara Station on the line between Port Said and Ismailia, than from Nabasha, by which route we imagine the visitor to be approaching. But it is extremely unlikely that a traveller from Port Said to Cairo will break his journey, almost before it is well begun, to see even the remains of Psammetichus' old frontier garrison of Greeks. Only an enthusiast, in any case, is likely to visit Tanis and Nabasha; and when his enthusiasm has taken him so far as Nabasha, it is more likely that it will take him on a little farther to Dafana, than that he will interrupt his railway journey at its very start to make an isolated excursion.

Dafana was generally believed to mark the site of the ancient Tahpanhes of Jeremiah xliii, and the Pelusiæ Daphnae of Herodotus; but no attempt had been made to verify this belief until in the spring of 1886 Petrie moved thither from Nabasha, leaving Griffith still at work upon the latter site. On arriving at Daphnae, he found three groups of mounds, of which one was conspicuous, and visible for a great distance 'like a lesser Birs-Nimrud' across the plain. Petrie had come to the site with the idea of the Carian garrison of Psammetichus in his mind, and he was both surprised and interested when, on asking of the Arabs the local name of this mound, he found that it was *Qasr Bint el-Yahûdi*, 'The Castle [or palace] of the Jew's Daughter'. This at once brought the Biblical reference to his mind, and it was with both ideas floating in his brain that he began his work (see Petrie, *Tanis II (Nebesheh and Defenneh)*).

The statements of Herodotus about the place are two. In the first place he states that 'In the reign of King Psammetichus garrisons were stationed at Elephantine against the Ethiopians, and another at the Pelusiæ Daphnae against the Arabians and Syrians' (ii, 30), making no statement as to the nationality of the soldiers composing the garrisons. Elsewhere (ii, 154), however, he mentions that Psammetichus established garrisons of Ionians and Carians 'near the sea, a little below the city of Bubastis, on that which is called the Pelusiæ mouth of the Nile. . . . These

were the first people of a different language who settled in Egypt.' The second statement is of a very curious type. It recounts how the Pharaoh Sesostriis, who used to be considered to be Ramses II, but is now more generally regarded as having been Senusret III of the XIIth Dynasty, was nearly burned alive at the Pelusiac Daphnae through the treachery of his own brother, and only escaped with his life by sacrificing the lives of two of his six sons, who made a living bridge with their bodies across the flame, over which the Pharaoh and the rest of his family escaped (ii, 107).

The Biblical statement is less romantic, and probably more reliable. It says (Jeremiah xliii, 5, 7): 'But Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the captains of the forces, took all the remnant of Judah . . . and Jeremiah the prophet, and Baruch the son of Neriah. So they came into the land of Egypt: for they obeyed not the voice of the Lord. Thus came they even to Tahpanhes.' Jeremiah then goes on to tell us of the denunciation of evil which he was commanded to make against the refugees for their disobedience. 'Then came the word of the Lord to Jeremiah in Tahpanhes, saying, Take great stones in thine hand, and hide them in the clay in the brick-kiln, which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house at Tahpanhes, in the sight of the men of Judah', etc. The reading 'brick-kiln' is obviously suspicious, as it is extremely improbable that a brick-kiln would be found at the 'entry of Pharaoh's house', even if the house were only a frontier fortress. Accordingly we are not surprised to find that the Revised Version reads 'brickwork' in place of 'brick-kiln', and that the margin reads, 'lay them with mortar in the pavement (or square)'.

Excavation soon provided the key both to the Herodotean statement about the Greek garrison, and to the question of what was the 'brick-kiln', 'brickwork', or 'pavement' at the entry of Pharaoh's house at Tahpanhes. The chief mound, the *Qasr Bint el-Yahûdi*, proved to cover the remains of what had once been a strong fortress guarding the eastern frontier. It had been built on the top of a great mass of brickwork, which was honey-combed with domed cells of a type similar to the so-called 'store-chambers' found at Pithom; and these sustained the actual superstructure, in which the garrison lived, at a height of forty feet above the plain, so that the sentries had an unobstructed view for many miles round. A great girdle-wall, 40 feet thick,

and once probably as many high, surrounded the whole position ; and in the midst of the enclosure rose the strong keep of the fort, a rectangular brick building, with a flanking tower, probably of lesser height, at right-angles to one of its sides. The discovery, beneath the foundations of the fort, of a foundation-deposit, bearing the name of Psammetichus, was conclusive as to the date of its establishment in its final state. This must have been due, as Herodotus says, to Psammetichus, who settled here one garrison of his ' brazen men from the sea ', to keep watch for him upon the eastern access to the Delta, as their companions were doing at Naucratis over the western approach. There were traces, however, of an earlier building than Psammetichus' on the site, in the shape of bricks of the Ramesside period, which may hint that the story told by Herodotus as to the treacherous attack at Daphnae upon Sesostris may refer, after all, to Ramses II, and not to Senusret III.

Perhaps the most dramatic incident of the excavations was the discovery of what it is possible that Jeremiah may have meant when he spoke of the ' brickwork ', or ' pavement ', ' which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house '. The entrance to the fort was not in the main keep, but in the annexe at right-angles to it, where there was a door with a stairway leading up to it. Parallel with this stairway, and also projecting from the main tower, as the annexe does, there was found a large platform of brickwork, suitable for loading or unloading baggage-trains, pitching tents, and other work connected with the garrison. It was simply a glorified edition of what the modern *fellah* calls a *mastaba*, and was obviously suitable for such a purpose as that of the building in of the witness-stones which was commanded to Jeremiah. It was entirely probable that Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, if and when he invaded Egypt, would pitch his royal tent precisely on such a spot as this in front of the great frontier stronghold which he had captured, just as Jeremiah foresaw—though whether the prophecy was or was not fulfilled we have no means of saying, as no evidence exists at present that Nebuchadnezzar's supposed invasion of Egypt ever amounted to anything. The interest of the discovery simply lies in the illustration which it affords of the line which Jeremiah's parabolic action probably took, not in any supposed ' confirmation ' of his prophecy ; for it is quite obvious that even if Petrie had discovered in the platform the actual stones which Jeremiah had hidden, we should have been

no further forward, in the absence of other direct evidence of Nebuchadnezzar's action, in the way of being able to say that Jeremiah's prophecy had been fulfilled.

Here it may be advisable to digress for a little, and consider the question of the 'confirmation' of records, sacred or profane, by excavation. Nothing is more common than the belief that excavation, especially upon Biblical sites, is carried on mainly for the purpose of finding either confirmation of the Scriptural records, or else contradiction of them ; and nothing can be farther from the truth than such an idea. It is not difficult to see that if an excavator enters upon his work at any site when the definite object of either proving or disproving some particular statement, he is in exactly the position of a special pleader, who accepts the statement of his client's honesty, and then hunts about for evidence to prove it. Evidence obtained on such a footing is liable, either in the law courts or in the archaeological world, to be gravely suspect, and the excavator who sets out either to confirm or disprove a particular statement, in the Bible or in a profane historian, is, Professor Macalister has put it, ' the most useless of men '.

What the excavator ought to seek in dealing with any site, and what the true excavator will always seek, is the bare facts, whether they confirm or disprove his favourite author or authors. If he has any less austere motive in his mind, by so much the less is his work likely to be valuable in the end ; if he allows his eagerness for the proving of any statements to interfere with strict truthfulness in the arranging or discussion of the results of his work, he becomes archaeologically speaking, a criminal, who is corrupting the springs of truth. The excavator has no business with whether his results prove or disprove the Bible, or any other writing—his only business is to find out what are the facts as they are declared on the site with which he is dealing. It is, therefore, the merest nonsense to talk, as so many people who ought to know better do, of the results of Eastern excavation having been conclusive with regard to the accuracy of the Scriptural record ; just as it is the merest nonsense to talk of the Scriptural record having been disproved by them. To quote again Professor Macalister, who has done such splendid work upon Palestinian sites : ' The Biblical record, like any other literary document, must stand or fall on its own merits. It cannot be either authenticated or disproved, as a whole, by excavation. In minor points of detail

it can be corroborated, or it can be corrected. . . . What we gain from excavation is illustration, rather than confirmation.'

To take a case in point. The recent excavations of Mr. Leonard Woolley at Ur have given us the remarkably perfect remains of harps which were used in Abraham's old city perhaps fifteen hundred years before Abraham was born. So complete are the remains that it has been possible to reconstruct the harps with a reasonable certainty that they were indeed built exactly, or nearly so, upon such a pattern. Conclusive evidence of the fact that harps existed, and that consequently a taste for music existed, among the Sumerians of Ur at this early date. Supposing that excavations in Jerusalem were to bring to light another harp, bearing an inscription which proclaimed it to have belonged to David. Immediately, of course, there would be a chorus of worthy people insisting that this discovery proved that David wrote every work of the Psalter which goes by his name, and that there was no hope of salvation for any one who believed otherwise.

Of course, as is perfectly manifest to every reasonable person, the discovery proves nothing of the sort. If the harp is genuine, and contemporary with David, and if the inscription on it is also genuine and contemporary (two very large and important 'ifs'), then what it does prove is that David was, in all probability, fond of music, fond enough of it, in fact, to possess a harp of his own, that music in the Palestine of his day was more or less advanced, according to the character of the instrument discovered, and that such a story as that which pictures the future king of Israel as playing on the harp before King Saul has no intrinsic improbability in it. Needless to say, it does not take you a single step farther in the direction of proving that David wrote a single word of the Psalms; all that it can do in this direction is to suggest the possibility that a man who was fond enough of music to own a harp *might* also have a taste in the direction of writing songs to be sung to the music of the harp.

Indeed the striking thing about excavation of sites in Biblical lands is the almost total absence of any direct evidence bearing upon the Scriptural record, and the doubtful interpretation to be assigned to the few cases of direct witness that exist. The most striking illustration of this point is Petrie's discovery, in 1896, of the famous Meneptah stele on which direct mention is made of Israel. Here was a discovery such as had been longed for during many years by those who think that such things are the

only prizes of excavation worth seeking—a positive mention of Israelites dwelling in Palestine. Yet the result of this discovery has merely been to render confusion worse confounded, to make it extremely difficult to hold to traditional views as to the date of the Exodus, and, so far as can be judged in the meantime, to suggest that the Biblical account of the early story of Israel, and particularly of the Exodus, is only a fraction of a far larger story which has yet to be fully disclosed.

Indeed it cannot be too plainly stated that no one has the right to say that any single Scriptural statement has as yet been either proved or disproved by the results of excavation. Certain illustrations, of greater or less importance and cogency, have been afforded as to the possibility or even the probability of the truth of certain statements. Farther than this it is impossible to go ; and the man who asserts the contrary is doing harm to the cause of Scriptural truth, rather than helping it, by making statements which every one who knows the actual facts knows to be either inaccurate or greatly exaggerated. The amount of twisting of archaeological facts that has been done by well-meaning but mistaken Uzzans in the supposed interests of a verbally inspired Bible is indeed a testimony to the truth and vitality of the Scriptures, which have survived and continue to survive even such ill-judged support.

All this may seem disappointing to people whose interest in Biblical truth is deep and sincere, and who have been brought up in the mistaken idea that with every spadeful of earth the excavator was almost bound to turn up confirmation of the statements of the Bible. Yet it is the plain truth ; and the most elementary consideration of the facts should make its reasonableness manifest. To begin with, excavation in a land of such a changeable climate as Palestine, a land which never was, during its whole history, the seat of a great monarchy or of an original culture, a land which has been ravaged by war as no other land on earth has been ravaged, can scarcely, even at the best, be expected to yield results of anything like the importance of those attained in lands like Egypt and Mesopotamia, which have been the seats of great and long-enduring empires, and which (at least in the case of Egypt) possess climates so much more suitable to the preservation of the relics of past splendours. It must also be borne in mind, that excavation in Palestine is still in its infancy.

Further, the very greatness and richness of the more important

lands, such as Egypt and Mesopotamia, which have yielded such rich harvests to the archaeologist, render it highly improbable that we shall ever discover in them such in the way of direct reference, either to Biblical lands, or to Biblical history. Palestine, large as it may bulk in our eyes, owing to its supremacy in the religious history of the race, meant comparatively little to the great empires. To Egypt, at best, it was merely a somewhat troublesome corner of a great empire ; to Babylon or Nineveh, it was scarcely ever even that, but rather only a stubborn and persistent fomentor of trouble. To all of them, by far its greatest importance was merely that of being the bridge by which they could either attack or trade with one another. The great empires had more to think of than little Palestine, which yet has surpassed them all in its vital importance to the world.

Illustrations, as I have said already, we have got, and shall continue to get—some of them, no doubt, sufficiently striking—but it is in the last degree improbable that direct confirmation of the Biblical records will be forthcoming from any site of the Near East save a Palestinian one, and not very likely that it will be forthcoming even thence. It may be a disappointment ; but it is the truth. Perhaps, it may occur to us on reflection that if the Biblical records are not able to stand on their own merits, it is not likely that archaeological crutches will prove of much service to them.

Meanwhile Daphnae is still waiting for our return from this long digression, which was due after all, in the beginning, to the ' confirmation ' of Jeremiah's prophecy, which, as we have seen, confirms nothing, though it illustrates much.

Apart from the interesting relics of the stronghold, Petrie discovered abundant evidence of Greek occupation in the shape of sherds of Greek pottery. The curious thing about the Daphniote pottery was that while it was unquestionably Greek, it was also totally different in style from that of Naucratis, the other garrison-town for the brazen men from the sea. The Daphniote vases closely followed Egyptian metal types in their shape, adhering, however, to many of the characteristic Greek motives in decoration, though Egyptian motives were also sometimes used. A magnificent vase was found (in ninety-nine fragments) in one of the passages of the fort. It was decorated with figures of Boreas and Typhon, and had apparently been designed as a present to the provincial governor, or perhaps even to the Pharaoh,

on a visit to the place. Daphnae is one of the few cities of Egypt which can be dated almost exactly both in respect of its origin and its fall. It was established by Psammetichus in 665 B.C. It was abandoned in 564 B.C. when Ahmôse decreed that Naucratis should be the Greek Treaty Port alone. The evidence of the pottery found on the site agrees remarkably with this dating, as the Greek pottery of the place ceases somewhere before the introduction of the red-figured ware, which dates from about 490 B.C.

We have supposed the traveller to approach Daphnae from Nabasha ; and it is perhaps improbable that it will be approached from any other direction, as it is scarcely likely that any one but a conscientious person intent on adding another *tell* to his bag will ever approach it at all. It may be mentioned, however, that the old Greek fortress can be reached from El-Qantara on donkey-back in about $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 hours. As in the case of Tanis and Nabasha, there is little to be seen that is either intelligible or interesting to the casual visitor.

Travelling by the line from Cairo to Mansûra, instead of branching off at Abu Kebir as we did to reach Tanis, Nabasha and Daphnae, we continue directly to Simbillâwein, $79\frac{1}{2}$ miles out from Cairo. Six miles to the north-east of the station lie two mounds marking the sites of famous ancient cities. The more northerly of the two is now called Tell el-Rub', while the more southerly is called Tell Timai el-Amdid, a name which preserves the classical names Thmuis and Mendes, the latter of which is the equivalent of the Egyptian *Ba-neb-Dêdi*. The god worshipped at the two towns, which were united before the Ptolemaic period, was Amen-Rê, in the form of the sacred ram ; but the ancient name of Mendes points to an earlier worship, in which a primitive deity was worshipped under his emblem of the Pillar or Tet (Ded or Dadu), afterwards appropriated into the Osirian worship, and accepted as representing the backbone of the dismembered Osiris, and used everywhere in Egypt as an amulet representing and conferring strength or stability. The Mendesian ram is one of the most famous examples of what is somewhat unfairly called Egyptian Animal Worship, in which the animal was really only worshipped as the emblem of the god whom he represented, though, of course, it is more than probable that the less instructed worshippers, always the majority, saw in the animal not the emblem of the god, but the god himself.

In the time of the XXVIth Dynasty, the Pharaoh Ahmôse

dedicated to the sacred ram of Mendes one of the huge monolith shrines which were so popular at this time. The Mendes shrine was 23 feet high and is still in existence. A great memorial stele is also still extant which the priests of Mendes set up in their temple to commemorate a visit which was paid to it by the Pharaoh Ptolemy II and his wife Arsinoë. The inscription states that the visit was paid soon after the king's accession, so that the ram of Mendes was the first sacred animal worshipped by His Majesty—a fact on which the priests obviously prided themselves. Ptolemy sailed on the sacred lake of the temple in the bark of the god, commanded the temple to be rebuilt, and 'returned to his place of residence, full of joy concerning that which he had done for his fathers the very great living rams of Mendes'. Later, after the death of Queen Arsinoë, who had been high-priestess of the sacred ram, funerary services were instituted in her honour, and Mendes was exempted by the king from certain taxes. The rebuilding of the temple was completed in the twenty-first year of Ptolemy, and to crown all a new sacred ram was discovered which fulfilled all the requirements of the sacred writings. It was accordingly installed under the title: 'Living Soul of Rê, Living Soul of Shu, Living Soul of Gêb, and Living Soul of Osiris', and the statue of the late Queen Arsinoë was honoured by being placed next to the sacred ram in the procession. The actual ruins of Thmuis and Mendes are scarcely worth the trouble of a visit in their present condition; but their history is interesting as an example of a peculiarly Egyptian attitude of mind towards religion.

On the other side of the Damietta branch of the Nile, and at a distance of about 13 miles west of Simbillâwein, the city of Busiris once stood close to the river. Busiris was famous as being the place where the backbone of Osiris was fabled to have been buried. A passion-play, 'The Setting-Up of the Backbone of Osiris' was therefore performed here, just as there was another at Abydos, where the god's head was said to be buried. The city, as was natural, also revered Isis, as the devoted wife of Osiris; and Herodotus has informed us that at the great feast at Busiris 'all the men and women, to the number of many ten thousands, beat themselves after the sacrifice'. 'But,' he goes on to say, preserving his customary reticence where the rites of Osiris are concerned, 'for whom they beat themselves it were impious for me to divulge' (ii, 61).

One or two other sites of ancient fame may be reached from the Tanta-Mansûra-Damietta line, which passes through what is perhaps one of the most beautiful parts of the Delta. Near Mit Ghamr, lies Tell el-Muqdâm, which has a ruined temple dating from the time of Osorkon II of the XXIInd Dynasty—that is to say, in Ancient Egyptian matters, from the day before yesterday. Farther on, at Samannûd, north of the station of this town of over 14,000 inhabitants, lies all that is left (not very much) of the city of Sebennytyos (Egyptian *Tjeb-nûter*), a city whose memory should be revered by every student of Egyptian history as having been the native town of Manetho, the Egyptian historian who gave us the Thirty Dynasties as a framework within which to fit the facts of the story of Ancient Egypt. It has been the fashion within the last generation (not so much of recent years) to deride Manetho as an historian. Sebennytyos, however, has a claim to honour from all—from those who believe in Manetho, as having given him to the world; from those who do not believe in him, as having provided them with a useful whipping-boy, and an object on which to sharpen their pens. Manetho's memory, however, is not supported, at his native place, by any remains worth mentioning.

Four miles from Samannûd, we reach Mit Assâs, and two and a half miles northwards from Mit Assâs we come to a spot which rejoices in the name of Bahbît el-Higâra. This is the Roman *Iseum* or *Isidis Oppidum*, which was known to the Egyptians as *Per-Ehbêt*. Though its Roman name associates the place with Isis, the complete Osirian Triad, Osiris, Isis, and Horus, was worshipped here. The Iseum is more fortunate than most of the Delta sites in that it still preserves some not inconsiderable remnants of its ancient temple. The temple was built at a very late stage in dynastic history by Nectanebis I of the XXXth Dynasty, and later by Ptolemy Philadelphus. There are still some remains of the *temenos* wall of crude brick, within which lie the ruins of what must once have been a considerable temple. These consist mainly of grey and red granite—a characteristic of the Delta buildings of Nectanebis which must have made his work very costly and laborious, as the red granite had to be brought from Aswân, at the other end of the kingdom.

The surviving reliefs are all of Ptolemaic work, and represent the king offering incense to Isis, and making grants of land to Osiris and Isis. Fragments of columns, architraves, etc., lie around.

The sacred lake of the temple, on which the bark of the god or gods used to sail, still lies to the north-west of the ruins. Altogether the Iseum has more to offer to the visitor than most sites in the Delta; but it should be recognized that all is of very late type, and by no means so interesting as work of an earlier date.

Altogether the Delta, as a hunting-ground for the traveller who wishes to see the ruins of ancient Egyptian greatness, must be pronounced a disappointment; and unless his interest in the details of Egyptian history and civilization is both deep and enthusiastic, he would be better advised to leave the Delta sites alone, in the meantime, at all events, and form his first impressions from sites where the remains are still such as to impress the senses and the mind at once with the greatness of the civilization which reared such monuments. Yet the Delta, in spite of the disastrous condition of its ancient ruins, has not only its own present beauty, but its own impressiveness as a witness to the abounding life and energy of these ancient days which here have left above ground so few evidences of their existence which can for a moment compare with the ruins of the great cities of Middle and Upper Egypt.

An ancient Egyptian Pharaoh of the disturbed period between the Old Kingdom and the Middle Kingdom has put upon record, in his instruction for his son, what he considered to be the true policy for the maintenance of peace and prosperity in the Delta. 'Build towns in the Delta,' he said. 'A man's name will not be small through what he has done, and an inhabited city is not harmed. Build towns!' Succeeding Pharaohs evidently followed whole-heartedly the advice of King Khety. In its prosperous days the Delta must have swarmed with towns and cities, and borne an exceedingly large population, as is evidenced by its multitudes of mounds, which, while few of them repay a visit now, or are ever likely to be excavated in this generation, are yet impressive by their very number.

'These giant ant-hills,' writes Miss Amelia Edwards, in her charming *Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers*, 'are scattered all over the face of the country, and thickest of all in the Delta. They are the first objects that excite the traveller's curiosity when he turns his back upon Alexandria and his face towards Cairo. He looks out of the window of the railway-carriage, and yonder, a mile or two off, in the midst of the cotton-fields, he sees a huge, irregular brown tumulus, some fifty or sixty feet in height, perfectly bare of vegetation, which looks as if it might cover

fifteen or twenty acres of ground. This strange apparition is no sooner left behind than two or three more, some smaller, some larger, come into sight ; and so on all the way to Cairo. At first he can scarcely believe that each contains the dead bones of an ancient town. When he comes to travel farther and know the country better, he discovers that these mounds are to be reckoned not by scores, but by hundreds. So numerous are they that many a district of the Delta, if modelled in relief, might be taken for a raised map of some volcanic centre, such as the chain of the Puy de Dôme, in Auvergne.'

It is this singularly impressive feature of the Delta landscape which speaks to the visitor, far more than the pitiful relics of the cities which have been actually unveiled by excavation, of the greatness and the overflowing activity of Ancient Egypt ; so that while he may never break his journey to see what little exploration has revealed of ancient days from the depths of such mounds, he carries away with him the sense of never having such able to escape from the overshadowing presence of a splendid past.

BOOK II—CAIRO AND ENVIRONS TO THE FAIYÛM

CHAPTER IV

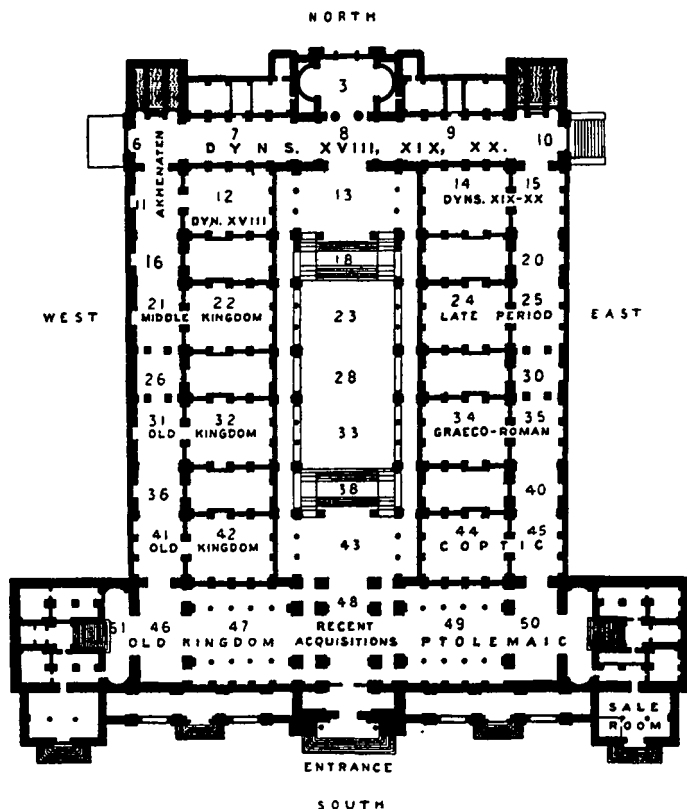
THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM AT CAIRO—I

THE great city of Cairo lies entirely beyond the scope of this volume, and those who wish information with regard to its history, its citadel, its university, its mosques, its bazaars, and the tombs of its Caliphs must consult Baedeker or Cook's Handbook, or, if they wish to pursue the subject farther, some of the many monographs on Arab art and architecture. One feature of the city, however, can by no means be omitted in any survey of Egyptian antiquities; for the great Museum of Egyptian antiquities, though it is still in some aspects unworthy of the object for which it was created, contains a treasure of Ancient Egyptian art and craftsmanship which is absolutely priceless, and unrivalled anywhere else in the world. On the whole, it may be said that the finest specimens of all the best periods of Egyptian art are housed here, though some of the great museums of Europe and America may possess individual examples which rival anything that Cairo can show. The history of the establishment and growth of the Museum is in itself of great interest, and it may be worth while to devote a little of our time to it, in order that we may be able to appreciate the difficulties through which this great assemblage of treasures of the past has struggled to its present position.

In the front garden of the Museum stands a semicircular alcove of white marble. In the centre of its front, at the head of a range of steps, rises a bronze statue, above a great marble sarcophagus, inscribed with the single word *MARIETTE*, and the two dates, 1821-1881. Some time ago, so Sir Gaston Maspero tells us, a distinguished personage, whom the great Egyptologist has mercifully omitted to name, noticing the statue and sarcophagus, asked whether it was a Pharaoh or a modern celebrity who lay

CAIRO MUSEUM

there. 'It is the founder of our Museum,' said Maspero. The distinguished personage approached, and read the inscription. 'Mariette,' he said. 'I did not know that the founder of the



Museum was a woman.' Such is fame, even in the land where fame has endured longer than in any other land on earth. It may be hoped that few who visit the Cairo Museum will be so densely ignorant as the 'person of importance' whom Maspero has so

quaintly immortalized ; but as the Museum might never have existed but for Mariette, and is indeed his best memorial, a brief sketch of his work in Egypt seems in place.

Auguste Mariette was born at Boulogne in February, 1821. He became a supernumerary assistant in the Egyptian Department of the Museum of the Louvre in 1849, and in the following year was sent out to Egypt ostensibly with a view to the purchase of Coptic manuscripts. His eager mind was, however, soon diverted from such small game as Coptic manuscripts by the sight of a sphinx's head protruding from the sand at Saqqâra. The situation of the sphinx, and its resemblance to a series of sphinxes which he had already noticed in various gardens at Cairo, recalled to his mind the passage from Strabo which describes the Serapeum at Memphis, in which the dead bodies of the sacred Apis bulls were buried. At once Coptic manuscripts were flung to the winds, and Mariette concentrated all his powers, and lavished all his funds, on the excavation of the Serapeum, with triumphant results, which we shall see at closer range ere long. The first intimation which his employers at Paris had of their representative's change of programme was the announcement of the discovery of the Serapeum, coupled with the information that the funds with which he had been supplied for the purchase of the manuscripts had been exhausted, and that he requested a further supply.

This resounding discovery made his name famous, and also secured him the hatred and jealousy of all the tomb-robbers, and antiquity-merchants of Egypt. The treasures of the land were at this time being exploited in the most shameless and wasteful fashion by a horde of unauthorized excavators, whose methods may be read of in such books as Belzoni's narrative. A few of the excavators of the time, such as Passalacqua, and, to a certain extent, Belzoni himself, made some attempt at scientific method in their work ; but for the most part they were simply pillagers, whose sole object was to enrich themselves by selling to European museums the antiquities of which they had robbed Egypt. Mariette's methods of excavation have been frequently and justly criticized ; but at least it ought to be recognized that he had realized, and that at a time when such an idea had scarcely dawned upon other people, that the right place for a collection of the antiquities of Ancient Egypt was Egypt itself, and that he never ceased to uphold this ideal, and to urge it in season and

out of season, until at last he saw the establishment, not indeed of the present Museum, still less of the ideal dream Museum for which he longed, but at least of such an instalment of his plan as rendered its final accomplishment a certainty.

He was appointed Director of the Service of Antiquities in 1858, mainly through the insistence of M. de Lesseps, of Suez Canal fame, and the influence of the Emperor Napoleon III. Said Pasha, who appointed him, was in need of French goodwill and cash, and, as Maspero caustically puts it, 'he came to the conclusion that he would be more acceptable to the Emperor if he made some show of taking pity on the Pharaohs'. With great difficulty, the new Director succeeded in securing the first instalment of his great plan, in the shape of the ancient offices at Bulâq of the Compagnie Fluviale which were to serve as a museum in which to store the treasures which his somewhat indiscriminate energy was rapidly accumulating. The buildings were wretched to a degree, 'a deserted mosque, whose buildings were half dismantled, some filthy sheds, a dwelling-house infested with vermin', in which he lived himself. He made the best of a bad job; but the establishment was utterly inadequate for the safe housing, to say nothing of the proper exhibition, of the treasures with which it was speedily overcrowded. The finding, in 1859, of the coffin and funeral equipment of Queen Ah-hotpe, of the XVIIIth Dynasty, convinced Said Pasha that there was actually something in Egyptian excavation more precious than old stones, and Mariette gradually succeeded in getting the affairs of his Museum on a surer foundation; but up to the date of his death in 1881, his work was always more or less at the mercy of his capricious and extravagant masters, Said and Ismail, who were always getting up to the neck in debt. and always wished to regard Mariette's precious collections as a kind of pawnbroker's pledge, which they might offer as security for any loan which they might wish to negotiate with European financiers.

Gigantic promises were made by Ismail of a magnificent edifice which was to be erected in the Ezbekiyya Garden, at the very centre of Cairo, and which was to contain, not only the Ancient Egyptian Museum, but also a museum of Graeco-Egyptian art, one of Arab art, an Egyptian Institute, and a Library; but promise and performance were two different things, and Mariette wisely went on steadily with the enlargement and improvement of his old quarters at Bulâq. In 1863 his improved

Bulâq was formally opened by Ismail Pasha, though the Viceroy's Oriental horror of contact with death prevented him from actually entering a building in which there were mummies of dead Egyptian dignitaries. Four years later, the anxious Director had to do battle for the magnificent collection of antiquities, embracing almost all the chief gems of his collection, which had been sent as an exhibit to the Universal Exposition at Paris. The Empress Eugénie took a fancy to the splendid treasure, and begged it of Ismail. The Viceroy, hard up as usual, dared not directly refuse her: but his gift was made subject to the consent of Mariette. 'There is', said he, 'one more powerful than myself at Bulâq; it is to him that you must address your request.' Mariette, however, was brave and stubborn enough to resist even Imperial blandishments, and, to his honour, he kept his treasures for the Museum, and forfeited the favour of his Emperor.

In 1878 an unusually high Nile flooded out the galleries at Bulâq, and a large amount of new constructional work had to be done there, as money was not yet forthcoming for the new Museum. Scarcely had things been restored to comparative security, when Mariette was stricken down by the mortal disease from which he died. It is pathetic to read the words in which Maspero describes the last hours of the great pioneer. 'In the delirium of his death-agony, he saw rising before him the ideal Museum which he had coveted all his life: during one half-hour, the evening before his death, he imagined that he saw his dream realized, and the incoherent words which fell from his lips revealed to those who were present the intensity of this last joy' (*Guide*, p. xx). His last hours of consciousness were brightened by the news of an unexpected triumph, when Maspero was able to tell him that he had penetrated into one of the pyramids of Saqqâra, which he had always believed to be uninscribed, like their greater neighbours at Gîza, and had found there the inscriptions now known as *The Pyramid Texts*.

Mariette's methods of work were always somewhat slapdash and wasteful, as was to be expected in the case of a man who was living, as an excavator, from hand to mouth, and never knew when his supplies might be cut off by the caprice of Said or Ismail. In his eagerness to secure good Museum pieces, as additional arguments for the establishment of his Museum, he carried on excavations at so many places simultaneously that it was utterly impossible for him to exercise proper supervision at any of them.

Further, he seldom or never published any systematic account of his work on any site, so that almost all his results have hanging round them the doubts and questionings which inevitably attend work thus imperfectly recorded. Yet, in spite of all these deadly sins against the laws of scientific excavation, the fact remains that it was he who established the reality that the treasures of Ancient Egypt were not to be left to become the prey of covetous outsiders, but were to be kept together in an adequate Museum in the land of their origin, and that it was he who succeeded in persuading the careless rulers of the country to take the first steps to establish such a Museum. Ten years after his death, the Museum was transferred from Bulâq to Gîza, and eleven years later still (1920) to Qasrel-Nil, where they were housed in the present somewhat fantastic building, the work of the French architect M. Dourgnon.

Mariette died on the 18th January, 1881, and was succeeded by the late Sir Gaston Maspero, whose great work *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient Classique*, translated into English as *The Dawn of Civilization, The Struggle of the Nations, and The Passing of the Empires*, has made his name known over all the world. In 1886, Maspero resigned, and was succeeded by M. Grébaut, under whose rule the Museum was removed from Bulâq to the Palace of Gîza, on the western bank of the Nile, opposite the Island of Rôda. In 1892, M. Grébaut was followed by M. J. de Morgan the discoverer of the famous Treasure of Dahshûr, excavator of Susa, and well-known authority on prehistoric times and men. Since his resignation of his Egyptian office in 1897, M. de Morgan's most famous discovery has been that of the Law-Code of Hammurabi of Babylon, now in the Louvre. M. Victor Loret, who succeeded de Morgan for two years, is best known as the opener of the Tomb of Amenophis II, son of Tuthmosis III, whose place had been indicated to him on native information. Upon M. Loret's resignation in 1899, Maspero returned to his former post as Director of the Museum and Director-General of the Department of Antiquities, which he continued to hold, with very happy results, until 1914, when he resigned, dying two years later in Paris. During his second tenure of office, it fell to him to carry out the tremendous task of the removal from the Palace of Gîza to the present Museum. He was succeeded by the present Director-General, M. P. Lacau, well known for his editions of many Egyptian texts. The Chief Keeper

of the Museum is Mr. R. Engelbach, and the Secretary-General is M. Henri Gauthier.

For long Maspero's well-known *Guide* held the field as an account of the treasures of the Museum; but it is now out of print, and, in any case, no longer covers the whole ground, as so many acquisitions have been made since its publication. Moreover, the whole Museum has lately been rearranged, the rooms are now numbered instead of being lettered, though the letters are still kept in place in the meantime to suit the convenience of users of guide-books which have the old arrangement. The Akhenaten exhibits are now gathered in one room on the ground-floor (G 6),¹ and the Yuya and Thuyu objects in U 13. The Tutankhamûn exhibits occupy the whole of the north and east galleries of the upper floor (U 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 45) and the Hetepheres finds are grouped in U 2; while the royal coffins and mummies (all unwrapped mummies being now withdrawn from public view) occupy U 46, 47; and the coffins of the priests of Amûn are arranged in U 51, 57. *A Brief Description of the Principal Monuments of the Museum* is published, which costs P.T. 6. (1s. 3d.), and is brought up to date yearly.

It is suggested in this new official description that 'many visitors have no time for more than the Tutankhamûn galleries'; but while this may be true, it is most unfortunate that visitors should only have eyes for the last sensation, and neglect the other wonders which are here displayed. Important as the Tutankhamûn exhibits may be, they are only part of the great revelation of Egyptian art and craftsmanship which the Museum is fitted to make to the observant student, and it is therefore presumed that the visitor will make the tour of the Museum more or less in the historical order of the exhibits, though of course, it is impossible to name and describe more than a minute fraction of these.

Entering the building then by the main entrance, what used to be known as the Rotunda, the Great Gallery, and the Portico of the Four Pillars is now called G 43, 47, 48, 49. Here are to be seen a number of very remarkable pieces of statuary and sarcophagi, mostly of considerable size and weight. Notice the highly characteristic statue of Amenhotpe son of Hapu, No. 3, G 48, who was architect and adviser to Amenophis III (XVIIIth Dynasty), and who in the late period received divine honours, along with

¹ G signifies ground-floor; U upper floor.

Imhôtep, who occupied a similar position in the reign of Zoser (IIIrd Dynasty). This colossal statue should be compared with Nos. 459 and 461, G 12, north. In the centre of the Hall is a magnificent red granite head of a colossus of King Userkaf of the IVth dynasty from Saqqâra (Plate III). Note also the colossal statue of Senusret III (10, G 43) and that of Senusret I in Osirid form (11, G 48, west). Of special interest are Nos. 6 and 9 (G 43), which are two wooden funerary boats from the equipment of Senusret II at Dahshûr. Notice that they are constructed of quite small pieces of wood, rigidity being secured by the thwart. They were, of course, for the use of the dead Pharaoh in the underworld. No. 6025 (G 47, north-east), is one of the great discoveries of recent years. It is the alabaster sarcophagus of Queen Hetepheres, wife of Sneferu, and mother of Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid. It was discovered by Dr. G. A. Reisner in March, 1925, but was only opened on March 3, 1927, when it was found to be empty. No. 6047 (G 47, north-east) is the alabaster Canopic chest, which still holds in three of its compartments some of the fluid (water and soda) in which the queen's viscera were steeped. The rest of this queen's funerary furniture is gathered in U 2. No. 44 (G 47, north) is a great red granite sarcophagus of Khufu-anekh, who was clerk of works in the IVth Dynasty. It is a fine example of the beautiful craftsmanship of the Old Kingdom stone-worker. The dwarf Khnemhotpe (No. 160, G 47, Case B), is more quaint than beautiful. He is of interest, however, as representing a type which seemingly possessed a strong attraction for the Pharaohs, as witness the letter of Pepi II to Herkhuf, concerning his capture of a similar dwarf in the Sudan. Khnemhotpe was priest and overseer of the royal wardrobe the VIth Dynasty. The three groups (Nos. 149, 158, 180, G 47, north) representing King Mycerinus of the IVth Dynasty between Hathor and the guardian deities of the Cynopolite, Theban, and Diospolite (Parva) nomes, are worthy of notice by reason of the delicacy of their modelling. Note the small figures (Nos. 168-173, G 47, Case D), representing servants in various attitudes of service, carrying the master's luggage and sandals, grinding corn, brewing, and the cook shading his face with his hand from the glare of the fire. It is largely owing to such humble representations of ordinary Egyptian life that the past of Ancient Egypt has become more real to us than that of any other land. Attention

should be given to No. 152 (G 47, Case A) which represents a priest of the *Ka* kneeling with joined hands and a look of humility on his face. In G 47, 48, notice Nos. 6171, 6172, the grey granite sarcophagus of Queen Meresankh (late IVth Dynasty) and a relief portrait of the queen from her mastaba (see Reisner, *Bulletin of Museum of Fine Arts*, XXV, No. 157).

We now enter the rooms (Nos. G 41, 42, 36, 31, 32) on the left-hand or western side of the main axis of the Museum. Here are the treasures of the Old Kingdom, which in many respects constitute the chief glory of the Museum. In regard to its Old Kingdom sections, Cairo is absolutely unrivalled in the world, and even the Treasures of Dahshûr, El-Lâhûn, and the Tomb of Tutankhamûn, great as their importance may be, can scarcely pretend to rival the magnificent relics here collected of what is one of the most vigorous periods of Egyptian art. Notice the large and singularly graceful rose-granite columns (Nos. 132, 133, 135, G 42, west) from the funerary temples of Unas and Sahurê, and 79 (G 41, west) and 88 (G 31, west). No. 79 is a scene from a Vth Dynasty tomb at Saqqâra. No. 88 is the group of six magnificent wooden panels from the tomb of Hesirê, of the IIIrd Dynasty, at Saqqâra. The figure of Hesirê is represented with a precision which could scarcely be surpassed.

In G 42 stands what must be looked upon as the supreme masterpiece of Pharaonic portraiture from the Old Kingdom—the great diorite statue of Chephren, the builder of the Second Pyramid (No. 138, G 42, centre). This magnificent example of the art of the portrait-sculptor in the Egypt of nearly five thousand years ago was found by Mariette, along with eight other statues (less well preserved), in a shaft in the antechamber of the valley-temple of the Second Pyramid (the so-called Temple of the Sphinx), where they had been flung pell-mell by destroyers. The king is depicted life-size, and on the back of his throne sits a falcon, which overshadows the royal head with its enfolding wings. Attention will first be arrested by the marvellous technical ability with which the sculptor has overcome the difficulties imposed upon him by the toughness and obduracy of his material; later comes the recognition of the masterly manner in which he has combined portraiture with royal dignity. The diorite Chephren might stand for the type-Pharaoh of all ages; none the less it is obviously a highly individualized personality who is before us. 'The great diorite statue', says Petrie (*History of*

Egypt, I, 70), 'is a marvel of art; the precision of the expression combining what a man should be to win our feelings, and what a king should be to command our regard.'

From royalty we turn to officialdom of the most commonplace type, as represented, with equal skill, in the famous wooden statue, No. 140 (G 42, centre). It is perhaps the best testimony to the superb quality of both the Chephren and this statue that not even incessant reproduction has succeeded in taking the edge off the impression which the originals make upon the visitor. When this astonishing piece of work was discovered by Mariette's workmen at Saqqâra, they recognized in it at once the likeness of the contemporary headman (Sheikh el-Beled) of the village, and the Sheikh el-Beled the statue has remained ever since. The vulgarity and smug self-satisfaction (coupled, however, with no little ability) of the noble has never been more perfectly portrayed than in this wonderfully well-preserved piece, which offers the most effective contrast imaginable with the royal dignity of the Chephren statue. The inserted eyes which give such life-likeness to the round, good-natured face are worth noticing. They are placed within copper rims, which make the eyelids, and give contrast and depth to the eye; the white of the eye is limestone, the cornea is rock crystal, and the head of a copper nail represents the pupil.

The scribe who is represented in No. 141 (G 42, centre), squatting with his open papyrus-roll on his knees, would doubtless win more of our admiration were it not that one instinctively remembers the Sitting Scribe of the Louvre, who is in a class by himself in this kind. That is not to say, however, that the scribe of the Cairo Museum is not what the *Gu.de* calls him 'magnificent'. He is all that, and only suffers by comparison with one who is 'super-magnificent'.

The alabaster statue of Mycerinus, found by Reisner in the funerary temple of the Third Pyramid (157, G 42, centre), and the statue in siliceous limestone of King Zoser, the builder of the Step Pyramid, from the chamber on the north side of the pyramid (6008, G 42, centre) should also be noticed. In G 32, centre, we have in No. 223 two of the most renowned of Old Kingdom statues. The figures are those of the *Prince Rahotpe*, who was high-priest at Heliopolis, and his wife, Nofret, who was a member of the royal family. The statues are of limestone, painted, and were found at Meydûm. They date from the

beginning of the IVth Dynasty. Their fame is well deserved, for they are perhaps the most life-like of all Egyptian statues. The well-preserved colouring accentuates this quality, which is also helped by the inserted eyes, which are here even more elaborately wrought, and with more brilliant result, than those of the Sheikh el-Beled. Maspero assures us that an Italian singer of a past generation resembled Nofret so closely that when her photograph was placed beside that of the statue it was difficult to distinguish between the two, and one can well believe it. Notice, however, the contrast between the anxious care with which the life-like character of the heads has been wrought out, and the comparative neglect of the extremities. This is characteristic of Egyptian portrait-sculpture of the funerary class all through. The head had of necessity to be recognizable, as the *Ka* of the deceased might depend upon its recognizability for a refuge, once the mummy had decayed; the extremities, not being necessary for purposes of recognition, did not matter so much. Accordingly Nofret's ankles (to say nothing of those of her husband, which are past speaking about) are quite impossible for so comely a lady; and the same defect will be found in other famous statues.

Other notable examples of Old Kingdom sculpture here are the two splendid limestone statues of the priest Ranûfer (224, 225, G 32, centre), a typical specimen of the vigorous race of men which was doing the national work under the pyramid-building Pharaohs, and the statue of Ty (229, G 32, centre). In all the same contrast between the finish of the head and the neglect of the extremities, already noticed, may be seen, especially, perhaps, in the case of Ty, where the head is quite admirable, but the rest of the body only very mediocre. Some of the tomb-reliefs here are also very interesting, e.g., the musicians and dancers from a Saqqâra tomb of the Vth Dynasty (G 32, south), the relief of an ape biting a man's leg (G 32, No. 35), and the fighting boatmen (236, G 32, west) who slang each other like bargees; one saying: 'Crack him on his box', and another: 'Split open his back'. These are also from Saqqâra. The stele of Ateti (239, G 32, east), which shows the dead man coming out of his false door to receive the funerary offerings, is a good illustration of the literal faith of the Egyptian in the life after death. Nos. 6010 and 6055 (G 32, north, and G 32, centre) are two other instances of the curious Egyptian fashion of keeping dwarfs, often in responsible positions, about the court. No. 6010 is the niche from the

mastaba of the dwarf Seneb, who was ' Chief of all the Dwarfs of the Wardrobe ' in the Vth Dynasty, and No. 6055 is his statuette. Seneb, who seems to have been of noble birth, married a lady from the royal family, and was a man of considerable substance, who owned 10,015 oxen, 10,000 cows, 12,017 jack-asses, 10,200 she-asses, 10,205 rams, and 10,103 sheep. The odd figures ought to convince even the most sceptical, and a nation which kept Sir Geoffrey Hudson at the Court so late as the seventeenth century has no reason to mock at a precisely similar taste on the part of the Egyptians. No 136 E (G 32, south), the famous and extraordinarily faithful painting of geese feeding, from the tomb of Nefermaet (IVth Dynasty, early) from Mejdûm should be noticed.

Two of the great treasures of the Museum are Nos. 230 and 231, the copper statues of King Pepi I and his son Prince Merenrê (G 32, centre), which Mr. J. E. Quibell discovered at Hieraconpolis. They have been made, partly by casting, and partly by hammering the metal over a wooden core, the eyes have been inserted, and both statues, even in their present mutilated condition, are extremely vigorous pieces of work. Their date may be provisionally put about 2600 B.C. and they are thus somewhat later, perhaps by some six centuries, than the remarkable example of the same style of copper working discovered by Messrs. Hall and Woolley at Al-Ubaid and Ur. On the other hand Babylonia never, throughout its history, either under Sumerian or Semite, produced anything so nearly resembling a man as these copper statues from Hieraconpolis.

We now pass into the rooms (G 26, 21, 22, 16) reserved for examples of Middle Kingdom art and that of the Second Intermediate Period, which includes the time of the Hyksos domination. One is immediately struck by the extraordinary statue in sandstone (painted) of the Pharaoh Mentuhotpe III, who is represented as king of Lower Egypt. The statue is painted with black flesh, crude white costume, and wearing the Red Crown, and the proportions of the lower extremities seem monstrous. ' The whole is savage, but with a deliberate savagery, designed for religious effect ' (Maspero, *Art in Egypt*, Ars Una series, p. 115).

A much more attractive piece of work is the graceful limestone statue of Amenemhêt III, a much be-portraited Pharaoh (if the critics are to be believed). In this portrait, which comes from his

pyramid at Hawâra, the features of this great Pharaoh, usually somewhat stern and harsh, are depicted with a softness and gentleness which suggests that the statue must have been executed in his youth, before care and disappointment had given him the bitter expression so conspicuous in some of the later portraits which are so profusely attributed to him—a notable representation of one of the best and most famous of Egyptian Pharaohs (No. 284, G 26, south).

In G 22 and 21 attention should be given to three remarkable likenesses of Senusret III, the great warrior Pharaoh of the XIIth Dynasty and the conqueror of Nubia. No. 340, G 22, Case A, is a fine head of this king from Madamûd; No. 6149, G 21, east, is one of the very striking statues in dark grey granite which were found in the XIth Dynasty temple of Mentuhotpe III at El-Deir el-Bahari. Three companion statues are now in the British Museum. But the most outstanding portrait of the three, and one of the finest extant examples of Egyptian portrait-sculpture, is No. 6049, a head in dark granite also from Madamûd. 'Lovely though this head of Nefertiti is,' says Mrs. Guy Brunton, referring to the famous painted limestone bust, 'the Medamot head of Senusret III is a much superior work. . . . It has an intimacy unique in Egyptian sculpture, which could only have been obtained by a study from life. . . . It is perhaps the most marvellous psychological study out of Egypt' (*Great Ones of Ancient Egypt*, p. 29). This head alone would make a visit to the Cairo Museum worth while. Note also in the north-west case, No. 6176, the basalt statuette of Khenzer, a little-known Pharaoh of the Late Middle Kingdom.

With No. 280, G 26, we are introduced to a piece of work as strongly contrasted with the essentially forcible portraits of Senusret as it is possible to imagine. King Hor is scarcely known at all, apart from this portrait in wood, and his position in the XIIIth Dynasty is somewhat uncertain; but his statue is at least graceful and attractive. The king is represented as entirely naked, wearing the divine beard, upturned at the tip, and bearing on his head the two outstretched arms of the *Ka*. The workmanship is delicate and skilful; but the piece, however superficially attractive, is merely pretty, and lacks entirely the great quality of the Madamûd head of Senusret.

Conspicuous in the centre of room G 22 is the reconstruction of the burial-chamber of Harhotpe (No. 300), a fine example of the

funerary art of the Middle Kingdom, which may be compared with the examples from Old Kingdom mastabas already referred to. Walls and sarcophagus are covered with representations of objects likely to be useful to the dead man in the underworld; and with hieratic inscriptions of spells and magical formulae to secure his welfare there. These are the *Coffin-Texts*, so-called, the anticipations of the *Book of the Dead* and the other magical safeguards of the dead used in the XVIIIth and subsequent dynasties. Around the burial-chamber are grouped (301, G 22, centre) the ten limestone statues of Senusret I, which were discovered in 1894 by Gautier in the *serdab* of the funerary chapel of the pyramid of this Pharaoh at El-Lisht. These statues must have been executed late in the life of the king, for they had never been set up, some being unfinished, but were found lying on their sides, and covered with sand. This fact has probably contributed to the remarkable state of preservation which characterizes them; for they remain, save for one which was cracked when found, almost as they must have appeared when the sculptor put his last touches to them. They are slightly larger than life; but though their workmanship is technically very fair, the general impression produced by the group is decidedly monotonous. Mass-production does not tend to individuality in statues, any more than elsewhere. Six other statues of this much be-stated king are disposed around the room, against the pillars. They represent Senusret as Osiris, and three of them wear the White Crown of Upper Egypt, while the other three have the Red Crown of Lower Egypt (Nos. 301-306).

The attention of dog-lovers should be called to No. 311 (G 22), which is the stele of King Intef of the XIth Dynasty. This stele is referred to in the report of the Commission which was appointed in the reign of Ramses IX to examine into the reported violation of the royal tombs in the Theban Necropolis. The report runs as follows: 'The monument of king Si-rê In-aa, which is at the north of the temple of Amenophis of the terrace. This tomb is injured on the surface opposite the spot where the tablet is placed; on the tablet is the image of the king standing, having between his feet his dog named Behukai. Examined on that day, it was found in good condition.' Since 1140 B.C. the tablet has not been so lucky. Mariette found it in 1860, took a rough copy of it and left it *in situ*. Twenty years later, it was found by a *fellâh*, who broke it up to use the stone. The fragments were rescued by

Maspero, and we can still see King Intef with four out of his five dogs, 'The Gazelle', 'The Greyhound', 'The Black', and 'The Firepot'. Behukai, 'The Gazelle' referred to in the report of the Ramesside Commissioners, still survives on the stele—probably the solitary dog on record to have a literary reputation extending over more than three thousand years. His portrait, of course, goes back a thousand years before that, and slightly antedates the likenesses of the three dogs of Prince Khnemhotpe in the famous tomb scene at Beni Hasan. There are, however, steles to pet dogs, as early as the 1st Dynasty, which can be seen in Room U 42.

Worthy of attention also is the clever cedar-wood statuette of Senusret I wearing the White Crown of Upper Egypt (No. 313, G 22, Case D.) It is one of a pair discovered at El-Lisht by the Metropolitan Museum, New York, in 1915. The companion figure wears the Red Crown of the Lower Kingdom.

Passing now into G 16, we meet with a group of statues over which controversy has raged for many years. They all come from Tanis, in the Delta, and are all marked by decided peculiarities of feature which have been held to be indicative of racial traits differing from those of the native Egyptians. Most striking are the four great sphinxes (No. 307-310, G 16, centre), which exhibit harsh features with prominent cheek-bones, and convey an impression of great power and dignity. The group of the so-called Fish-Offerers (No. 508, G 16, centre) so far as its battered condition allows of a comparison, presents the same characteristics; and the extraordinary head in black granite from the Faiyûm (No. 506, G 16, north-east), though also a good deal mutilated, is obviously akin to both. The sphinxes and the Fish-Offerers used to be attributed to the Hyksos Pharaohs as they bear the cartouche of one of the Apepas. This, however, is an usurpation, not the only one among this group of statues; and the sphinxes, with the other similar pieces, are now generally held to belong to the XIIth Dynasty, and to be portraits of Amenemhêt III. Compare the faces of the sphinxes with the portrait head in dark granite of Amenemhêt III, No. 6061, U 22, north-east. Petrie, however, inclines to assign them, not to the Hyksos, but to kings of the other conquering race which he believes to have invaded Egypt successfully from the south, between the VIth and Xth Dynasties. He holds that the statues came originally from El-Kâb, and were taken to Tanis, along with

many other statues, by Ramses II, whose cartouche the sphinxes bear, along with those of Menepthah and Psusennes (*History of Egypt*, vol. I, pp. 126 sq., ed. 1923).

We now pass into G 12, where we are among works of art of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Notice first two family groups. The first is No. 500, G 12, north-west, a group in grey granite representing Sennûfer, Governor of Thebes, his wife, Sennai, who had been nurse to the king, and their daughter, who stands between their knees. Sennûfer is wearing a golden collar of four loops, doubtless awarded to him by the king in recognition of his services. The work is highly finished, but is of a purely formal character, and does not convey any impression of individuality. More interesting is No. 503, G 12, centre. This is a group, also in dark granite, representing the Pharaoh Tuthmosis IV, with his mother Ti-ô, wife of Amenophis II. The mushroom character of the king's wig is of an unusual type. The fact that Tuthmosis chose to be portrayed with his mother is in accordance with his character, which is marked by reverence for his ancestors, and for the traditions of the past.

What to many will be the most attractive piece of statuary in the Museum is the fine statue of Tuthmosis III (No. 400, G 12, west) in grey schist. This statue is one of the finest examples of New Empire portraiture, and deserves all the fame which it has earned since its discovery in the Karnak cachette in 1904. It seems to be a faithful portrait of the great conqueror, and its lines are exquisitely clean and pure. Notice especially, the admirable profile. No. 428, G 12, Case B, a white marble statue of Tuthmosis kneeling and offering milk, is also a fine piece of work. No. 424, G 12, Case B, represents Queen Isis, the mother of Tuthmosis III, wearing a gilded diadem. One of the most remarkable pieces of sculpture in the room, and indeed in the Museum, is No. 446, G 12, east, which represents in limestone the Hathor cow. This fine example of Egyptian animal-sculpture, the finest by far known to us, was discovered by Naville in 1906, during his excavations at the XIth Dynasty temple at El-Deir el-Bahari. She stands at the door of her chapel (No. 445), whose painted reliefs, showing the cow Hathor and Tuthmosis III, are still in perfect preservation. Unfortunately the chapel suffers by being divorced from the surroundings for which it was designed, and the impression produced is rather that of a big dog coming out of its kennel. Nevertheless the quality of the statue is

amazing. In front of her stands a figure of the king, which bears the cartouche of Amenophis II, while another royal figure is drinking from her udder; but there is no doubt that the figure, in both cases, was originally meant for that of Tuthmosis III, to whom the whole conception of the chapel is due, but who, perhaps, died before the statue was completed, leaving to his son the opportunity, which he was no slower than other Pharaohs to embrace, of changing the attribution of so fine a work to himself. Be that as it may, the statue is unmatched as a piece of animal-sculpture in the round by any work of ancient times.

Nos. 451 and 456 are two noteworthy portrait heads which have been the subjects of various exercises in the absorbing sport of attribution. No. 451 has been attributed to Menepthah, to Haremhab, to Tutankhamûn, the attribution apparently following whatever Pharaoh may have happened to be most before the public at the moment. The present attribution is, I believe, to Haremhab, but how long it may continue is another matter. No. 456 (G 12, north-east) has been attributed to Queen Tiy, the mother of Akhenaten, to Queen Hatshepsut, to the wife or mother of Haremhab, and to Queen Tiy once more; the principle of attribution being seemingly the same as that suggested in the case of 451. The present attribution is to the goddess Mût. No. 451 is a good specimen of Egyptian granite-work; but the magnificent limestone head 456 is a great deal more than a piece of fine craftsmanship. Its enigmatical expression has been compared to da Vinci's *Mona Lisa*, which is perhaps trying it rather high; but it is undoubtedly a remarkably attractive portrait, with a living quality such as has been often foolishly denied to Egyptian sculpture, and such as makes one doubtful of the attribution to any merely imaginary divine personality. One would say that unquestionably a living woman sat to the sculptor—whoever she may have been.

The same living quality is conspicuous in No. 461 (G 12, north) which, with Nos. 459 and 465, represent, at various stages of his life, the famous sage Amenhotpe, son of Hapu, the adviser and clerk of building works to Amenophis III, who at a later period had the quaint fate of being made into a god. Amenhotpe was no beauty, as we have already seen in connexion with No. 3. G 48, and No. 461 shows him, so to speak, 'with his warts', and a little more. Part of the face has been re-cut, and there is little

doubt that it is of the Middle Kingdom, usurped for Amenhotpe. No. 6052, G 12, south, is one of the colossi of Queen Hatshepsut discovered in fragments by the Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of New York. See also Nos. 6139 (G 48), and 6152, 6153, (G 7, centre).

No. 462 is well worthy of attention. It is a singularly charming piece of work, with very attractive qualities, representing a king, who some consider to be Tutankhamûn, with the insignia of the god Khonsu.

We now come to G 6, where are gathered together (Nos. 3873, 3610-3612, 471-487 and 6015, 6016, and 6182) the relics of the unfortunate king Akhenaten, probably the most interesting of all the Egyptian Pharaohs, owing to his struggle with the priests of Amûn in support of his new faith of Atenism, and the disasters which befell the Egyptian Empire in consequence of his devotion to his new ideals. The objects here shown are mostly from El-'Amârna ; but several of the most interesting pieces are from the so-called tomb of Queen Tiy, where the coffin and body of the Pharaoh were discovered by Mr. T. M. Davis and Mr. Ayrton, in 1907.

Attention is first called to the remarkable colossal statues of Akhenaten (Nos. 6015, 6016, and 6182, G 6, pilasters) which were discovered in 1925 on the site of the Aten temple which the king erected in the earlier years of his reign to the east of the great temple of Amûn at Karnak. After Akhenaten's death these statues, and their companions of the series which stood round a peristyle court, were broken up by the triumphant priests of Amûn, and buried deep, to await their present-day resurrection. The statues are more extraordinary than beautiful, for they already, at this early stage of the king's heresy, exhibit all the characteristics which distinguish his later portraits. No. 6182 is even more peculiar. The king is represented naked, and could well be mistaken for a woman. Note how stone has been removed from behind the collar-bones to lengthen the neck.

No. 3873, G 6, Case E, is probably the coffin-lid of Akhenaten, sheathed in gold, and adorned with coloured glazes. The gold mask and the inlaying which gave the king's name have been torn away by the priests, who knew nothing of reverence for the dead, but only of spite towards their great enemy. It was found in 1907 in the tomb which Mr. Davis and Mr. Ayrton discovered in the Valley of the Kings. Along with it, were Nos. 3610, 3611 and 3612, G 6, Case G, three very striking

Canopic jars, which bear, instead of the customary heads of the Children of Horus, heads which are admirable portraits of a royal personage. Mr. Davis stubbornly contended that they were portraits of Queen Tiye; but there is little doubt that they are likenesses either of Akhenaten himself, or of his queen Nefertiti. Those who are familiar with the extraordinary resemblance between the portraits of Akhenaten and Nefertiti will not be surprised at the difficulty of distinguishing between them in the case of these Canopic jar portraits.

Nos. 471-487 (G 6, Cases F and D), are sculptures, mostly from El-'Amârna, representing either Akhenaten himself, or some of the members of his family. Attention may be called to 471, which introduces Akhenaten in one of those intimate scenes of family affection in which royalty during the Amârna period felt free to indulge, as never before or after. The king has one of his daughters on his knee, and she turns to kiss him. The piece, unfortunately, is not finished. Compare also No. 482, which represents Akhenaten and Nefertiti playing with their daughters under the rays of the Aten. This dawning tendency towards freedom on the part of Egyptian art was ruthlessly crushed out of existence after the triumph by the priests of Amûn, who could not see that they were destroying the one thing which might have saved Egyptian art from the icy conventionalism which finally killed it. Amârna art had very grave faults and eccentricities, sufficiently vouched for by some of the pieces here; but it was at least a living thing. Nos. 474, 476, 477, and 479, all portraits or fragments of portraits of Akhenaten's daughters, sufficiently well exhibit both the excellencies and the defects of the Amârna sculpture, whose technical accomplishment, apart from other qualities, is remarkable. It is a pity that so many of the best pieces of portraiture of the school have been allowed to leave the country. No. 6132, G 6, is a reconstruction, made in the Museum, of a typical Amârna house. The detail is all absolutely authenticated, and the reconstruction is one of great interest.

Turning into the central series of rooms, we find in G 13, east, a piece, which though by no means of imposing or attractive appearance, is of immense historical importance. This is No. 599, the famous black granite stele on which Amenophis III describes his building operations at Thebes, especially those of his great funerary temple on the west bank, now completely destroyed,

save for the Memnon colossi. The stele was usurped by Meneptah, son of Ramses II, who engraved on the back of it his Song of Triumph over the Libyans and other people. The Song contains the only reference to the Children of Israel which has yet been found on an Egyptian monument—'Israel is wasted, and his seed is brought to naught.' The stele was discovered by Petrie in 1896, and the discovery, long anxiously looked and hoped for, has brought more confusion into modern conceptions of the date of the Oppression and Exodus of Israel than any other factor (see also No. 6017, G 3, centre, east, a stele of the same Pharaoh, of somewhat similar character).

The central rooms G 23, 28, 33, which we now enter, contain a number of colossal statues, some of which come from the ruins of Tanis, and of sarcophagi, several of which are interesting. Notice Nos. 613, 617, G 23, north, two colossal dark granite statues of the usurping XIIIth Dynasty Pharaoh Mermeshau. They are of very fine work, and show that the great XIIth Dynasty tradition was still maintained. They came from Tanis, and have been surcharged by the Hyksos Pharaoh Apepa, and subsequently by Ramses II. The faces are of un-Egyptian type, agreeing with the position of Mermeshau as a (probably foreign) military usurper. In G 28, centre, notice No. 627, the remains of the painted plaster pavement from one of the reception-rooms of Akhenaten's palace at El-'Amârna. The pavement, which was left *in situ*, within a shed and under guard, was demolished by a former guard who had been dismissed from the service. Notice especially the collection of *pyramidia*, which are generally believed to have been the capstones of pyramids. No. 626 is that of King Amenemhêt III from Dahshûr, while No. 6175, found in fragments at Saqqâra in 1930, has been restored and gives the titulary of a XIIIth Dynasty king called Khenzer, which was hitherto unknown.

Nos. 6189 and 6190 are well worth study. They are lintels from gateways at Madamûd. The first shows a jubilee or *heb-sed* of King Sensusret III, of the XIIth Dynasty, and the second that of King Amenemhêt Sebekhotpe of the XIIIth Dynasty. The difference in the quality of the sculpture is remarkable.

Nos. 619 and 620, G 33, west, are the sarcophagi of Tuthmosis I and his daughter Hatshepsut, from the tomb of the latter in the Valley of the Kings. No. 6024, interesting for comparison with 620, is the sarcophagus which Hatshepsut had made for her

earlier cliff-tomb, dating from before her accession. It was found in 1916 by Howard Carter, in the cliff-tomb, which had been discovered by robbers, and it was removed from its high-perched eyrie with considerable difficulty. All three sarcophagi are of quartzite, and finely wrought, Nos. 619 and 620 being of the same form. No. 621, though of late date (G 33, centre) has an interest as being a late version of the Bed of Osiris which probably preceded it from very early times in the tomb of King Zer of the 1st Dynasty, at Abydos. It was the discovery of this black granite bed, together with that of a part of a skull in the tomb, which induced Amélineau, the discoverer, to believe that he had found the actual tomb and skull of Osiris. The later date (probably Saite) of 621 is now generally admitted. No. 624 (G 38, east) is what remains of the fine pink granite sarcophagus of King Ay, the successor of Tutankhamûn, from his tomb in the Valley of the Kings. The decoration of the coffin, with the four guardian goddesses, with outstretched arms and wings occupying the four corners, is typical of the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and is found also in Tutankhamûn's coffin in the Valley, and in that of Haremhab, also in his tomb in the Valley.

In G 14, eastern side of the ground floor, there is a somewhat undistinguished collection of pieces from the XIXth and XXth Dynasty, among which one or two may be singled out for notice. No. 728 (G 14, north) is a curious group of objects, including two small obelisks and four baboons, from a chapel of Ramses II at Abu Simbel, which will be noticed in the description of the great rock-temple. No. 743 is a quaint statue of Ramses VI, armed with a battle-axe, and accompanied by a tame lion. He drags by the hair a Libyan captive, who walks crouched up beside him. Again in No. 769, G 14, centre, we have an unusual conception, embodied with rather unusual grace. This piece is a statuette of the chief prophet of Amûn, Ramessenakht, squatting with a papyrus-roll, on which he is writing, across his knees. The god Thoth, patron of letters and writings, sits in the form of a baboon upon the priest's shoulders, and doubtless inspires him in his task. In spite of the stubborn material (grey granite), the sculptor has succeeded in conveying an element of gentle sweetness into the face of the priest, and the natural bend of the shoulders under the weight of the baboon is admirably rendered. Here (G 14, centre) we have also a characteristic family group of the XIXth Dynasty, which may be compared with No.

500, the granite group of Sennûfer and Sennai, of the XVIIIth Dynasty, though the different material of the later group (limestone) makes comparison scarcely fair. Zay and Naya wear characteristic XIXth Dynasty dress and wigs, and the comparison with the earlier group shows the change in fashion which had taken place.

The remaining rooms of the ground floor are devoted to the work of the later dynasties, from 712 to 332 B.C. to the Ptolemaic and Graeco-Roman periods, and to the Coptic period, and they scarcely possess the same interest as the relics of the days when the native Egyptian civilization was in its flower. Worth noticing, in spite of, or perhaps because of, its extreme ugliness, is No. 791 (G 24, centre), which represents the goddess Thouêris (Taurt), in her usual form of a hippopotamus. The goddess is carved in green schist, and is of absolutely marvellous ugliness. The workmanship of this monstrosity, however, is magnificent.

In G 30, centre, the alabaster statue (No. 930) of Queen Amenartais, sister of the Ethiopian Pharaoh, Shabaka, of the XXVth Dynasty, is a piece which formerly had a reputation which it perhaps scarcely deserves as a typical example of Egyptian sculpture. It is actually rather a feeble and prettified specimen, and by no means worthy of being named alongside really first-class work of the earlier periods; still it has somewhat obvious merits, and when placed beside anything that was being done in the round by any other people of the Ancient East at this date (roughly 700 B.C.) the superiority of the Egyptian sculptor is manifest. In point of quality, however, the sculptor of the period could do much better work. Ugly old Prince Mentuemhêt (No. 935, G 30, north, or still more conspicuously, No. 1184, G 24, centre) is immensely superior to pretty little Amenartais, who seems to be perpetually on the verge of tears under her burden of royalty. Mentemhêt, on the other hand, had character, though he was no beauty; and his sculptor, in both cases, but especially in the later work, has realized admirably the rugged competence of the man to whom fell the hopeless task of trying to re-make a ruined Thebes after the Assyrian sack under Ashurbanipal.

Mentuemhêt's companion (1185) is one of the men who were responsible for setting him such a task. Taharqa was one of the Ethiopian line of Pharaohs, of whom we shall hear again at Napata, whose constant futile meddling with Assyria brought Egypt face to face at last with an enemy whom she could barely

have matched even in her best days, much less in her decline. Taharqa, however, in this black granite presentation of him, looks a solid and not incompetent, if somewhat surly, personage, and has strong negroid characteristics.

In room G 34, north (No. 980), the two copies of the Decree of Canopus are noteworthy because of the place which this decree took, along with the Rosetta Stone and the Obelisk of Philae, in the early attempts towards the decipherment of the hieroglyphics. A cast of the Rosetta Stone is at hand, so that these two clues to the mystery may be examined together.

The bulk of the rest of this late material, whatever may be its merits from an artistic point of view, is merely of the day before yesterday in the story of Ancient Egypt, and may be dismissed with much less attention than is due to the relics of Egypt's time of greatness and glory. Attention should be directed, however, to No. 6054, G 35, east window, where are gathered the fragments of the earliest known alphabetic script, discovered by Petrie and others at Serabit el-Khâdim in Sinai, and recently removed for safety to the Museum. This possibly Middle Kingdom script is believed to be the link between the hieroglyphic writing and the Phoenician alphabet.

CHAPTER V

THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM AT CAIRO—II

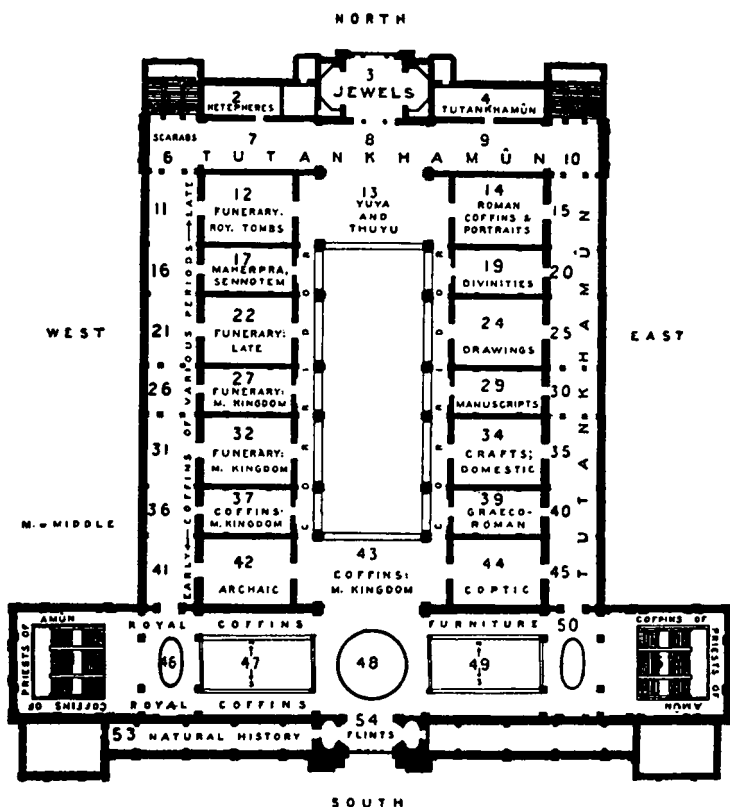
WE now proceed upstairs, to survey that part of the Museum which, to many, will probably prove the more interesting section, as dealing not so much with great monumental works and statues as with more directly personal relics of the great men and women of Ancient Egypt, with their funerary furniture, which affords a wonderful light on their habit of life, with their jewellery, and with the writings which have been preserved from their times. Especially, of course, in this section we shall have to deal with the remarkable store of funerary furniture from the tomb of Yuya and Thuyu, the father and mother of the famous Queen Tiy; and with that supremely wonderful collection from the tomb of Tutankhamûn—a treasure which has no parallel in any other Museum in the world.

As we come up the staircase at the south front of the Museum, we first notice, at the head of either stair (U 57 or U 51) specimens of the coffins of the priests of Amûn (Nos. 6092 A and B). These coffins belong to the time of the XXIst Dynasty, when the priests were rapidly growing frantic over the tomb-robbery scandal. As they were re-wrapping the despoiled royal mummies and endeavouring to find a secure hiding-place for them, it evidently occurred to attempt to protect the bodies of the members of their own class in a similar way. They found an ancient tomb near the temple of El-Deir el-Bahari, in which they buried no fewer than 153 coffins of priests and priestesses of Amûn. This great cache was discovered by the Antiquities Department in 1891, and many of the coffins were presented by the Egyptian Government to foreign museums. Nos. 6092 A and B are representative collections of a pretty uniform type of coffin, which was usually double or triple. They were ornamented with polychrome designs, and varnished over with a composition which has turned yellow with age. The scenes are of interest to students of the mythologies in the ascendant at the time, who, if duly accredited, may have access to further specimens of the type on application to the Keeper of the Museum.

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In U 46, 47, however, we have a much more interesting and remarkable set of coffins, of which the larger proportion, with (in a good number of cases) the mummies within them, were dis-



THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, UPPER FLOOR

(From the official Guide, 1931)

covered in the two great finds of royal mummies and coffins which marked the closing years of the nineteenth century. The story of the concealment and subsequent discovery of the royal mummies and such funerary equipment as had survived the

attacks of tomb-robbers and the re-wrappings of priests is one of the romances of excavation ; but it is too long to be told here, except in the briefest outline. The Wise King's shrewd observation, ' The abundance of the rich will not suffer him to sleep ', was never more literally exemplified than in the case of the Pharaohs of the New Empire, who were laid to rest in their rock-hewn tombs in the Valley of the Kings on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes with stores of wealth, ' beyond the dreams of avarice ', around them, and whose very magnificence resulted only in their rest being disturbed again and again, first by robbers, who, with ghoulish greed and wolf-like persistence hunted out every tomb, no matter how cunningly concealed, in which plunder might be found, and scarcely left a single Pharaoh undisturbed ; then by the priestly guardians of the royal tombs (such as were not the willing accomplices of the robbers) in their frantic efforts to find impregnable refuges for the royal bodies, which they could no longer protect, and whose immortality was in constant danger of being lost through the destruction of their mummies by the ruthless plunderers.

A whole series of papyri of the XXth Dynasty, the Abbott, the Amherst, the Mayer, gives us the story of the revelations as to the state of things in the Theban Necropolis in the reign of Ramses IX. Even the doubtless dreadful punishments which then overtook the robbers whose guilt was proved did little or nothing to check the evil. The loyal priests, recognizing that the scattered tombs in the wild valley offered a constant provocation to attack, tried the plan of gathering their royal masters into ' concentration camps ', where watch could be kept as easily over a dozen Pharaohs as over one. Several successive tombs were thus tried in vain as resting-places for the great dead. Finally, about the beginning of the reign of Sheshonq, the first Pharaoh of the XXIIInd Dynasty, a number of royalties were deposited in a small chamber of the tomb of Amenophis II in the Royal Valley, and walled up there ; while a second batch, consisting of those royalties who had not been so completely stripped or maltreated by the robbers, was concealed in an old Middle Kingdom tomb not far from the temples of El-Deir el-Bahari. Ere long this move was followed by the gradual decline of Thebes, and its sack by the Assyrians. Oblivion descended upon the two resting-places, and the secret of them was lost as the priests who had known it died out. The thieves who had robbed the

royal tombs in their turn followed their victims to the tomb, to be robbed themselves, no doubt, if they were worth robbing.

Early in the seventies of last century, however, it became apparent that the long sleep of the plundered Pharaohs had again been broken. Relics of almost forgotten majesties began to find their way into the antiquity-market, and finally suspicion fell upon a certain family. By ways of persuasion which smack somewhat of the Middle Ages, and still more of Ancient Egypt itself, the lucky *fellahîn* who had found the treasure were persuaded to reveal their knowledge; and in July 1881 the world was startled by the great find of Pharaohs at El-Deir el-Bahari just as much as it was in the end of 1922 by the discovery of Tutankhamûn's tomb. Then, in 1898, M. Loret, acting upon information supplied by natives, opened the tomb of Amenophis II, and found, along with that redoubtable bowman, the batch of Pharaohs who had been settled upon the son of Tuthmosis III as involuntary lodgers at an earlier date (possibly) than that of the Deir el-Bahari batch. The actual quantity of fine funerary furniture revealed by these two finds cannot be compared with the treasure of Tutankhamûn's tomb, for these Pharaohs had been rifled, probably more than once, before they reached their final abode; but in point of historical interest the finds of the late nineteenth century far surpass their successor, for no fewer than thirty-three royalties or great dignitaries were discovered in the two hiding-places, besides ten other persons of secondary rank.

Since then various other discoveries of royal or princely tombs have been made, such as that of Prince Yuya and his wife, Princess Thuyu (Davis Excavations, 1905), that of Akhenaten, in the tomb of his mother, Queen Tiy (Davis Excavations, 1907), and that of the gigantic coffin of Queen Meritamûn (Metropolitan Museum of Art, March 1929); while, of course, the overwhelming richness of the tomb of Tutankhamûn (Carnarvon and Carter, November, 1922) has overshadowed everything else. But, with the two exceptions of Amenophis II and Tutankhamûn, no Pharaoh has ever been discovered in the tomb in which he was originally laid; and even in the case of these two, Amenophis II had been pretty thoroughly plundered, and Tutankhamûn, though he had come off with little loss, had had his rest broken in upon by robbers, who, however, had apparently been interrupted in their grim work before they had time to do much damage. It is thus that the relics of so many of the great kings of Egyptian

history are gathered in the Museum, instead of being allowed to rest in the tombs where they were laid, and that the fragments of their funerary equipment, which, even as it is, seem to us so marvellous, are really only the pitiful wrecks of the splendour which originally accompanied the Pharaohs in death, as it had accompanied them in life.

It should be mentioned that the somewhat gruesome pleasure of gazing on the actual faces of Seti I, Ramses II, and others, is now very rightly a thing of the past, as all unwrapped mummies have been withdrawn from public view since 1928. Attention can scarcely fail to be drawn at once to the three gigantic coffins, Nos. 3872, 3892, and 6150, which are ranged in U 46. Of these, No. 3872 is the oldest, being made for Queen Ah-hotpe, who was always revered in Egyptian history as the wife of the King Seqenenré who struck the first blow in the war of liberation from the Hyksos yoke, and the other of Ahmôse, who completed the deliverance, and of Queen Ahmôse Nefertari, wife of Ahmôse, and mother of Amenophis I. The coffin is enormous, measuring over 10 feet in height, without reckoning the tall plumes of Amûn, with which it was originally surmounted. It is made of wood, covered with a layer of stucco on linen, which is modelled into a likeness of the queen in Osirian form. It is painted yellow. The inner coffin of this great queen, in which the store of jewellery which became the cause of Mariette's Museum being granted him was found, is No. 3888. The next giant coffin is No. 3892, which belonged to Queen Ahmôse Nefertari, who, as already mentioned, was wife of her brother Ahmôse and mother of Amenophis I, and who was also revered after her death. This is also an enormous affair also over 10 feet high, in Osirian mummiform likeness of the queen. It was found with the royal mummies at El-Deir el-Bahari. No. 6150 is perhaps a century, or a little more, later than the other two. It is the coffin of Queen Meritamûn, who, according to the discoverer, H. E. Winlock, must have been the daughter of Tuthmosis III, and the wife of Amenophis II, but who seems to have died early in the reign of the latter Pharaoh, and without issue. Her coffin was of the same gigantic stature as the other two, being 10 feet 3½ inches in height, and was modelled into an Osirian likeness of the queen, with honeycomb decoration over the shoulders and bust like the others. Its inlaid decoration, however, must have originally been much more costly than the present glass inlaid eyes would lead one to believe. Mr. Winlock

states (*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*, 'The Egyptian Expedition, 1928-1929,' p. 27) that the present glass has been hastily stuck in the place of more valuable material, and that marks all over the coffin show that it was originally sheathed in sheet gold, as in the case of the two outer coffins of Tutankhamûn. A docket on the mummy wrappings showed that the queen's mummy had been re-wrapped in the time of King Pinûtem II of the XX1st Dynasty, after which time it had lain undisturbed till the American Expedition discovered it in 1929. No. 6151, U 51, centre (east), is the much smaller inner coffin of Meritamûn. It also showed signs of having been originally sheathed in gold, and richly decorated with fine glazes, which had all been stripped away by the robbers. The coffin had been somewhat crudely painted by the restorers in the XX1st Dynasty. The slender and neatly wrapped little mummy of the queen, garlanded with flowers, can be seen within.

The coffin of Amenophis I is No. 3874, U 47, north (centre). This is the only one of the royal burials in which the mummy was not unwrapped for inspection. The head of the coffin-cover presents a portrait of the king in wood and cartonnage, and there is a mask of the same type within, above the head of the mummy. When the mummy was being examined it was discovered that 'a wasp, attracted by the flowers, had entered the coffin at the moment of burial. It had been preserved there intact, and had furnished us with a specimen, probably unique, of a wasp-mummy' (Maspero, *Guide*, p. 408). 'Unfortunately,' adds Maspero, 'it was lost in 1892 during the transfer of the Museum from Bulâq to Gîza.' No. 3877, U 46, south, Case O, is the coffin-lid of Ramses II, or rather the coffin-lid with which Ramses II was provided at a later date when it was found that his own tomb had been rifled and his own coffin probably destroyed. The striking portrait of a dead king in Osirian fashion is probably not that of Ramses II. It may possibly be that of Haremhab or Ramses I; but in any case it is a fine piece of work.

King Kamôse, the successor of Seqnenrê, and inheritor of his war against the Hyksos, has come a little more into notice since the discovery of the famous writing-board on which he is represented as describing his position with a freedom and vigour not expected from one occupying so stately a throne. 'One prince sitteth in Avaris and another in Nubia, and there sit I cheek by

jowl with an Asiatic and a Nigger!' (see Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, transl. Blackman, pp. 52 sq.). His coffin is No. 3886, U 47, north (centre). It is of the feathered pattern which the Arabs call *rîshi*, but otherwise it calls for no notice. No. 3887, U 47, north, Case U, is interesting, not for any striking features of its own, but because it is the coffin which held the body of the greatest soldier whom Egypt ever bred. Tuthmosis III, whose mummy had been roughly handled by the Arab discoverers of the Deir el-Bahari c  che, proved like so many other great soldiers, to have been a small man.

The coffin of Tuthmosis I, which is No. 3889, U 47, north, Case U, had been re-used by the XXIst Dynasty Pharaoh Pin  tem I. It is covered with gilding and decoration in faience. The last two royal coffins we shall mention at this point are Nos. 3893 and 3894, U 47, Case V. No. 3893 is that of King Seq  n  r  , who, reluctantly enough, if the Sallier Papyrus is to be trusted, began the war with King Apepa, the last of the Hyksos Pharaohs, which ended in the expulsion of the Asiatic oppressors. His mummy showed that he had been slain in a fierce fight, probably in one of the battles of the war, and had been very hastily embalmed. No. 3894 is that of King Ahm  se I, who brought to a triumphant close the struggle which Seq  n  r   and Kam  se had begun. Neither coffin is specially remarkable; but it is something to be able to see the coffins which held the remains of the three men who fought the long fight which made Egypt free.

U 53 and 54 contain respectively specimens illustrating Egyptian Natural History and the flint-working industry, specimens of which latter are also to be found in U 2, 42, and 42 corridor. The Egyptian flint-worker was one of the most skilful of any who have ever carried on this craft, and some of his rippled knives are not only admirable tools, but things of beauty as well. We should notice, in passing, No. 3000, U 48, east, the front of the battle-chariot of Tuthmosis IV, of wood decorated with reliefs in stucco representing the warlike triumphs of that king. Since the discovery of the chariots of Tutankham  n, that of Tuthmosis IV may seem somewhat dingy; it is, however, a piece of great interest, and, while by no means so gorgeous as the later examples, is of much greater historic interest. Passing into U 43, we are introduced to two of the famous sets of models which have done so much to make Egyptian life in ancient days live again to our time. These (Nos. 3345 and 3346) are the pikemen

and archers of Meir which came from the tomb of one of the princes of Asyût, named, Mesehti. There are forty heavy-armed infantry, with shields and bronze-tipped pikes, and the same number of Sudanese archers, whose arrows are tipped with flint. The equipment of each man is distinctively painted, so that he may be able to recognize his own weapons at a moment's notice. The picture presented is one of astonishing vivacity and faithfulness. Quite apart from the value of these little models as documents for the equipment of the Egyptian army, they have a great attraction from the precision of their ranking and the business-like efficiency of each tiny figure. No. 3347 is the funerary boat which was destined for the voyages of Mesehti on the celestial Nile or the canals and lakes of the Sekhet Ialu; it has two cabins at the stern. Nos. 3348 and 3349 are the two coffins of Mesehti, decorated with the mystic eyes and with gilding. Special attention should be given to what may seem the insignificant little ivory figure of a king of Lower Egypt (No. 4244, U 43, south Case). This is the famous portrait, the only extant, of Cheops (Khufu), the builder of the Great Pyramid. It is of tiny proportions, the face being only a quarter of an inch high; but as its discoverer, Sir Flinders Petrie, has said of it: 'The far-seeing determination, the energy and will expressed in this compass would animate a life-sized figure' (*Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt*, p. 135). The two sarcophagi in limestone (Nos. 623 and 6033, U 43) are also well worth noticing. They belong to the ladies Kawit and Ashait, of the harem of one of the Mentuhotpes of the XIth Dynasty. Baedeker summarily dismisses them as being 'in the clumsy style of the XIth Dynasty'; but this is to do scant justice to a style which, while it has scarcely found its feet as yet after the decadence of the First Intermediate Dark Period, is yet singularly fresh and charming.

Another instance of a little portrait of singularly great importance is No. 4257, U 43, south Case. This is a tiny little head in dark greenish-grey schistose steatite, representing a queen who wears the double uraeus on the front of her elaborate headdress. The cartouche above the uraei tells us that this is Queen Tiy. The statuette, which was found by Petrie at the Miners' Temple, Serabit el-Khâdim, Sinai, in 1905, must originally have measured about a foot in height. The fragment left, which includes the head and headdress, is about three and a half inches in height. But this tiny fragment, which might easily be overlooked, is of

unusual importance, for it is the only absolutely unquestionable portrait in the round of a woman who played a great part in history, and may conceivably have had no small share in the moulding of Egypt's destiny. Small though it be, the piece is evidently a faithful portrait, and is singularly impressive. 'The haughty dignity of the face is blended with a fascinating directness and personal appeal. . . . The curiously down-drawn lips, with their fullness and yet delicacy, their distain without malice, are evidently modelled in all truth from the life' (Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 126).

We now pass into U 42, which, with its corridor, is devoted to exhibits illustrating Archaic art in Egypt. Historically No. 6059 A, B, claims first notice (U 42, corridor). Here are the objects found at El-Badâri, some distance south of Asyût, by Mr Guy Brunton during the years 1925-30. They may not be very striking to look at, but they carry us a stage farther back than any objects yet found in Egypt, and the culture to which they bear witness is anterior to what used to be known as the First Predynastic. The chief and distinctive feature is the pottery, which is fine red ware, black-topped, while one specimen of a fine black ware, incised and decorated with white, is also known. The vessels were often ripple-marked, and are of extreme fineness and thinness. Coarser ware was also used for ordinary domestic purposes. Judged by this feature of their civilization, the Badarians were far advanced in culture. Their tools and weapons were of flint, whose working, while good, had not reached the height of skill which characterized Egyptian flint-working at a later period. Their clothing appears to have been mainly of finely tanned leather, though they made linen in small pieces. They adorned themselves with ivory bracelets, necklaces of Red Sea shells, and blue-glazed stone beads, which were probably not of home production, but obtained by trade. They were acquainted with copper, but had only reached the stage of using it as an ornament.

Perhaps the most striking object in U 42 is No. 3055, the great Slate Palette of King Narmer, who seems to have been identical with Menes or Mena, the first king of the 1st Dynasty of United Egypt. This is one of the most important of the few extant documents of Egypt's early dynastic history. On the obverse of the palette is a low relief sculpture of the king, wearing the White Crown of Upper Egypt, about to brain with his mace one of his enemies who crouches before him; while the Hawk of

Egypt holds a cord attached to the nose of another foe, representing the 6,000 prisoners of war whom Narmer has captured. The reverse of the palette has two scenes, in one of which the king, wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, is preceded by his standard-bearers and followed by his sandal-bearer; while the second shows a curious design of two fabulous monsters, held in leash by two men. The necks of the monsters intertwine in an extraordinary fashion to form the central hollow in which the malachite for face-paint was supposed to be ground; though, of course, this great palette was meant as a votive offering, and not for domestic use. The cases in this room are filled with objects, comparatively insignificant in appearance, but of extreme value from an historical point of view, mainly derived from the early dynastic tombs at Naqâda, Abydos, etc. Notice especially No. 3056, west doorway, the schist statuette of King Khasekhemui of the IInd Dynasty, from Hieraconpolis. This work of art, in spite of its extremely early date, and its comparatively poor state of preservation, is full of the promise of what was to prove the chief glory of Egyptian art—its portrait-sculpture. U 42 has recently been rearranged by Prof. P. E. Newberry and is profusely labelled. All the articles in this room are deserving of the most careful study, as being the earliest extant examples of the character of the civilization of pre-dynastic and dynastic Egypt in its opening stages.

Rooms U 37 and U 32 are devoted to the Middle Kingdom, the former largely to coffins and mummies of the period, the latter to Middle Kingdom funerary furniture, which is particularly interesting from its use of models of Egyptian life. The coffins in U 37 should be observed, because they are decorated with that version of the ritual for the dead which has come to be known as *The Coffin Texts*, and is characteristic of the Middle Kingdom. These texts occupy the interval between the use of the *Pyramid Texts*, which were characteristic of the Old Kingdom, and the *Book of the Dead*, with the other books of funerary and magical ritual which came into favour during the New Empire.

In U 32 we find ourselves in the midst of one of the most charming and delightful series of revelations of Egyptian life and work. In the Middle Kingdom period it became the custom to supply the dead man with funerary furniture which largely consisted of models of himself and his servants doing everything which they had been accustomed to do in life. These in some

sort take the place of the relief sculptures of the Old Kingdom mastabas, though the Middle Kingdom magnates had their sculptures and paintings also. These little models can scarcely be called works of art. They were created, as most things in severely practical Ancient Egypt were created, not from merely artistic motives, but for a purely utilitarian purpose—to secure the well-being of the dead man in the underworld; but their value as evidence for the social life and customs of the Egyptians of the Old and Middle Kingdoms can scarcely be overrated. Nos. 3123-3127, U 32, Case B, for example, are models of the early Middle Kingdom from Saqqâra. No. 3123 represents beer-making, and 3124 shows potters at work; 3125 has carpenters plying their trade; and 3126 is a model of a concert of chamber music with the master and mistress of the house listening to singers and harpists. No. 3127, again, is a parade of the dead man's servants, younger and older, bringing flowers, provisions, and drinks for their master in his House of Eternity. No. 3155 is a delightful figure in limestone of a harper, dating from the XIIth Dynasty. No. 3224 is one of a set of figures belonging to the tomb of one Ni-ankh-Pepi the Black, of Meir, a local dignitary of the VIth Dynasty. The set runs from 3220 to 3235, but the gem of it is perhaps 3224, which is a figure of his man-servant carrying his master's suitcase and dispatch-box. The face of this little burden-bearer is not beautiful; but his back-view is absolutely irresistible.

Even artistic quality can scarcely be denied to the wonderful series of models discovered by Mr. Winlock in 1920 in the tomb of Meketrê of the XIth Dynasty. This is probably the most perfect and beautiful set of such models ever discovered, and though a number of good pieces have gone to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, enough have been retained here to give a good idea of their quality (Nos. 6077-6086, U 27, centre Cases). Here we have first (6077) a boat with sail set, and a cabin, with a bed in it, under which is the owner's trunk; next (6078) a kitchen boat, with the cook tending the fire, and joints of meat hanging from the mast; next (6079) Meketrê's own boat, with the owner sitting in it. Then (6080) comes a brilliant review of Meketrê's cattle, 'ring-straked, speckled and grised', with the owner and his secretaries checking the lists, and a servant, perhaps the chief herdsman, answering questions. No. 6081 is a painted figure of a maid-servant with a basket on her head and a goose

in her hand ; 6082 is a charming model of a pleasure-garden with an artificial lakelet and a veranda supported by papyrus-bud columns. The little shelter is fully equipped with windows and gargoyles for carrying off the water. Next (6083, 6084) come the carpenters' workshop, and the spinners and weavers at work in a courtyard ; and finally we have (6085 and 6086) two boating scenes, in which first we see two boats dragging a net filled with characteristic types of Nile fish, and next a boat with the crew paddling while the owner receives a report from his skipper. Altogether a most delightful set of models, and highly illuminative as to the conditions of Egyptian life under the Middle Kingdom.

Entering U 22, we find ourselves in a changed atmosphere. The whole outlook with regard to funerary equipment has changed. The servant models which characterized the Middle Kingdom (and also, though to a less extent, the Old Kingdom) have vanished, and from now to the end of the Dynastic period their places are taken, under the New Empire, by amulets of all sorts, heart-scarabs, throat-scarabs, pectorals, sacred eyes, two-finger amulets, etc., together with the curious *shawabti* figures, all supposed to secure, by magical means, the welfare of the dead man in the underworld. The *shawabti* figures, in particular, were supposed to 'answer' for their owner in the other world and to do whatever work would have otherwise fallen to his lot. These little figures are of all sizes and sorts of material—wood, limestone, faience, etc.—and are usually shaped like a figure of Osiris, bearing the crook and whip, though they often carry agricultural implements. The standard inscription, on those figures which are inscribed (they are sometimes quite plain) is the following: 'O *shawabti* figure of N——. If N—— be summoned or appointed to do any work that has to be done in the underworld, you must prevent this on his behalf, as a man doing his duty ; you must present yourself at any time at which work is to be done—to cultivate the marshland, to irrigate the dry land, to transport sand to the east or to the west—"Here I am ! I will do it !" you must say.' From all which it is apparent that the Ancient Egyptian did not appreciate the prospect of having to work in the other world any more than any others of his brethren of the lazy human race. The *shawabti* may not be so attractive, from a superficial point of view, as his predecessor, the servant-model ; but as representing a stage in the Egyptian conception of the life after death, and as a witness

to the essential materialism which went along with the more spiritual aspect of Egyptian conceptions on this subject, he is of extreme interest. *Shawabtis* begin, in a tentative manner and to a small extent, in the Middle Kingdom ; but their true development is in New Empire times, when, especially in the later period, hundreds of them were often buried with the dead man (over 1,000, e.g., in the tomb-chamber of the Pyramid of Taharqa of the XXVth Dynasty at Nuri, near Gebel Barkal (cf. *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, vol. XVI, No. 97, p. 72). Types of all the periods are here shown (Nos. 6062-6072, B), and attention is called to the specimens (No. 6067) of the late period, XXVIth to XXXth Dynasties, with their beautiful blue glaze, which seems to be almost unreplicable.

Nos. 3382 and 3383, U 22, Case I, make a somewhat pathetic appeal. No. 3382 is a group in black granite, representing a mummy lying on a bier, and the soul, in the form of a human-headed falcon, revisiting the body and gently laying its hands on the place where the living heart used to beat. 'The movement of the little symbolic bird, the sweet and almost supplicating expression of its face, the contrast between the life which animates its lineaments and the immobility of the mummy, make of this group a veritable masterpiece in its kind' (Maspero, *Guide*, p. 348). Date, XXth Dynasty. The little white sarcophagus with inscriptions and figures beside it contained the group. No. 3383 is another funerary group of a similar type, executed in grey serpentine, and of the same period.

Passing into U 17, we have two sets of funerary equipment from Thebes. They belonged to an XVIIIth Dynasty noble named Maherpra, who was fan-bearer to the king, and whose uninscribed tomb is No. 36 in the Valley of Tombs of the Kings, and to Sennûtum, a 'Servant in the Place of Truth', whose tomb is No. 1 in the catalogue of Private Tombs at Thebes, and lies at Deir el-Medîna, where we shall see it later. Among the articles of Maherpra's equipment, the following may be noticed: No. 3800, his sarcophagus, of black varnished wood, with ornamentation in gold leaf. It contains a mummiform coffin (Nos. 3821 and 3821A were spare coffins for Maherpra ; but it is not known to what use they were put). Nos. 3801 and 3801A are Maherpra's painted leather quiver, with its arrows, and No. 3802 is his pink leather dog-collar. No. 3810 is his wood and ivory gaming-board, with its dice and pieces, and Nos. 3812, 3813, and

3814 are his bracelets and gold clasp ; while 3815 is a fine blue bowl, and 3818 his Canopic chest, with which notice 3823 his Canopic vases. No. 3822, A to E, are the frames which hold Maherpra's copy of the *Book of the Dead*, which has now come into favour. It is written in red and black ink, and is illustrated with fine vignettes in colour. ' The figures of the dead man are so many portraits very cleverly executed ' (Maspero, *Guide*, p. 396) ; and altogether Maherpra's *Book of the Dead* is a notable example of a book which was more often executed with slovenly inaccuracy.

Sennûtem's equipment includes No. 2000, which is the painted and varnished wooden coffin of his mother Isis. No. 2001, which is his own outer coffin, painted and varnished, with funerary scenes and texts and a scene in which Sennûtem is seen with his sister (wife) playing a game. No. 2002 is the coffin of a relative of Sennûtem's named Khonsu, and No. 2003 is Sennûtem's inner coffin and mummy-cover, also of wood painted and varnished. Nos. 2004-2007 are various articles of furniture and funerary figures, bed, chair, stools, model tools, a square, level and plumb-line, and so forth.

In U 12, we have various articles of the funerary equipment of some of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings (tombs of Tuthmosis III, Amenophis II, Amenophis III, Tuthmosis IV, and Haremhab), together with articles from the cache at El-Deir el-Bahari. Notice the two black panthers (Nos. 3766 F and G), which once carried statuettes of King Amenophis II on their backs. No. 3772 is the shroud of Tuthmosis III, inscribed with chapters of magical spells from the *Book of the Dead*. In the same case are other articles from the equipment of the great king. A quaint interest attaches to No. 3780, Case I, which is a gazelle-shaped mummy-case which contained a gazelle, probably a pet of a princess of the XXIst Dynasty. No. 3783 is a curious example of the thoroughness with which the Egyptian carried out his belief in the reality of life after death. It is a wooden panel inscribed with a decree of the god Amûn, granting all benefits to the Princess Neskhonsu in the other world ; but also prohibiting her from injuring her surviving husband, Pinûtem, in any way. Personal relics of Queen Hatshepsut are so rare that No. 3792, U 12, Case K, is worthy of notice as having once belonged to the great queen. As her name (Maetkerê), however, greatly resembled that of another queen of a later

Dynasty (XXIst), Maetkerê, the wife of Pinûtem I, the economical priests of the latter lady used this inlaid box as a Canopic box to contain the viscera of their dead mistress.

Passing U 6, where the collection of scarabs (6060) contains many fine and interesting specimens, including the marriage- and hunting-scarabs of King Amenophis III, we reach U 2, where the remains of the funerary equipment of Queen Hetepheres, the wife of Sneferu and mother of Cheops, are gathered. We have already seen her sarcophagus and her Canopic chest (G 47, north-east.) In the centre of this room are the queen's carrying-chair, bed, arm-chair, bracelet box with silver bracelets inlaid with butterflies of semi-precious stones, while the window-cases contain her toilet-vases, razors, alabaster jars and dishes. The woodwork of the objects in the tomb (see the photographs on the wall) had shrunk so badly that it could not be used in reconstructing the furniture. A detailed study of it, however, enabled Dr. G. A. Reisner, the discoverer of the tomb, to make models of it correct to the smallest detail, on which he placed the ancient gold leaf. The result is a triumph of patience.

We now come to the section of the Museum which, to many, is sure to prove the most attractive of all. This is the Jewel-Room U 3), Nos. 3898A-4218), which contains a collection, unrivalled in the world, of Egyptian artistic craftsmanship, from 3500 B.C. down to Graeco-Roman and Byzantine times. Though Mr. Woolley's discoveries at Ur prove that in the earliest days of both civilizations the goldsmith of Babylonia ran his brother of Egypt very close, yet the supremacy in this kind quickly passed to the Egyptian artist, and for at least 2,000 years he was, alike for taste in design and for technical skill, the supreme artist of the ancient world. After the conquests of the XVIIIth Dynasty, the introduction of foreign elements began to vitiate his taste in design, and the later work of the Empire is apt to be heavy and overloaded; but the technical skill of the workman remains unimpaired to the last. The gradual degeneration in taste can be clearly traced in the wonderful collection of examples from all periods of the national history here gathered together; it is only fair to say that the astonishing craftsmanship of the Egyptian goldsmith is to be seen equally clearly all through.

Already at the very dawn of the Dynastic Period, we have ample proof of the mastery of his craft which the Egyptian jeweller had attained more than 5,000 years ago. Here (Nos.

4000-4003, U 3, Case 2) are displayed the four bracelets which Petrie's workmen found on the skeleton arm of the queen of King Zer of the Ist Dynasty, tucked into a hole in the wall of the tomb, where previous plunderers had left it many centuries before. The bracelets are of excellent design, and their technique is already admirable. 'The technical perfection of the soldering has never been excelled, as the joints show no difference of colour, and no trace of excess' (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, p. 19). In Case 1 are Nos. 4005 and 4006, an ox and a gazelle in gold repoussé, of fine Ist Dynasty workmanship, from Nag' el-Deir. In No. 4010, U 3, Case 3, we have one of the chief glories of the Old Kingdom goldsmith's craft, the magnificent hawk's head of gold, surmounted by golden plumes, which Quibell discovered at Hieraconpolis along with the copper statues of Pepi I and his son. The eyes of this splendid bird are inserted, and consist of the polished ends of a rod of obsidian which passes right through the head. This famous piece is attributed to the period of the VIth Dynasty, to which Pepi I also belongs.

Nos. 3898A-3991, U 3, Cases 4 and 5, are the Treasure of Dahshûr, consisting of the jewellery of certain princesses of the XIIth Dynasty discovered there by M. J. de Morgan. Notice especially No. 3983, Case 4, a pectoral or breast-ornament with the cartouche of Senusret II between two hawks, who wear the Double Crown. The work is of gold, inlaid with lapis lazuli, carnelian, and green felspar. No. 3970, Case 4, is also a pectoral in which a vulture with outspread wings overshadows the cartouche of Senusret III, which is supported on either side by a griffin, trampling on the enemies of Egypt. The materials are again gold, lapis, carnelian, and green felspar. The height of the pectoral is just over 2 inches, and it is marvellous how the artist has kept his design so clear and unconfused in so tiny a space. No. 3971, Case 4, is also a pectoral, this time adorned with the cartouche of Amenemhêt III. As before, the vulture overshadows the cartouche, while its supporters are tiny figures of Amenemhêt himself slaying his enemies with his mace. The materials are gold, lapis, carnelian, and paste. The height is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; but in spite of the larger space allotted, the design is by no means so satisfactory as in the preceding case, being overcrowded and obscure. The workmanship, however, is as fine as usual.

The two diadems of the Princess Khnûmet are probably the most attractive pieces of the whole treasure (Nos. 3925, 3926, Case

9). They are of strongly contrasted styles, 3925 being a naturalistic design of tendrils, held together with florets of gold with hearts of carnelian, with petals of lapis, and berries of the same. 'The most charmingly graceful headdress ever seen' (Petrie, *Arts and Crafts*, pp. 88, 89). No. 3926 is as formal as its companion is natural. It consists of double lyre motives, separated by rosettes, which uphold erect lyre motives. The whole is of gold, inlaid with lapis, carnelian, red jasper, and green felspar. The workmanship is in both cases as fine as the design. In the case of the floral design it is almost miraculously fine. The florets are not stamped, but each gold socket is made by hand for the inserted stones. In no case, however small, was the polishing of the stone done in its cloison; it was always finished before setting' (Petrie, *Arts and Crafts*, p. 89). These are the chief pieces of the treasure; but there are many other items of less importance, but almost equal beauty, and all are of the same high standard of workmanship.

Nos. 3995-3999, Case 8, are part of the treasure of El-Lâhûn, discovered by Petrie in the tomb of Princess Sit-Hathor-Iunet, near the pyramid of Senusret II at El-Lâhûn. No. 3998, Case 3, a pectoral in gold, carnelian, lapis, and blue paste (now white), bears the cartouche of Amenemhêt III, to whom the princess was possibly married. It is upheld by a squatting man, who holds the notched palm-branches, the symbol of 'millions of years', and the supporters are hawks, while uraei are also coiled on either side of the cartouche. The workmanship is even finer than that of the Dahshûr pectorals; but the Amenemhêt pectoral here exhibited is inferior, both in design and execution, to a pectoral of Senusret II, the father of the princess, which was found at the same time, and is now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. No. 3997, Case 8, a hand-mirror in gold, silver and obsidian, is the most complete extant example of its kind. One of the most satisfying specimens in existence of the taste and skill of the Egyptian goldsmith is No. 3999, Case 8, the diadem of the princess. A plain, narrow band of gold is adorned at intervals by rosettes of gold and inlaid. In front it bears the royal uraeus, of gold, inlaid with carnelian, lapis, and garnet. Two tall, thin plumes of gold plate rise from a socket at the back of the circlet, and would quiver with every movement of the wearer; while three pairs of gold ribbons hang down from the back and the two sides. Altogether the diadem is a match, in its simplicity and

grace, even for the more elaborate coronets from Dahshûr. Taken together, the three pieces show that the Egyptian of the XIIth Dynasty was at least as civilized, so far as taste goes, as any of the races which have succeeded him—much more so than most of them. No. 6116, U 3, Case 8, is of great interest. It is a splendid uræus in solid gold, inlaid with carnelian, lapis lazuli, and turquoise. It was discovered by Petrie in a room adjoining the burial-chamber of the pyramid of Senusret II at El-Lâhûn, and probably once adorned the Double Crown of that Pharaoh.

The inlaid jewellery of the XIIth Dynasty described above should be remembered when examining the treasure of Tutankhamûn. In the former the inlay consists of semi-precious stones while in the latter it is—with few exceptions—of glass, a very much more tractable material.

U 3, Case 10, contains the jewellery which by a strange chance was in one sense the cause of the Museum being established (Nos. 4030-4057). Mariette, in spite of his success in finding monuments and statues, lacked, for a time, the means of offering to Said Pasha the kind of treasure which the Oriental mind appreciates most—a treasure of gold and gems. On February 5th, 1859 some of his agents, digging at Dirâ' abu el-Naga, in the Theban Necropolis, discovered in the sand a coffin which belonged to Queen Ah-hotpe, the mother of Ahmôse I, the deliverer of Egypt from the Hyksos yoke. The Mudir (Governor) of Qena, hearing of the find, seized the coffin, took out the mummy, and hastened off by boat to offer the jewellery as a gift to Said. Mariette, however, had no intention of allowing any mudir to appropriate the credit of the discoveries of his workmen. Boarding his official steamboat, *The Samanoud*, he went in search of the piratical mudir, caught the mudir's boat, and pirated the pirate. 'As persuasion did not succeed, he passed to action; he threatened to throw one man into the water, to blow out another's brains, to send a third to the galleys, and to hang a fourth; and following his words with blows, he obtained, on giving a receipt for it, delivery of the box containing the treasure' (Maspero, *Guide*, p. 15). Knowing the risk he ran, he lost no time in hastening to his master Said, and telling him the whole story. Fortunately, Said looked upon the whole business as a great joke, and did not insist upon keeping the treasure for himself. 'Convinced at last of the richness of his collection, he gave orders that a building worthy of it should be erected at Bulâq' (Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 15).

Queen Ah-hotpe's treasure, thus twice pirated, and the unconscious instrument of the creation of a great Museum, now peacefully occupies an honoured place, as already mentioned, in Case 10. Notice, especially, Nos. 4030 and 4049, two boats, in silver and gold respectively, with their crews; No. 4031, a gold chain with three golden flies; Nos. 4032, 4033, battle-axes, of which the latter bears the cartouche of Kamôse, the Pharaoh before Ahmose I, who could not bear to sit 'cheek by jowl with an Asiatic and a Nigger!' and No. 4037, an elaborate collar of gold, with falcons' heads for clasps. Originally the collar was at least a third larger than at present; but a part of the materials composing it disappeared when the mummy was unwrapped in the harem of the Mudîr of Qena. Nos. 4055-4057 are daggers, of which the first is of gold, both weapon and sheath, and is finely decorated in Aegean style.

Nos. 4210-4218, Case 11, are the Treasure of Zagazig, or Tell Basta, which was discovered in 1906 during the making of the railway embankment past the site of the ancient Bubastis. It, too, has known 'alarums and excursions' in its day, as the Service of Antiquities had to maintain its right to it against the impudent and persistent claim of a local antiquity-monger. The treasure is mostly of XIXth Dynasty work; and while it is of undoubted richness and good workmanship, its chief interest lies in the examples which it offers of the gradual degeneration in design and taste which marked the later period. Nos. 4212, 4213, the bracelets of Ramses II, are ugly and clumsy; and even the famous silver jug (4216), with handle of gold in the form of a goat standing on its hind legs and looking greedily over the rim, though quaint and clever, is absolutely bad design. Workmanship, however, continues excellent.

Nos. 4190-4199, Cases 13 and 14, are the ornaments of Queen Tiy and Queen Tausret (Tewosret) discovered by Mr. T. M. Davis in 1907 and 1908. In comparison with the other royal jewellery which we have been seeing, there is nothing of great importance or interest among them, though No. 4190, Case 13, a pectoral collar in the customary form of a vulture with outspread wings, is of interest as having probably belonged, not to Tiy, but to her son Akhenaten.

The Treasure of Tûkh el-Qaramûs, Nos. 4170-4177, Case 24, is another of these treasures whose discovery has come about in a curious fashion. It was found by the simple accident of a

trotting ass putting his hoof through a large jar of crude earthenware, which had been buried near the surface of the ground, and which now delivered up to the astonished and joyful rider of the beast a perfect little Golconda of gold-work and jewellery. The work is interesting, but not of first-class importance, and it is of late date.

The visitor will not have failed to observe that among all this wonderful collection, unparalleled elsewhere in the world, there occurs nothing that would strictly be called jewellery at all in modern usage. Gems such as we use in the making up of jewellery are practically never used by the Ancient Egyptian artist. The reason for this fact is not altogether his ignorance of such gems, though he had nothing like the stock of the modern jeweller to draw upon. The diamond, the ruby, and the sapphire he did not know at all, and his acquaintance with the pearl seems only to have begun in Ptolemaic times. Yet he was well acquainted with the emerald (or rather with its less perfect variety, the beryl), the amethyst, and other stones (Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, p. 160). Emerald, however, he seldom or never uses in his jewellery work, and the amethyst only appears in the shape of beads for a necklace or some other similar use. The fact seems to be that the Egyptian had no use for the glitter and sparkle of what we call gems. It was the colour that he aimed at; and this, he found, admirably suited to his purposes, in stones which we to-day should only call semi-precious, sometimes not even that. Lapis lazuli, turquoise, carnelian, red jasper, green felspar—these and other such stones gave him what he wanted, the blended or contrasting colours with which he loved to diversify the golden backgrounds of his diadems and pectorals. His taste ran in the direction of colour rather than in that of glitter, and, looking at the results which he attained, few will be found to deny that he was right. Modern jewellery may look infinitely more costly, but it looks also common and vulgar beside the rich soft colouring of the Dahshûr and Lâhûn treasures.

Leaving the jewel room we see, on either side of the door, two almost life-sized statues of Tutankhamûn from Karnak. That on the left (No. 457) is of speckled grey granite and has been usurped by King Haremhab. The head, delicate and almost effeminate in feature is evidently a good likeness. A cast of it has been placed beside Tutankhamûn's coffin-mask in U₄ for comparison. The statue on the right (No. 6169), which is of

limestone, is of poorer work but serves to show that a real attempt was made by the Ancient Egyptians to obtain a portrait of the king, however formal the statuary may appear at first sight.

Crossing the main gallery we now come to what, until the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamûn, was perhaps the richest and finest example of Egyptian funerary equipment, though it was not that of a Pharaoh, or even of a royal prince, but only that of a Provincial Governor and Master of the Horse at the court of Amenophis III. Prince Yuya and his wife Thuyu were, however, the father and mother of Amenophis's beloved wife Ti, and it was probably that relationship which secured for them the somewhat commonplace tomb in the Valley of the Kings (No. 46), which was discovered in February 1905 by Mr. T. M. Davis. The examples of Egyptian craftsmanship here displayed are well worthy of careful attention (U 13, various cases, Nos. 3613-3705).

No. 3613 is a wooden bed, with string meshwork, and panels of gesso, gilt; and Nos. 3614, 3615 are specimens of 'the germinating Osiris', one of the most vivid of Egyptian figures of the Resurrection, in which barley sown upon a figure of Osiris sprouted and so symbolized the new life after death. No. 3660, Case T, is a group of funerary statuettes of Yuya and Thuya. They are made of fine-grained wood, alabaster, and bronze, covered with gold and silver foil. Nos. 3666-3669, Cases C, D, E, F, are the various coffins of Yuya. No. 3666 is the second mummiform coffin of the prince, of wood and gesso, richly gilt, and inlaid with semi-precious stones and glazes. No. 3667 is the outermost mummiform coffin, of wood, black varnished and decorated with gold leaf. No. 3668 is the great outer sarcophagus in which the mummiform coffins were enclosed. It was mounted on a sled, on which it was drawn to the tomb. No. 3669 is the innermost mummiform coffin of Yuya, of wood covered with gilt gesso and inscribed in polychrome glazes. No. 3671, Case N, is the innermost mummiform coffin of Thuyu, of wood covered with gilt gesso. Nos. 3672-3674 are of interest as showing the work of the court carpenter in the reign of Amenophis III; 3672 is one of two arm-chairs inscribed with the name of the Princess Sitamûn, daughter of Amenophis III and Ti, and apparently offered by her as part of the funerary furniture of her grandfather and grandmother. It is a well-made chair of common wood, veneered with what seems to be walnut. The decoration is of gilt gesso, and

female heads are carved in the round at the tops of the front legs where the arms join the level of the seat. The relief on the back panel represents Princess Sitamûn receiving from the girl slave 'the gold of the lands of the South', and grotesque figures of the god Bes adorn the arms. No. 3673 is of wood gilded, with a relief on the back panel representing Queen Tiy seated in a papyrus skiff. A pet cat sits beneath her chair, and at the prow and stern of the skiff are two girl fan-bearers, of whom the one before the queen is Princess Sitamûn herself. This chair offers a curious illustration of the fact that Queen Tiy, in spite of all the splendour of her court, had, like Mrs. Gilpin, 'a frugal mind'. The string seat of little Princess Sitamûn's baby chair wore out with much use; but Queen Tiy, instead of scrapping it, summoned the court joiner, who put in a wooden seat instead, and gave it a coat of yellow paint, to keep it in tone with the gilded wood. No. 3674, also a child's chair, has a pierced carving of Bes and Thouêris (Taurt) at the back; while the arms are adorned with an ibex, kneeling before two *Ankhs* and a *Buckle of Isis*. This chair, when found, had a cushion in white and rose (No. 3675) stuffed with pigeon's feathers. 'It was so perfectly preserved that one might have sat upon it, or tossed it from this chair to that without doing it injury.' So said Mr. Weigall, who opened the tomb for Mr. Davis (*The Treasury of Ancient Egypt*, p. 175).

No. 3676, Case H, is a light chariot, possibly also belonging to the Princess Sitamûn. Built in light but strong fashion of bent wood, with panels of leather, and gilded, it may never have been meant for serious use, but merely for funerary purposes. Until the discovery of the gorgeous chariots of the tomb of Tutankhamûn, it remained the finest example of an Egyptian chariot, with the possible exception of the one in the Museum at Florence, of which the Cairo Museum has a replica.

Nos. 3677 and 3678 are also notable examples of the Egyptian cabinet-maker's art in the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty. They are a toilet-box of Amenophis III and a jewel-cabinet of Amenophis and Queen Tiy, and are both exquisitely made of wood inlaid with blue faience, and ornamented with gold. These may have been a gift to his father- and mother-in-law from Amenophis the Magnificent (possibly a funerary gift); they are certainly worthy even of his splendour. Notice Nos. 3679 and 3680, specimens of the cabinet-maker's art in the way of bed frames; 3679 is a fine example. Nos. 3690-3693, and 3690A-3693A, are the Canopic

jars of Yuya and Thuyu respectively. They are of alabaster, and the heads which cover them are of gilt cartonnage. No. 3704 is the outer mummiform coffin of Thuyu, of wood covered with gilt gesso, and No. 3705 is her sarcophagus, of black varnished wood, mounted on its sled.

Re-entering the main gallery, we now turn to the remarkable treasure which, ever since its discovery in 1922, has attracted more attention than any other find in the archaeological world. That is not to say, of course, that the treasures of the tomb of Tutankhamûn are of supreme historical importance. In that respect, they have certainly been surpassed by Mr. Woolley's astonishing results from the early royal tombs of Ur; while the unimportant-looking Amârna Tablets have added to our knowledge of the ancient world of about the very time at which Tutankhamûn lived in a manner which the gorgeous relics of the young Pharaoh cannot approach. Yet, in spite of this, the Tutankhamûn relics are of first-class importance, as giving us an unparalleled store of material of the very highest class from which to correct and adjust our ideas as to the civilization of Egypt about fourteen centuries before Christ, and especially our ideas as to the quality of its art and its craftsmanship. Strictly speaking, they have taught us little that is exactly new; but they have taught us a lesson in respect of the thoroughness of Egyptian artistic craftsmanship and its overwhelming abundance, and they extra-illustrate, in a very striking fashion, a period which is in itself one of the most interesting in the ancient history of the Near East; while, with one or two exceptions, which will be noticed in their places, they are themselves singularly attractive.

The little that is known of the short life of Tutankhamûn may be briefly summarized. He belonged to the royal family; so much is clear, not only from the reference on the Gebel Barkal lion in the British Museum, but from his physical characteristics as revealed by his various portraits; but in what actual relationship he stood to his father-in-law Akhenaten and to Nefertiti is nowhere stated. No one who has studied the portraits of this period can have the slightest doubt that there was a blood-relation, and a close one, between him and Akhenaten. At the death of Akhenaten, Smenkhkêrê, who had married an elder daughter of Akhenaten, succeeded for a brief period; then he died, or was otherwise disposed of, and the throne was occupied by Tutankhamûn, as he was then called, who was married to Akhenaten's

daughter, Ankhsenpaaten, both being mere children. The young Pharaoh can scarcely have been more than a puppet in the hands of the triumphant priests of Amûn. He was obliged to change his name from its old form Tutankhaten. 'The Life of the Aten [or Sun] is Beautiful' to Tutankhamûn, 'The Life of Amûn is Beautiful'; at least one cannot imagine the change, which certainly took place, being a voluntary one. He returned, with the court, from El-'Amârna to Thebes, if indeed the beginning of this change did not date from the reign of Smenkhkerê; and after a reign which was probably not much longer than six years, he died, from what cause is unknown, and was buried in a comparatively insignificant tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, with a wealth of furniture to which no other approach has ever been known, so much so as to suggest that his tomb may have been used as a safe place for storing other valuables, not funerary, which it was desired to preserve. It has to be remembered that Tutankhamûn closes the true line of the XVIIIth Dynasty. It would seem that his conduct during his brief reign had not been such as altogether to please the priesthood of Amûn, for his name, like that of Akhenaten, was omitted from the king-lists, and his successor (next but one), Haremhab, erased his name on every possible opportunity, which suggests some struggle of the poor boy against the malignity of the priests.

With the exceptions of the four great shrines in which the coffins were nested, which will occupy sections U 7 and U 8, and which cannot be set up until the winter of 1931, practically the whole contents of the tomb are in Cairo and on view, the Museum stores only containing a large quantity of textiles, mostly in very bad condition, and certain objects of little interest (exact duplicates of which are in the cases). At any moment the Museum authorities may commence the task of re-arranging the exhibits according to category. The numbers at present in use are in the order in which the objects were received at the Museum. The cases in which the objects are at present to be found are given, in the following pages, in parenthesis after the exhibition number. The total number of objects from the tomb on view is 1183 and all except the most recent (1931), are described in the *Brief Description of the Principal Monuments*, which is on sale at the Museum. A complete description of all of them is of course far outside the range of this work; nor is one necessary, as a great proportion of the objects from the tomb speak for

themselves—their functions are obvious. The most that can be done in the following pages is to call the visitor's attention to the objects of outstanding interest and, in certain cases, to reinforce the condensed descriptions of the *Guide*. The order followed here is that in which the objects are most conveniently visited.

The first group, Nos. 984 and 985, is remarkable, and has only recently been received from Luxor. It consists of an alabaster box, mounted on a wooden sled with a lid of the form of the roof of a traditional Egyptian shrine. Within, it is divided into four compartments, each of which was covered by one of the alabaster heads of the king now shown in the case (No. 57) in front of it. This box contained the viscera of the king. They were contained in four miniature coffins of gold, inlaid with polychrome glass, apparently imitations of the second innermost coffin now on view in Room U 4. These small coffins have been extracted and can be seen in U 4, Case 32. The extraction was difficult, as they were stuck fast with some black resinous substance which was poured over them before the lids were put in place. Note around the box representations of the four guardian goddesses; a feature also to be seen in the sarcophagus of Tutankhamûn at Luxor and on the sarcophagus of King Ay in G 43. Behind this Canopic chest, is another, of wood gilt, in which the alabaster chest was contained. It is also in the form of a shrine, and has a second roof supported by four uprights. Both roofs are decorated with rows of uraei. Around it stand the four guardian goddesses, Isis (455), Nephthys (456), Neith (457), and Selket (458), which are unique in Egyptian art practice, so far as is known. They are of wood, covered with gold leaf, and are exquisitely graceful in their pose, and of the utmost delicacy in their execution. Their grace shows us something of what the Amârna art might have been capable of in the direction of liberating Egyptian sculpture from the conventions which eventually strangled it, had it not been for the blighting influence of the victorious priesthood of Amûn. It is scarcely possible to praise these little masterpieces too highly. The effect of the group can only be described as sumptuous.

We now pass eastwards down the main gallery, turn to the left and enter U 4, which contains the most valuable of Tutankhamûn's treasures.

After the four shrines in which the sarcophagus of Tutankhamûn was enclosed had been opened and the sarcophagus-lid removed,

it was found that the king's mummy was enclosed in three coffins, of which the two outer ones were made of wood, covered with thin sheet gold, while the innermost was of solid gold. The outermost wooden coffin, with the king's mummy, remains with the great sarcophagus at Luxor; the second wooden coffin and the golden innermost one are here.

No. 219 (29) is the innermost coffin. It is of solid gold, beautifully chased and inlaid with polychrome decoration in semi-precious stone and glass. Its length is 6 feet $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and the thickness of the gold is $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ millimetres. Its weight is 110 kilograms (say 2.16 cwt.), and its value as sheer bullion is about £13,500. The bullion value of this priceless work of art is, however, the least of it. Though the idea of a coffin of solid gold may suggest the *nouveau riche*, nothing can be farther from the truth, as the sight of the actual coffin will at once prove. It is indeed a very remarkable and impressive piece of art, and the magnificent workmanship is more than equalled by the dignity with which the portrait-sculpture of the young Pharaoh looks out from its Osirian wrappings. Perhaps it is the best compliment to the artist who wrought this splendid work to say that the impression which it makes is such as to make one forget altogether the question of its material and its bullion value.

No. 220 (32) also makes the double appeal of being bullion and art as well. It is the golden mask which was placed within the coffin over the king's head and shoulders. It is quite obviously a very carefully studied portrait, and the features betray such a striking likeness to Akhenaten and his mother Tiye as to suggest that Tutankhamûn was not only related to them by marriage, but was of the direct royal line of Amenophis III. The young king wears the royal head-cloth, adorned with inlaid strips of blue glass; his eyebrows and eyelids are inlaid with lapis lazuli, and over his breast lies a broad collar inlaid with semi-precious stones and glass. His brow bears the uraeus and vulture.

No. 222 (36) is the second of the three anthropoid coffins, and held the gold coffin, being itself enclosed in the outermost coffin, which remains in the sarcophagus at Luxor. It is of wood covered with thin sheet gold, and adorned with polychrome decoration in glass. The gold on the head and hands is heavier than the rest. The king is shown as Osiris, with the crook and flail, and bears on his brow the uraeus and vulture; while his

body is covered by the protecting wings of the vulture of Nekhebt and the serpent of Buto.

Notice especially No. 224, a pectoral in gold and glass inlay in the form of the human-head bird (the *ba*), which symbolizes the soul. Its richly decorated wings are outspread, and it holds in its claws the symbols of eternity. A particularly graceful and interesting piece, in connexion with which it should be noted that the bird wears exactly the same diadem as that which was found with Tutankhamûn. The two daggers, Nos. 225 and 226, are beautifully wrought. The blade of the second is of unruined iron, and is therefore noteworthy, as iron was a rarity at the time. The fine series of pectorals, Nos. 227-232 (33 *bis*), are worthy of inspection as good examples of the sort of artistic craftsmanship in which the Egyptian goldsmith has never been surpassed; and the series of *usekh* collars, Nos. 312-316 (30), should also be noted in this connexion.

The diadem of Tutankhamûn is No. 317 (35). It is a simple band of gold, bearing in front the uræus and vulture, and decorated with contiguous circles of translucent carnelian, which have gold bosses in their centres, and are bordered with a glass pattern of lapis lazuli and turquoise colour. The floral and disk-shaped bow at the back of the band is inlaid with malachite and sardonyx. The back golden ribbons, and the side pieces terminating in the uræus, are hinged, so as to be adaptable to whatever size of wig the king might be wearing. The tail of the brow uræus is prolonged in convolutions over the crown of the head. Though slightly more elaborate, this beautiful piece of design and workmanship reminds one of the diadem of the Princess Sit-Hathor-Iunet, from the Lâhûn Treasure (No. 3999). Both are admirable specimens of the skill of the Egyptian artist in design and execution, and their comparative simplicity adds enormously to their charm. In the same case as the diadem is a particularly beautiful gold statuette of King Amenophis III (No. 445), whose relation to Tutankhamûn is still uncertain. It was found in a series of small coffins together with a lock of hair of Queen Tiy, which will be seen in due course. One of the miniature gold coffins, mentioned on p. 90 which contained part of the king's intestines is seen in case 32. With it are royal and religious emblems which the king used when taking part in various ceremonies, when he represented Osiris, god of the dead.

The remainder of the room contains a wonderful series of

pectorals, rings, amulets, collars and other ornaments. In spite of balance being, in general, sacrificed to decoration, many of the objects are of exquisite beauty and well repay a detailed study.

Leaving the jewel room of Tutankhamûn and re-entering the main gallery we see a series of beds. The low ones were, no doubt, for use in the palace, and the difference in their qualities is remarkable. No. 95 is of plain wood (note the support for raising the head), No. 20 of ebony, No. 1065 is covered with gold leaf, while No. 530 is decorated with heavy gold plate. A common decoration for the foot-panels is the god Bes—the god of the toilet, of sleep and of birth.

The three large beds (Nos. 732, 221 and 521), whose supports are pairs of very elongated lions, hippopotami and Hathor cows, which startled the public so much on their first disclosure, are purely funerary, and played some part during the burial ceremonies, but exactly what part is quite unknown. There is proof that other kings had a similar set in their tombs. Remains of Haremhab's beds can be seen in a case on the west wall of the section in which the contents of the tomb of Yuya and Thuyu are shown.

By the staircase is an example of the Bed of Osiris (No. 1064), a trough in the form of the god filled with growing corn and placed in the tomb to symbolize the Resurrection.

Turning to the right and entering the eastern gallery we notice Nos. 96 (6) and 181 (5), the two statues of wood, black varnished, which were found standing like sentries on either side of the built-up door into the sarcophagus-chamber of the tomb. They are twins, save that the king in 96 wears the *nemes* headdress, and in 181 a rounded wig. Parts of both statues are of gold, e.g., the edges of the eyelids and the eyebrows, and parts of the wood are gilded; the royal uraeus and the sandals are of gilded bronze.

Nos. 97–116 are the bodies, wheels, and other parts of the two state chariots which were found dismantled in the tomb. No. 97 (8) is a chariot-body of gilded wood, decorated with designs in relief and polychrome glaze. The middle of the design is occupied by the cartouches of the king and queen, guarded by a falcon with outstretched wings. Between the top of the chariot and the outside border is an openwork series of prisoners, negro and Asiatic. No. 98 (7) is another chariot-body of gilded wood, with

designs in relief. The royal cartouches occur as before ; then the emblem of the Union of the Two Lands appears above the scene of Asiatic and negro captives, who are being trampled upon by a couple of royal sphinxes. The remaining numbers are those of the details of the chariot-equipment. Notice, especially Nos. 111, 112 (G), two gilded falcons, each crowned with the solar disk, which were apparently the ornaments for the ends of the poles of of the two chariots.

Generally speaking, the alabaster vases, of which so much fuss was made at first (Nos. 6-9 (14), 183 (16), 185 (14), etc.), are unworthy of their reputation, though there are fine exceptions. Frankly, they are ugly, of bad design, and overloaded with bad ornament. The general tendency among them is to extreme over-elaboration, and the pieces sometimes remind one of some of the mid-Victorian atrocities in fluorspar and other materials in which our grandparents seemingly delighted. No. 11 (16), the king's wishing-cup, is one of the exceptions. It is simple and graceful, with its hieroglyphic inscription wishing Tutankhamûn prosperity and long life, and its lotus-flower handles, with the symbol for 'Millions of Years', so tragically belied by the king's actual career. No. 184 (16), the alabaster lamp, showing, when lit, a picture of the king and queen, is curious, and might be amusing to children ; but the duty of a lamp is surely not to be an inefficient sort of magic lantern.

Nos. 119-133 (27), except No. 125 (15) are the bows and walking-sticks and ceremonial staves of the king. See also Nos. 175-180 (13), and Nos. 189-191 (15), Nos. 195-197 (17 and 15) and Nos. 213-216 (17), and others. Nos. 187, 188 (15 and 17) are two of the ceremonial fans which were waved around the royal throne. The handles are gold-plated, and the flat parts of the feather-holders are adorned, in the first case with a design in low relief in sheet gold, in the second with a design in polychrome glaze inlay.

No. 1 (21) is the royal throne of wood carved and overlaid with gold, and enriched with inlaid work of polychrome glazes, faience, stones, and silver. The main panel, at the back, is a beautiful piece of polychrome decoration, representing the king seated in a negligent attitude, while the queen, delightfully graceful in her attitude, stands before him with a small pot of ointment in her hand, and touches him on the shoulder. Overhead, the Aten sheds its rays on the royal pair, who certainly needed all the

sunshine they could get in their short and bitter reign. The work is Amârna art in its sane and good aspect, without the stiff conventionalities of ordinary Egyptian art, but also without the tendency to caricature and exaggeration which spoiled the Amârna work at last. The arms of the throne are formed of uraei, crowned and winged, and the legs are those of a feline quadruped, the general impression of the throne is of extraordinary richness and sumptuousness, not only of material, but of colour. Note that the royal names have not been completely changed in the decoration of the throne. The outside still bears the old names, Tutankhaten, Ankhsenpaaten, while the inside had Tutankhamûn, Ankhsenamûn. This is the second oldest example of a royal throne known to exist, its senior being the throne of Minos, from the palace of Knossos in Crete. Probably the difference in age does not amount to very much—a matter, perhaps of half a century or so. Tutankhamûn's throne certainly looks more comfortable than that of Minos; but one doubts if either proved a comfortable seat, having regard to the circumstances of the two kingdoms.

No. 3 (22) is a fine red-wood chair, which, though not so gorgeous as No. 1, is yet a fine example of Egyptian workmanship. It is decorated with the solar disk in gold, and the nails and angle-pieces are of the same metal, while the claws of the lion's feet are of ivory. The back has an open-work scene, with the figure holding the notched branches, the symbol of 'Millions of Years', and the Horus-name of the king, with a falcon wearing the Double Crown.

No. 983 the most recent acquisition, was originally a folding stool, and for some unknown reason was converted into a chair. The decoration is most elaborate, but not in the best of taste. The cartouches of the king show that it was made for him before he returned to the ancient worship of Amûn.

No. 14 (18) is a shrine of wood covered with sheet gold, standing on a sled overlaid with silver. It has a two-leaved door with ebony bolts, both the panels and the door are adorned with scenes representing the domestic life of the king and queen, and their sport in the marshes. The scenes are very daintily wrought in the realistic Amârna style.

The magnificent wooden chest (No. 324 (20)), well repays detailed study. The scenes on the sides, painted with extraordinary fineness represent the king fighting against the Syrian

and the negro. On the lid are sporting scenes. Lions, antelopes, ostriches, etc., being shot with the bow and hunted with hounds. It is quite unparalleled in Egyptian art.

No. 444 (56) has a pathetic interest of its own. It is a lock of Queen Tiy's hair, the sole personal relic that is known of one who filled so great a space in the world of her time. It is obvious, from this little personal touch, that the memory of Tiy was cherished in her own family circle, for the lock was carefully preserved (No. 443 (56)). Being a fragment of a queen, it was placed in four coffins!

No. 535 (59) is a very elaborate example of the kind of monstrosity to which the facility of working alabaster sometimes tempted the Egyptian artist. It is an alabaster boat, with a cabin in the form of a shrine, supposed to be floating in a lake, on a stand of alabaster, inlaid with red and blue pastes. The crew of the boat consists of a girl, posed in a singularly graceful attitude. Her companion is a figure, who, as we are told on high medical authority, is an achondroplastic dwarf 'whose characteristic bodily and facial deformities are here portrayed with exquisite artistry!' If one likes that sort of thing, and thinks that the portrayal of deformities, so far developed that 'the feet are so much turned inwards that progression must have meant the lifting of one foot over the other', is actually work for an artist, then this is the kind of thing that one will like. It seems to want nothing but 'a Present from Cairo' inscribed on it in letters of gold. The Egyptian artist, however, though he sometimes allowed himself to be thus drawn away into sin, was capable of infinitely better work than this, and some of the simpler alabaster vases are as much better than this and other pieces of the same type as they have been less praised.

No. 16 (1) is the curious bust which excited so much attention at the time of the discovery. It is of wood covered with painted gesso, and wears the type of crown also worn by Queen Nefertiti; whence it has been supposed latterly to be the portrait of Queen Ankhsenamûn.

It is both needless and impossible to discuss the series of fans, sandals, gaming-boards, coffers of all sorts, shapes and sizes, walking-sticks, bows, and all the other paraphernalia considered necessary for the equipment of an unfortunate young Pharaoh who reigned only for a few years of 'labour and sorrow', and died before he was nineteen. Those who wish to make a fuller

acquaintance with the subject should read Dr. Howard Carter's two volumes, *The Tomb of Tutankhamen*, which gives the fullest account (yet incomplete) of the discovery and preservation of the treasure. It is much to be wished that a really full account, with illustrations of at least the chief objects in colour, should be published; but probably the cost of such a publication would be prohibitive. The unparalleled richness of the treasures makes us wonder whether Tutankhamûn was exceptional in the richness of his funerary equipment, and was so abundantly provided for some reason which has escaped us. If not, and if his equipment is to be accepted as more or less normal, what have we not lost in the fact that Tutankhamûn's tomb is the only royal tomb which has yet been discovered practically unrifled. Was the splendour of the tomb of Amenophis III as much greater than that of Tutankhamûn as the earlier Pharaoh was greater than his descendant? Probably we shall never know. The pity that Amenophis's tomb, which might have settled the question once for all, was rifled with thoroughness, somewhat more than three thousand years before the fortunate discovery of that of his unfortunate descendant, is infinite.

Space forbids anything like a complete description of the treasures contained in this Museum. If time allows, however, a visit should be paid to the rooms opening out of the eastern gallery of Tutankhamûn. In Room U 14 are a large number of portraits on wood of Roman date, which were placed over the heads of the mummies. Some are of real artistic merit, and the collection shows that Egypt was inhabited by as mixed a crowd of what are impolitely termed 'dagoes' as it is to-day.

U 19 is devoted to divinities, mostly of bronze, some of exquisite workmanship, many grotesque, but the majority of interest only to the student of Egyptian religion.

U 24 contains a magnificent collection of drawings on stone—technically known as ostraka. Most are from the Valley of the Kings at Thebes. They were made by the artists responsible for the decoration of the Royal Tombs and range from draughts for tomb scenes down to ribald sketches made in an idle moment or while testing a new reed. All are worth study.

In U 29 are exposed specimens of Egyptian writing in the hieroglyphic, hieratic and demotic scripts, together with examples of Greek and Aramaic texts. The most interesting bear labels with a précis of their contents. The subjects with which the

document deals are varied. We have an ancient letter from an officer complaining of the time wasted when he takes his men to Town to draw clothing ; we have the contract in which the wet-nurse Shepenêse agrees to suckle an official's child with both breasts with elaborate clauses to cover anything untoward. Two professional cat-feeders complain that although their sacred office exempts them from manual labour, the police-sergeant is forcing them to make bricks ; and the Jewish colony of the third century B.C. engage in financial transactions. On the walls of the room hang specimens of the *Book of the Dead* and other religious works, some of surprising beauty and delicacy. A quarter of an hour in this room is well spent.

U 34 is in some respects the most instructive of all, being devoted largely to tools, weapons, toys, in fact to objects of daily life. Here we see the enormous sled used to transport heavy weights, delightful toilet vases and spoons, musical instruments, weavers' appliances, weights and measures and the decorations from Ramesside palaces in the Delta. To describe this room in any detail would require a volume, and one of no mean size.

CHAPTER VI

HELIOPOLIS AND ITS OBELISK

ABOUT seven miles north-east from the centre of Cairo lies all that remains of the great and famous city of Heliopolis, the seat of the worship of the sun-god in Egypt, and of a college of priests who were renowned as the most learned of all the priestly colleges of Egypt, and the systematizers of Egyptian religion, so far as it ever was systematized, which was not very far. The forms of the sun-god which were worshipped at Heliopolis were the Hawk-headed Ra-Harakhte, and the Human-headed Ra-Atûm, of whom the sacred Mnevis bull of Heliopolis was the emblem. The Heliopolitan priests evolved a theological system according to which the sun-god, Rê, Khepri, Atûm, evolved himself out of the watery chaos, the Nûn. He then begat of himself two other gods, Shu and his consort Tefnut, the divinities who support the heavens. They in their turn produced Gêb and Nût, the earth-god and sky-goddess, and Gêb and Nût produced Osiris and Sêth, Isis and Nephthys. These nine gods constituted what was known as the Great Ennead of Heliopolis; and though other priestly colleges imitated the example of Heliopolis, and arranged enneads of their own, each with the local god at its head—e.g., the Ennead of Memphis, whose head was Ptah—the Heliopolitan Ennead continued to be the most highly revered. It was before the Great Ennead of Heliopolis that Sêth laid the charges against his injured brother Osiris, which resulted in the triumphant clearing of Osiris and the condemnation of Sêth.

Heliopolis, accordingly, was a place of great sanctity in Egyptian eyes, and even after the rise of Thebes and its local god Amûn to supremacy, in the XVIIIth Dynasty, it continued to be highly regarded. Even Amûn, the favourite of the conquering Pharaohs of the New Empire, had to take regard to the claims of the Heliopolitan god, and to identify himself with Rê, under the compound name of Amen-Rê before he could hope to commend himself to the whole Egyptian community. The revenues of the temple of the sun-god at Heliopolis continued to exceed those

of any other temple in Egypt, save only those of the temple of Amûn at Thebes. It is true, however, that Amûn's portion, like that of Benjamin, was five times as great as that of any other god, even of Rê of Heliopolis. The city and temple continued to be of high standing and importance in the Egyptian State down to its latest day, as is evidenced by the solemn respect with which Piankhy, the conquering Ethiopian Pharaoh, sought the countenance of the Heliopolitan god even after he had conquered all resistance on the part of the local dynasts. 'He ascended the steps to the great window, to behold Rê in his pyramidion-house. The king himself stood alone, he broke through the [seals upon] bolts, opened the double doors, and beheld his father Rê, in the glorious pyramidion-house, the Morning-barque of Rê, and the Evening-barque of Atûm.' The reputation of the Heliopolitan priests for learning continued high to a late period. Herodotus derived from them a good deal of the picturesquely accurate and inaccurate information which he so industriously collected about Egypt. 'I went', he says, 'to Heliopolis . . . for the Heliopolitans are esteemed the most learned in history of all the Egyptians.' And a quite erroneous story tells that Plato spent thirteen years in study there. To-day, however, nothing remains of the glories of this great and learned city but the scanty fragments which we are about to visit.

Heliopolis may easily be reached from Cairo either by motor-car, or by railway, starting from the Pont Limoun Station (trains every quarter to half-hour). The station for Old Heliopolis, which is our object, is El-Matariya. On the way it is advisable to visit the so-called Virgin's Tree and Well, not because there is any shadow of a foundation for the legend which links the surviving shoot of the old sycamore which fell in 1906 with the Egyptian visit of the Virgin and Child (for the sycamore was not planted till the end of the seventeenth century), but because the Virgin's Well actually has a curious connexion with the ancient worship of the sun-god. The Christian legend states that the Child Jesus called the well into existence, and that the Virgin washed His garments in it; but the native name for the spring bears witness to a much more ancient (and equally accurate) tradition. The name is '*Ain el-Shems*', 'The Fountain of the Sun', and the legend is that the sun-god bathed his face in the well when he arose upon the world for the first time. Piankhy's great stele, already quoted, refers to the old legend in its account of the king's

purification before his entry into the sun-god's temple. 'His purification was performed, and he was cleansed in the pool of Kebeh, and he bathed his face in the river of Nûn, in which Rê bathes his face.' The visitor to the Virgin's Tree and Well has therefore his choice between two ancient legends, of which the pagan one is undoubtedly by far the more ancient; for the 'River of Nûn' takes the story back to the primeval chaos from which the sun-god emerged. As the Christian legend states that the idols of Heliopolis all fell down upon their faces and did homage to the Virgin and Child, the visitor will probably prefer the later story; but both are doubtless equally veracious statements of fact.

Fifteen minutes will easily bring us from the Virgin's Tree to more authentic relics of ancient beliefs and glories. The mounds of the ancient walls of the city show it to have been of considerable extent—about 3 miles square; but nothing remains above ground to attract attention save the ancient obelisk, the most ancient existing, which still marks the approach to the XIIth Dynasty temple which took the place of earlier buildings under the two Pharaohs Amenemhêt I and Senusret I. The Middle Kingdom temple was begun by Amenemhêt I, the first Pharaoh of the XIIth Dynasty; but his son Senusret evidently made such large additions to the building that he claims to have built it anew. The original stele on which he recorded his achievement has long since disappeared; but a leather roll written for practice by a scribe of the time of Amenophis II (XVIIIth Dynasty) has preserved for us a copy. After the usual formal beginnings, the king goes on to state:

I will make a work, namely, a great house, for my Father Atûm.
He will make it broad, according as he hath made my kingdom
broad.

I will victual his altars on earth; I will build my house in the
sacred place.

My beauty shall be remembered in his house,
My name shall be [on] the obelisk, and my name [in] the lake;
Eternity is that splendid thing which I have made;
The king dies not who is spoken of for his achievements.

The roll goes on to describe what we should call the laying of the foundation-stone:

The king was crowned with the diadem, all the people were following him ;
The chief ritual-priest and scribe of the sacred book stretched the cord,
And set up the stake in the earth.

The temple thus built ' for eternity ' ought to be of special interest to students of the Bible, for it was to the daughter of its then high-priest Potiphar (Petepre—' The Gift of Rê '), priest of On, that Joseph, the young viceroy of Egypt, was married, possibly in Hyksos times. ' On ' was the Egyptian name of Heliopolis, being also called On-mehit, ' The Northern On ', to distinguish it from the Southern On, which the Greeks called Hermonthis.

Of all the splendour of what was once the foremost, and to the end never less than the second temple of Ancient Egypt, nothing now survives save the solitary shaft of red granite from Aswân, which Senusret I set up before it in celebration of his *Sed*-festival, or what we should call his Jubilee. This most venerable of the poor five obelisks which are all that are now left in Egypt, the home of the obelisk, measures about 67 feet in height, and is estimated to weigh about 121 tons. It is thus about one foot and a half less in height than Cleopatra's Needle on the Thames Embankment, and weighs about 66 tons less ; but it antedates our London shaft by nearly five centuries, having probably been set up about 1938 B.C.—say round about the time when Abraham lived. It was for many centuries one of a pair, though it is scarcely correct to say, as a modern guide-book does, that ' these monuments were always erected in pairs ', since the tallest extant obelisk, that of the Lateran, Rome, expressly states in the addition made by Tuthmosis IV to its inscription that it was ' a first instance of erecting a single obelisk in Thebes ', which surely implies that it was not to be the last of its kind.

In its time, Heliopolis must have been a city of obelisks. Another specimen of them (for the world rejoices in several which have been stolen from the city which once owned them), is the shaft usually known as the Flaminian Obelisk, which now stands in the Piazza del Popolo at Rome. It was erected at Heliopolis by Seti I, but left uninscribed by him. Ramses II, his son, inscribed it, and, with most unusual modesty (for him) allowed the inscription to record the works of his father as well as his

own. He tells us that Seti 'filled Heliopolis with Obelisks, shining with rays'; and if, immediately after this, he tells us that he himself 'made his monuments like the stars of heaven', after all, we must remember that he was Ramses II, and that bragging was the breath of his nostrils.

The only other obelisk actually found at Heliopolis was not erected by Senusret I, but by Tuthmosis III, nearly 500 years later. It was brought to light in 1912, during excavations by the British School of Archaeology, under Sir Flinders Petrie and Mr. R. Engelbach. The fragments found are now in the Cairo Museum. Tuthmosis III did more work than this at Heliopolis, as it was there that he set up the two shafts, which, after standing for many centuries at Alexandria, where they were removed by the prefect Barbarus in 23 B.C., now adorn the Thames Embankment and the Central Park, New York. Barbarus at least, in spite of his ominous name, did not rob the country of them, as later obelisk fanciers have done.

The two shafts, with their memories of the Old Kingdom and New Empire Pharaohs who erected them, stood until the middle of the twelfth century of our era; but when 'Abd el-Latif visited Heliopolis about A.D. 1190, the later one had fallen, and was lying broken. He noticed the copper caps which covered the pyramidions of both obelisks, and the fact that water running down from the copper had stained the shafts green in places.

And now the old shaft of Senusret has outlasted, so far as Heliopolis is concerned, all its bigger and more pretentious rivals and still looks down on the same site as that on which it was first set up nearly 4,000 years ago, though now how changed! Its inscription runs somewhat as follows:

The Horus, born of life, King of the South and North, Kheper-ke-Rê, Lord of Nekhebt and Wazet, born of life, the Son of Rê, Senusret, of the souls of On beloved, living for ever, The Golden Horus, born of life, the beautiful god, Kheper-ke-Rê, made this obelisk on the first day of the *Sed*-festival, the Giver of Life, living for ever.

CHAPTER VII

THE PYRAMIDS: ABU RAWÂSH AND GÎZA

THE pyramids may be reckoned, along with the Great Sphinx and the obelisks, as the most characteristic examples of the work of the Ancient Egyptians, as they are certainly those whose memory remains longest in the minds of those who have seen them. But by 'the pyramids' the average visitor to Egypt usually means nothing more than the group of the famous three at Gîza ; and thereby he carries away an entirely inadequate idea of the whole conception, nature, and function of the pyramid, and runs the risk of leaving his mind as fallow ground on which the germ of Great Pyramiditis may be sown, to bear in due course its usual crop of thistles and tares. To see no pyramids but those of the Gîza group, with nearly all the attention concentrated (rightly enough from the sightseer's point of view) on the Great Pyramid alone, means almost inevitably to produce in the mind the idea that this group of three pyramids is something entirely exceptional in Egyptian thought and practice, and that the Great Pyramid, in particular, is so absolutely unique as to render the commonplace theory of its having been merely a tomb very difficult of acceptance. What ought to be realized, therefore, first of all, with regard to the pyramids is that the Gîza group, far from being exceptional, is only one group out of many which still exist in Egypt, and many more which once existed but have now perished ; that groups of pyramids once stretched, and still stretch, though with gaps now in the line, from Abu Rawâsh, five miles north of Gîza, to Meroë, deep in the Sudan, between the Fifth Cataract and the Sixth, and within a short distance of Khartum ; that every single one of these pyramid groups is part of a necropolis, of which it is usually the centre ; and that every one of these pyramids had in its time a temple attached to it at which offerings were made and regular ritual gone through with on behalf of the dead person whom the pyramid commemorated and whose resting-place it was. It will then be understood that the pyramids, wherever

they may be found, and whatever their size, were nothing more or less than tombs, and that all the efforts of the ingenious individuals who have striven, with labour almost as vast as that which built the pyramids themselves, to show that the Great Pyramid is a divinely inspired compendium of everything that man has known, may know, or ought to know, as repository of all sorts of standard measures, an observatory (surely the most cumbrous and clumsy ever constructed), and a prophecy of all that has happened since it was built and all that will happen till it tumbles down, are simply 'vanity and a striving after wind.'

The Great Pyramid itself, vast as are its dimensions, is no exception in the regular series of pyramids; it is simply the culmination of the series. Somewhere or other, and some time or other, there was bound to be a biggest specimen of the universal pyramid tomb of royalty. The somewhere and some time came in the reign of Cheops of the IVth Dynasty, who was neither the first Pharaoh nor the last to build a great pyramid; and it came at Giza, because Giza was the most convenient place for the purpose at the time. Cheops's pyramid is certainly the biggest, by a good margin, of all extant pyramids; but Chephren's comes in a good second; while Sneferu's pyramid at Meydûm, did the later monster at Giza not exist, would have proved quite as good a subject as its successor for the paradoxers to exercise their misplaced ingenuity upon.

It is, of course, the Giza group which is first visited by every one, as it is often the only one; but in order to make our survey complete, we begin with the remains of the pyramids of Abu Rawâsh, the most northerly outposts of the long line which stretches for 1,000 miles along the Nile bank. To reach Abu Rawâsh, the tramway from Cairo, or a motor-car, should be taken to the Mena House Hotel at the pyramids, whence other more or less primitive means of conveyance will carry the traveller on over the remaining 5 miles. Another method is by taxi to Kerdâsa viâ Bulâq el-Dakrûr.

The remains at Abu Rawâsh are not imposing, as they have been used, at least since the time of Mehemet Ali, as a convenient quarry, and Petrie, in 1881, was informed that at the time of high Nile stone was being carried away at the rate of 300 camel-loads a day. In addition it is evident that at a very early date, probably during the disturbed period at the end of the Old Kingdom, there was here a great deal of wilful and malicious

destruction, in which the fine work of the royal tombs was smashed up out of sheer spite. In Vyse's time (1837) the principal pyramid consisted of a few courses of masonry, 'forming a square of three hundred and forty-four feet'. Since then there is little change, save that some of the masonry has vanished, and that the rock-cut pit which was meant to contain the sepulchral chamber, and which he describes as being a large quadrangular space, with a passage into it like the road into a quarry, is still more exposed. The pit, according to Petrie's measurements, was, in 1881, 30 feet by 70, by 30 feet high, and was probably originally lined with fine limestone 7 feet thick, leaving a tomb-chamber 16 feet by 56. The remains of the mortuary temple to the east are of brick, the stone having entirely disappeared. Excavations have been made at this pyramid by the Institut Français, and a fine head of Dedefrê (Razedef), the Pharaoh who built it, has been found. It is in red sandstone, and is now in the Louvre.

Of Dedefrê little is known. His name appears in the king-lists of Abydos and Saqqâra, between those of Cheops and Chephren, and it has been supposed by some that he may be the Prince Hordadef, son of Cheops, who figures in the magic tales of the Westcar Papyrus; but this is doubtful, and at present no means of fixing his position are known to exist. Relics of his reign are very scanty.

To the south-west lie the few fragments which now represent all that remains of a stone pyramid, on a smaller scale than that of Dedefrê; while north of Abu Rawâsh there are the remains of a third pyramid of brick. Lepsius, in 1840, found the brickwork standing to a height of 55 feet; but this has since almost entirely vanished. The remains of the causeway which, as usual, led up to the pyramid of Dedefrê may still be traced across the plain. Petrie in 1881 estimated the road to be nearly a mile long, and 40 feet high in some places. To the east and south lie tombs and mastabas of the Old Kingdom, showing that at Abu Rawâsh, as elsewhere, the royal pyramids formed the nucleus of a contemporary necropolis.

We have now the more important group of pyramids at Gîza to consider. They may be reached by tram or motor from Cairo, over a good road. The guide-books give estimates of the time to be allotted to the expedition; but this, of course, is not a matter of time-table, but of the interest which the visitor takes in the

mightiest buildings in the world. The Giza group of pyramids stands on a small plateau of nummulitic limestone, which though less than a mile across, ' may well claim to be the most remarkable piece of ground in the world '. Indeed, its only rival would be the Haram el-Sherif at Jerusalem ; and the interest of the Palestinian site is of a character entirely different from that of the pyramid plateau. Here, as has been well said, ' may be seen the very beginning of architecture, the most enormous piles of building ever raised, the most accurate constructions known, the finest masonry, and the employment of the most ingenious tools ; whilst, among all the sculpture that we know, the largest figure—the Sphinx—and also the finest example of technical skill with artistic expression—the statue of Chephren—both belong to Giza. We shall look in vain for a more wonderful assemblage than the vast masses of the pyramids, the ruddy walls and pillars of the granite temple, the titanic head of the Sphinx, the hundreds of tombs, and the shattered outlines of causeways, pavements, and walls, that cover the earliest field of man's labours.' Yet, on the whole, the first view of the pyramids of Giza is apt to be somewhat disappointing. Probably our very familiarity with pictures of the group which represent their towering bulks more or less isolated have something to do with this. We now see them in relation to an almost limitless expanse of desert, and the result is rather to dwarf them. Further, the very shape of the pyramid, which, from every point of view offers to the spectator a receding outline, may contribute to the impression that the pyramids have shrunk since we used to know them in pictures. Whatever the cause, the effect is certain—and disconcerting. The first view of the pyramids is not impressive and it is only when one gets into closer relation with the great bulks, and realizes how insignificant they make everything around them, that they begin to be appreciated at their true value. Moreover, as Miss Amelia Edwards long ago pointed out in her *Thousand Miles up the Nile*, both the condition and the colour of the great buildings are apt to come as a surprise. It is one thing to be told that the outer casing has been stripped from the Great Pyramid and its companions, leaving them roughly stepped ; but it is quite another to see the gigantic stairway rising against the sky, golden, as we might imagine Jacob's dream ladder. For the colour of the pyramids in sunshine is a thing by itself. ' Few persons can be aware beforehand of the rich tawny hue that

Egyptian limestone assumes after ages of exposure to the blaze of an Egyptian sun. Seen in certain lights, the pyramids look like piles of massy gold.'

First impressions over, and disappointments duly rebuked, our first consideration is, of course, due to the Great Pyramid. This Pharaoh among pyramids was built between 3098 and 3075 B.C. (*Cambridge Anct. Hist.*), or 3784 B.C. (Petrie, *Anct. Egypt*, 1929, pt. II) by Cheops (Khufu), the Souphis of Manetho, and probably the second king of the IVth Dynasty. Its original Egyptian name was '*Akhet-Khufu*', or '*Horizon of Khufu*', which shows conclusively what it was held to be by its contemporaries. The length of each of its sides is now 746 feet; it was formerly, before the outer casing of fine smooth limestone was removed, 755½ feet. Its present perpendicular height is 450 feet; it was originally 481 feet or thereabouts. If it is desired to know where the surplus has gone, search in Cairo would perhaps reveal the solution of that enigma, for the fine-hewn limestone has in all ages been a temptation to builders, and though the khalifs have got most of the blame, the mischief began much earlier. We shall meet in our visit to the pyramid plateau an inscription written by a miscreant architect of Ramses II, who in his misspent days demolished part of the casing of the second pyramid to build a temple at Heliopolis; so that the evil is of ancient date. The sides of the pyramid rise at an angle of 51° 50'. The area covered by the mass is about 13 acres, and it has been computed that this mountain of masonry contains more than 2,300,000 blocks of stone, each weighing, on an average, 2½ tons. The usual computations have been made by way of illustration of its greatness, as that a town to hold 120,000 people could be built out of the pyramid, and built of much better materials than are ordinarily used in such work; that the blocks of stone of which the pyramid is built, if cut into handy smaller blocks of a foot every way, would reach two-thirds of the way round the world at the Equator, if placed end to end; and so forth. The visitor will probably be quite satisfied that the pyramid is a very large building, without troubling his mind with such matters.

The material of which Cheops's great tomb is built is almost entirely limestone; but while all authorities are agreed that the fine limestone of the outer casing and the lining of the passages was brought from the eastern bank of the Nile, probably from

Tura and Ma'sara, there is a direct conflict of authority as to the source from which the coarser material for the core was obtained. Petrie states that 'no quarryings exist on the western side in the least adequate to yield the bulk of either of the greater pyramids', and that the limestone of the western hills is different from that of the pyramid masonry, which resembles the qualities usually quarried on the eastern bank. On the other hand, Lucas (*Ancient Egyptian Materials*, p. 12) states that the stone of the core is identical in character with that of the plateau on which the pyramids stand, and that some of the depressions near the site are the quarries from which the material was obtained, 'although, being now partly buried in sand, they are not easily recognizable'. But perhaps the matter is scarcely worth debating—the main fact being that the pyramid is there, and was built of limestone. Granite is also used for the lining of the King's Chamber (see plan) and for the system of portcullis blocks and the swing block which defended the entrance; but the Egyptian builder, here, as elsewhere, was wisely sparing in the use of the harder stones, reserving them strictly for purposes of adornment in the most sacred parts, or for purposes of defence in the most vulnerable part of the building.

Outside the core, which we now see, was a casing of fine limestone, so that the whole mass presented a shining white surface of exquisitely fitted and polished stone, with sheer unbroken faces on all of its sides. The entrance, on the north side, as invariably in a pyramid, would be carefully disguised, so that robbers might be defeated; a vain precaution, as the issue has shown. The question arises whether there were any inscriptions on this vast surface, which would have offered an irresistible temptation to the Egyptian king or architect of any subsequent period to put on record on such a magnificent page his great doings or qualities. Herodotus, whose description of the work on the pyramid is both picturesque and valuable, says that there were such inscriptions, and that his dragoman read them to him; but the character of the translation which that worthy gave to the historian shows that he knew no more about it than the modern dragoman does of the signs whose translation he gabbles off. 'On the pyramid', says Herodotus, 'is shown an inscription, in Egyptian characters, how much was expended in radishes, onions, and garlic, for the workmen; which the interpreter, as I well remember, reading the inscription, told me

amounted to one thousand six hundred talents of silver.' The extreme improbability of such an inscription need hardly be insisted upon; and it seems probable that the 'inscriptions' which Herodotus and his veracious dragoman saw were neither more nor less than the scrawls of the 'Arries and M'riars of ancient days, who were no less fond than their successors of leaving their undistinguished names and comments on the great monuments of the past, though we have now agreed to dignify these outrages by the name of *graffiti*.

Another question which has been frequently debated, with very little result, is that of whether the Great Pyramid, or any pyramid, for that matter, was planned from the very beginning on the scale on which it was afterwards completed, or was begun on a small scale, and subsequently added to until it reached, at last, its final greatness. The theory of gradual accretion which was started by Lepsius, the German Egyptologist, is that each king, on his accession, began his pyramid on a comparatively small scale, so that, if his reign should chance to be short, he might yet have a complete tomb awaiting him at his death. In proportion as his years were multiplied, he continued to increase the size of the building by the addition of outer coatings of stone, until he felt that he was drawing near his end. If he died before the work was finished, his successor finished off the casing, and the pyramid was therefore left a witness to the length of its builder's reign.

For a considerable time this scheme held the field, with all the more assurance as a reign of sixty years was attributed to Cheops, whose vast pyramid therefore seemed perfectly in accordance both with his long reign and with Lepsius's theory. It was challenged in 1881 by Petrie, who stated his belief, as the result of his researches, that the Great Pyramid and pyramids in general were definitely laid down from the beginning on a scale approximately the same as that on which they were completed, and that any subsequent changes or enlargements were merely of secondary importance. The design of the interior passages in the Great Pyramid, he affirms, is such that it could not have been practicable for any building not considerably over two-thirds of the size of the present one.

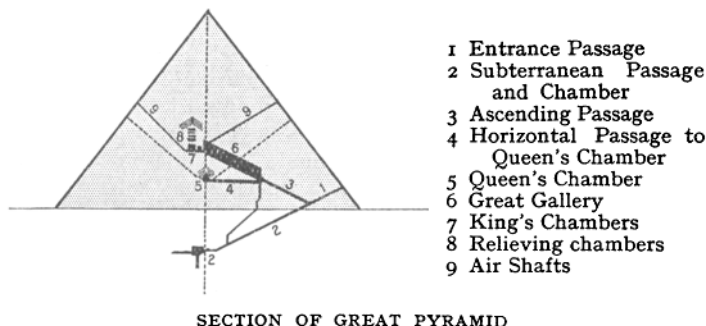
Since Petrie's challenge to the older theory, the question has been dealt with by the German Egyptologist, Borchardt, who announced as his conclusion that in the main the theory of

Lepsius was right, and needed only small modifications to make it fit all the facts ; and it has become customary to say that Borchardt has ' conclusively demonstrated ' the essential truth of Lepsius's idea. The demonstration is no doubt conclusive to those who are already convinced. If there is to be any proportion whatsoever between the length of a Pharaoh's reign and the size of his pyramid, how does it come about that Cheops, whose reign lasted for 23 years, built the Great Pyramid, while Chephren, who reigned for 56 years, only succeeded in making the Second, which is considerably, though not noticeably, less in size, and Mycerinus, who reigned as long as Cheops, only managed to compass the Third Pyramid, which occupies a very humble rank (so far as regards size) among pyramids ? Or, to go beyond the IVth Dynasty, why is the pyramid of Pepi II, with his tremendously long reign of at least 75 years, a pitiful little heap of rubbish, not worthy, whatever its other interest, to be named alongside that of a man who reigned less than a third of the time ? To mention such facts is to show that length of reign has nothing, or next to nothing, to do with the matter, and that the actual ruling factors which determined the size of any Pharaoh's pyramid were his ambition and his control of the resources of his kingdom. Cheops, with a short reign, created the Great Pyramid because his ambition was great, and he had complete control of his kingdom. Pepi II, with an extravagantly long one, only managed to heap together a little rubble, and to face it with hewn stone, because the control of his kingdom and its resources had slipped altogether out of his weak hands.

A further argument, on which sufficient stress has not as yet been laid, lies in the fact that actually Cheops, when he planned his pyramid, had before him an example below which he could not afford to fall. His father, Sneferu, had built at Dahshûr, as one of his two pyramids, a building which measured along each side a matter of 720 feet, which is 13 feet more than the original base-measurement of the Second Pyramid. Can any one actually believe that Cheops, manifestly the most forceful of Old Kingdom Pharaohs, would ever have been content with a pyramid which measured less than that of his father ? He exceeded the gigantic effort of Sneferu ; but his own effort was the high-water mark, and his successor found it impossible to maintain the standard, though he succeeded in disguising his declension by placing the Second Pyramid on higher ground, so that it appears taller than

its greater companion. Mycerinus had neither the means nor the power to attempt rivalry with the two greater Pharaohs; consequently his pyramid, though called the Third, actually only ranks ninth in point of size, though an attempt was made to make up for its smallness by casing it with granite instead of limestone to a height of sixteen courses.

The arrangement of the internal passages and chambers of the Great Pyramid will easily be understood from the accompanying plan. The entrance was, as usual, on the north side, at a height of about 50 feet from the ground. From it a long, straight passage, only 3 feet, 11 inches by 3 feet 4 inches, runs downwards at an angle of $26^{\circ} 41'$ for $106\frac{1}{2}$ yards. The original entrance is



SECTION OF GREAT PYRAMID

not used at present, but one made by plundering Arabs, which opens somewhat below the true door. The descending passage, which leads into the subterranean chamber (2), is accessible, but not easy to negotiate.

Entering by the Arab passage, we strike the original passage just above the point at which an ascending passage (3) diverges from it. The lower end of this was filled with great blocks of granite, and the tomb-robbers, in order to pass these, were forced to turn out of the straight line, and cut through the softer limestone. Using their by-pass, an entrance is gained to the upper part of this passage, which in 41 yards brings us to the entrance of the Great Gallery. Here a horizontal passage (4) leads into the misnamed 'Queen's Chamber'. The passage is only 3 feet 9 inches in height at first, but afterwards increases to 5 feet 8 inches. The Queen's Chamber (5) measures 17 feet by 18 feet

10 inches, and is over 20 feet in height to the ridge of its pointed roof. This roof consists of huge blocks of stone, whose ends are solidly bedded in the surrounding masonry.

The Great Gallery (6), which is next entered, is 28 feet high and 155 feet long. A narrow passage, only 3 feet 4 inches in width, runs up its centre; this is bordered on either side by a stone ramp 2 feet high and 1 foot 8 inches thick, so that the width of the gallery above the ramps is 6 feet 8 inches. The roof is corbelled, successive courses of stone projecting farther and farther until at last the space is closed by a single slab. The whole is lined with fine Muqattam limestone, and the quality of the masonry here is extraordinarily fine. Ever since the time of 'Abd el-Latif, it has been customary to remark that neither a needle nor even a hair can be inserted into the joints between the stones, though what satisfaction the worthy Arab or any other could derive from such an experiment is a little hard to see.

The King's Chamber (7), which is entered out of the Great Gallery, measures 17 feet by $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 19 feet. It is entirely lined with granite, and roofed with nine huge slabs of the same material. Above the great slabs of the roof are five relieving chambers (8), designed to take part of the superincumbent weight off the actual roof of the tomb-chamber. It is usual to say that these are a needless precaution, as the roof of the uppermost relieving space would by itself have been sufficient to prevent any crushing of the roof of the King's Chamber; but, as a matter of fact, some of the roof-beams in these spaces have either been cracked or torn partly out of the wall at the south side. It is true that this damage is probably due, not to natural stresses, but to earthquake; but it might seem conceivable that Cheops's architect, who had lived in Egypt all his life, had the possibility of earthquake clearly in his mind when he gave such a big margin of strength to his work. If these cracks are to be the test, he gave none too much.

Strangely enough, the King's Chamber is not, as might be expected, central in the building and, therefore, immediately below the apex of the pyramid: on the contrary, it is 16 feet 4 inches to the south of the centre. It is difficult to believe that so large a mistake is actually a mere blunder. Yet the whole King's Chamber, which, on the theories of the theorizers should surely be the most accurate part of the pyramid in workmanship, is really very far indeed from that. The builders, who laid out a

square of more than a furlong in the side with amazing accuracy, made the most unaccountable blunders in the levelling of this kernel of the whole vast structure, ' so that they might have done it far better by just looking at the horizon '. And the same curious inaccuracy is found in the great granite sarcophagus which stands in the chamber. It is poorly wrought, contrasting very forcibly in this respect with the sarcophagus in the Second Pyramid, and, judging from the surviving drawings, still more so with that of the lost sarcophagus of the Third. On its outside the lines of the cuts which the copper saws made in sawing the stone may be clearly seen, actually still showing the places where the sawyers cut too deep and had to back out the saw again ; while on the inside the traces of careless work with the tubular drills with which the block was hollowed out are perfectly manifest. Yet the sarcophagus was the very heart of the heart of the whole building ; what reliance, then, are we to place on the other revelations, when the most sacred bit of all the work was so carelessly done ?

The sarcophagus measures, on the outside, 7 feet 3½ inches in length, 3 feet 3 inches in breadth, and 3 feet 5 inches in height, and it is curious to notice that it is an inch wider than the beginning of the ascending passage, and must therefore have been placed in position before the King's Chamber was roofed over. Its cover has been destroyed in one of the many violations to which the pyramid has been subjected. Needless to say, nothing remains of the body of the Pharaoh who reared this mountain of stone for his ' eternal habitation '. Sir Flinders Petrie has remarked that Sir Thomas Browne's sentence that ' to be but pyramidally extant is a fallacy of duration ' is contradicted by the fact that Cheops has succeeded by his gigantic tomb in making his name better remembered than that of any other Eastern king ; but while that may be true, the fact remains that the purpose for which the pyramid was built has been entirely frustrated, and that, in spite of all his precautions, ' not a pinch of dust remains of Cheops '.

The Great Pyramid has been opened at various times throughout its long history. Its first violation was probably during the disastrous time which followed the collapse of the Old Kingdom, though it may have been even earlier. In Roman times the entrance was evidently well known, as is clear from Strabo's description of it and the method of closing it. In the beginning

of the ninth century of our era, the Khalif Mamûn, incited by marvellous stories of the wealth in gold and jewels stored away within the pyramid, forced an entrance by means of what is known as 'Mamûn's Hole'. He spent a fortune in doing it, and found only an empty sarcophagus, without a lid. Towards the end of the eighteenth century it became the fashion to include a visit to the pyramids in the tour without which no man of fashion could count his education complete. This may have been due to the publication of Pococke's memoirs, as he visited the pyramids in 1743, and left plans and measurements, which show that he had seen practically everything that is to be seen in the interior of the Great Pyramid. These visits, however, led to nothing save the immortalizing of Lord Charlemont by Johnson's remark that he had brought back nothing from his travels but a story of a large serpent in one of the pyramids of Egypt.

Caviglia, in 1817, did a good deal of work in and around the pyramid, though Colonel Vyse found his knowledge of his subject small, and his methods of work inadequate. Colonel (afterwards General) Vyse, with Mr. Perring, made the first series of investigations and measures which may be considered authoritative, and are still of importance.

In 1881 Sir Flinders Petrie triangulated the whole Giza group, and reached very interesting results, not only with regard to the facts of measurement, but as to the methods of working and the tools employed by the Ancient Egyptian builders. The latest work around the Great Pyramid has been that of Dr. G. A. Reisner, for the Harvard-Boston American Expedition, to whose results we shall have to return directly.

There remains the question of how the Great Pyramid was built, and whether in its construction the Egyptian architects and builders used any mechanical appliances the secret of which has since been lost—a position which is frequently maintained. The first account of the process, and still one of the best, is that of Herodotus, whose account of the inscriptions on the pyramid we have already quoted. Briefly, he tells us that there were 100,000 men employed upon the work, that they first made a road for the transport of the stone from the Nile bank to the plateau, that this road was 1,017 yards long, 60 feet broad, and 48 feet high, and took ten years to build. The construction of the pyramid itself, he says, occupied twenty years (ten of which, of course, might possibly run concurrently with the

work on the causeway). The stones were raised from step to step of the structure by means of what he calls machines made of short beams, which appear to have been simply systems of levers; and the top of the pyramid was finished first. The army of men employed worked, he says, during three months of every year.

Some modern students are of opinion that the number of men employed could have done the work quite well in the twenty years, working three months a year, as he says; but this has been questioned by others, notably by Mr. Engelbach. Petrie has pointed out that the work would go on only during the months when the water of the inundation was out over the land, and when field-work was at an enforced standstill. With this explanation of the system, a new complexion has been put upon Cheops's previously bad reputation. It was Herodotus who began the job of miscalling Cheops as a sacrilegious tyrant who closed all the temples in his land, and forced the whole nation to toil at his gigantic tomb; fortunately it is Herodotus also who has provided the antidote to his own charges by his statement that the labourers only worked three months a year. Now that this statement has been put in its true relation to the fact of the inundation, opinion with regard to the character of Cheops has largely veered round, and that forceful Pharaoh is now reverently hailed as the author of the first scheme for the relief of unemployment, which seems also to have been one of the greatest of such schemes. But what these theorists will not, or are unable to, appreciate is the fearful expenditure of copper for dressing the blocks, of costly imported wood for levers and sleds, the pressing into service (for surely it must have been so) of every available transport-barge in the country for a perfectly useless object. What Cheops may have thought of it all is another matter. Probably he was neither a tyrant nor a social service enthusiast born out of due time, but merely a Pharaoh who believed that he would have a better chance in the next world if his body was kept intact in this, and did his best, having the power, to secure that desirable end.

As to the question of means and implements, it may suffice to say that neither at the Great Pyramid nor anywhere else in Egypt has the least shred of evidence been found that the Ancient Egyptians ever, at any period of their history, used any mechanical appliances except the lever, roller, and the inclined plane. The

various dodges which have been attributed to them and confidently sketched in plan and elevation never existed save in the brains of those who have drawn them, and would not have been of any good if they had. On the other hand, Petrie found ample evidence of the use of long copper saws, at least nine feet in length, which were probably used to cut the great blocks of stone employed, and of tubular drills, which were used for hollowing out, for example, such stones as the granite block of Khufu's sarcophagus. It may be a comfort to those who are disappointed at the Egyptians' failure to anticipate the miracles of modern engineering science to learn that while, as we have seen, they could make bad mistakes in using both their saws and their drills, their work with them in general was amazingly good. 'Truth to tell, modern drill cores cannot hold a candle to the Egyptians; by the side of the ancient work they look wretchedly scraped out and irregular.'

On the east side of the pyramid stood the pyramid-temple, which was the invariable companion of the pyramid, and at which offerings were made on behalf of the tenant of the great tomb behind it. Nothing now remains of this temple save a few fragments of the basaltic foundations. From the pyramid-temple, a long causeway led down to the portico- or valley-temple, at the edge of the land which was annually covered by the inundation. Parts of this causeway, which, before being used for its sacred purpose, served for the transport of the blocks of stone from the eastern bank, and was indeed the road described by Herodotus, are still visible; the valley-temple of Cheops has, however, disappeared entirely.

On the east side stand also three small and partly ruined pyramids which must have belonged to members of Cheops's family. Herodotus (ii, 126) tells a scandalous story of a daughter of Cheops and her connexion with the middle pyramid of the three; but as it is obviously a mere traveller's tale, and a most impossible and unsavoury one at that, we need not trouble ourselves with it. It was doubtless related to him by the dragoon who provided him with the remarkable radish and onion translation of the *graffiti* on the Great Pyramid. According to an inscription in the Cairo Museum, the southernmost pyramid of the three was built by Cheops himself for a princess whom the inscription calls 'the king's daughter Henutsen', and who may therefore have been either the daughter or the wife (perhaps both)

of the king. This inscription, however, is, according to Breasted, of late date, and seems obviously to be a XX1st or XXVith Dynasty forgery, of a kind with which priests in all ages have been quite familiar, a forgery intended to confer the dignity of great age upon the little Isis temple which was built beside the pyramid in the XX1st and restored in the XXVith Dynasty.

To the east of this pyramid of Henutsen lie the remains of this little Isis temple, which are of no particular interest. Two pits between the small pyramids and their great neighbour were once used to contain the brick-built solar boats in which the dead were supposed to voyage with the sun-god through the underworld along the Celestial Nile. Between the north and the middle pyramid of the three lies a great boat-pit, 66 feet long, which may have been that of Queen Hetepheres, whose tomb lies close at hand.

In 1925, Dr. G. A. Reisner, excavating for the Boston-Harvard Expedition, discovered, between the north pyramid and the causeway of the Great Pyramid, a deep burial-shaft, more than 90 feet in depth, which had belonged to Queen Hetepheres. The burial, when the tomb-chamber was reached, was apparently quite undisturbed; but when the alabaster sarcophagus was opened in 1927 it was found to be empty. It is now, along with the remains of the queen's funerary furniture, in the Cairo Museum, where it has already been noticed.

To the west of the Great Pyramid lies the vast necropolis of the IVth Dynasty. This great cemetery was originally planned on a regular system, with roads running crosswise from north to south and from east to west, so that members of the royal house and prominent courtiers might be near their monarch in death, as they had been near him in life. This idea of the dead Pharaoh lying in state in his pyramid with his court beside him is, no doubt, a relic of the old barbarous custom, prevalent both in Egypt and in Mesopotamia, whereby a number of the king's favourite ladies and courtiers were slain at his tomb and buried either in or beside it. Later, the symmetry of the IVth Dynasty streets of mastabas was spoiled by the intrusion of other structures of the same kind belonging to the Vth and Vith Dynasties; but, even so, the aspect of the vast necropolis is still solemn and imposing. The lay-out of this and the other and smaller necropolis to the east of the pyramid is best seen either from the top of the pyramid, or from the air (see Plate I).

Excavations by German, Austrian, and American expeditions have been going on for a considerable time in both the western and the eastern necropolis, with consequent restriction of the freedom of visitors, but also with remarkable results, of which the discovery of the tomb-shaft of Hetepheres is perhaps the most striking.

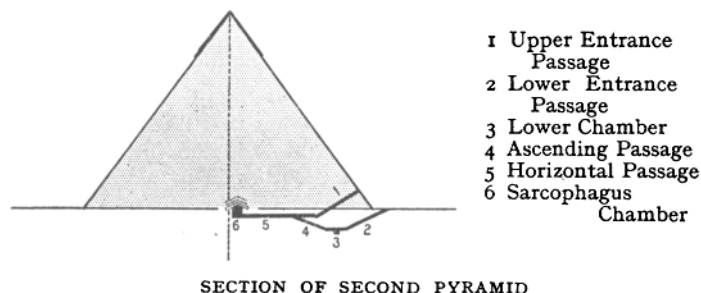
The clearance of the eastern necropolis has revealed five streets of mastabas. At the northern end of each street stands a huge double mastaba, devoted in each case to the use of a husband and wife, the wife taking the northern half and the husband the southern half of the tomb. These had belonged either to a prince of the royal house and his wife, or to a princess and her husband. In one case some deadly enemy has chiselled out the name of the prince to whom the mastaba belonged, with all the figures and the offering formulae, so that the *Ka* of the prince should suffer hunger and thirst throughout all eternity—a kindly proceeding not uncommon in the practice of Ancient Egypt.

Perhaps the most interesting tombs on this side are those of two VIth Dynasty officials, whose right to intrude here seems to have been due to the fact that they both held in succession the titles and duties of 'Mayor of the Pyramid-city of Cheops', 'Chief Purifying-priest of the Pyramid of Chephren', and 'Mayor of the Pyramid-city of Mycerinus', in addition to their contemporary duties of 'Chief Gardener of the Pyramid of Pepi', the Pharaoh of their own time, and 'Writer of the King's Letters in His Presence', or personal secretary to Pharaoh. The offering-chambers of these two great officials are in either case underground. That of the father, Qa'ar, is of striking construction, and is adorned with statues of Qa'ar and his family in the round. That of Iduw, the son, has a remarkable stele in the offering-chamber on which the dead man is not only depicted surveying the offerings, as usual, but as stretching out his hands to receive them, while a broad smile spreads across his homely and rather battered countenance.

The mastaba of Queen Hetepheres II, granddaughter of Hetepheres I, and possibly wife of the Pharaoh Dedefrê, lies a short distance east of the tomb-shaft of the older queen, and beneath the north end of this mastaba lies the rock-hewn tomb of Queen Meresankh, daughter of Hetepheres II, and perhaps wife of Chephren. It contains a series of remarkable rock-hewn statues, representing Hetepheres II, Meresankh, and the daughters of

the latter queen. The portraits on the walls are in well-preserved colour, and give us evidence that Queen Hetepheres was fair-haired, either by nature or by art. As usual, the tomb has been rifled, and the sarcophagus of Meresankh was found empty.

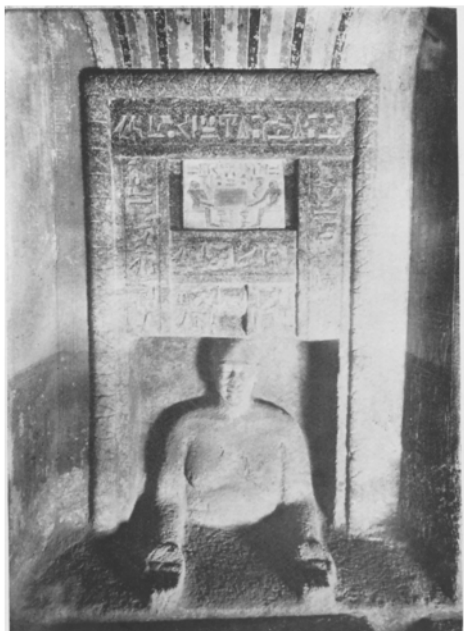
We now turn to the Second Pyramid, which need not detain us so long as its greater companion, though had the Great Pyramid not existed the Second would have appeared a world's wonder. Its ancient Egyptian name, *Ur-Khafre* means 'Khafrê is great'. The base-measurements of this pyramid are less than those of Sneferu's pyramid, but its height is considerably greater. At present it measures 690 feet 6 inches on the side, and is 447½ feet



SECTION OF SECOND PYRAMID

in height ; but its original measurements were 707½ feet on the side, and 471 feet in height. The angle at which its sides rise is 52° 20'. It thus rises somewhat more steeply than its greater neighbour, which accounts for the fact that though its base-measurement was originally nearly 50 feet less than that of Cheops's pyramid, its perpendicular height was only 10 feet less. Its somewhat higher position on the plateau more than obliterates the 2½ feet difference which is now all that remains of the original 10 feet between the two ; so that Chephren's pyramid actually appears to the eye the higher of the two.

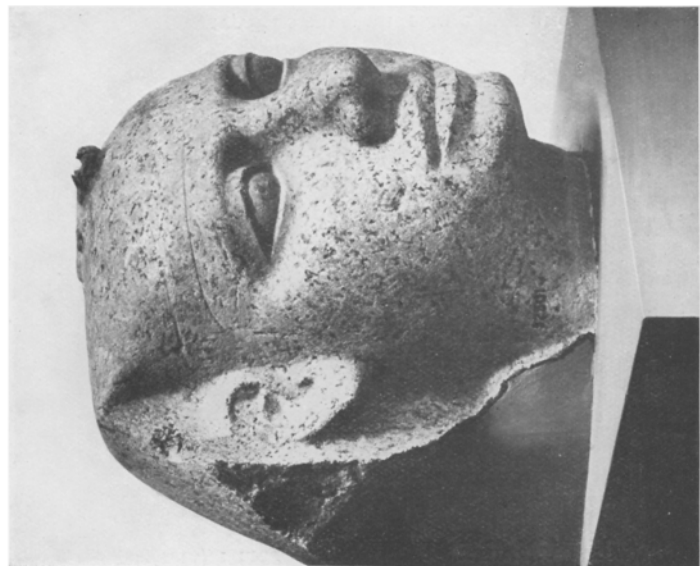
A considerable amount of artificial levelling had to be done before the site was fit for building upon. A deep cutting had to be made upon the north-western side, and one less deep upon the north ; while on the north-east the rock had to be supplemented by several courses of immense blocks, which Petrie distinguishes as being of native Giza, and not of Muqattam, stone. At the



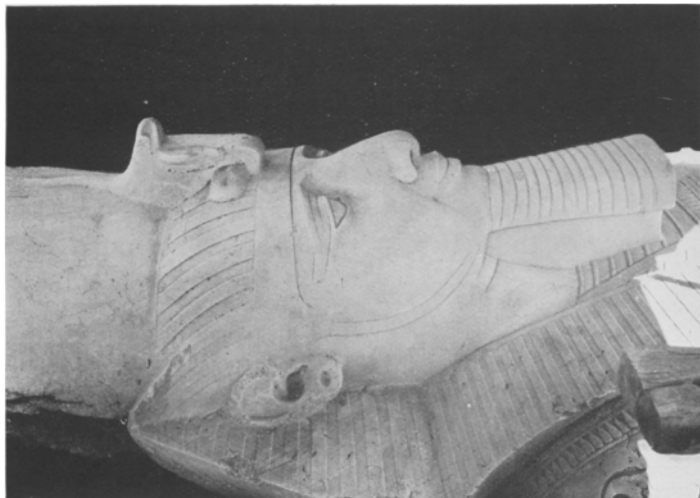
TOMB STELE OF IDUW, SON OF QA'AR



TOMB OF QA'AR, CHIEF GARDENER TO PEPI I (VI DYN.)
DETAIL FROM OLD KINGDOM MASTABAS AT GIZA



COLOSSAL RED GRANITE HEAD OF USERKAF (V DYN.)
FROM SAQQÁRA. EARLIEST COLOSSAL STATUE KNOWN



HEAD OF LIMESTONE COLOSSAL STATUE OF RAMSES II
(XIX DYN.) AT MEMPHIS
COLOSSI—OLD KINGDOM AND NEW EMPIRE

south-east also the rock probably was supplemented ; the supplementary blocks, in both cases, being derived from the cuttings mentioned above. The pyramid-temple to the east, already identified by Belzoni as early as 1818, and apparently in much better preservation then than now, was excavated in recent years, and the disposition of its outer court and its sanctuary can be plainly traced. As in other cases, a causeway led eastwards from it down to the edge of the inundated land, where the portico or valley-temple stood. In this case the temple fortunately still exists, in the shape of the so-called Temple of the Sphinx, which we shall see directly. A great *temenos* wall surrounded the pyramid, and its remains are still conspicuous on the north, west, and south sides. Within this wall, and on the south side of the pyramid, stood a small pyramid, of which a few scraps still survive, which probably was that of one of Chephren's queens.

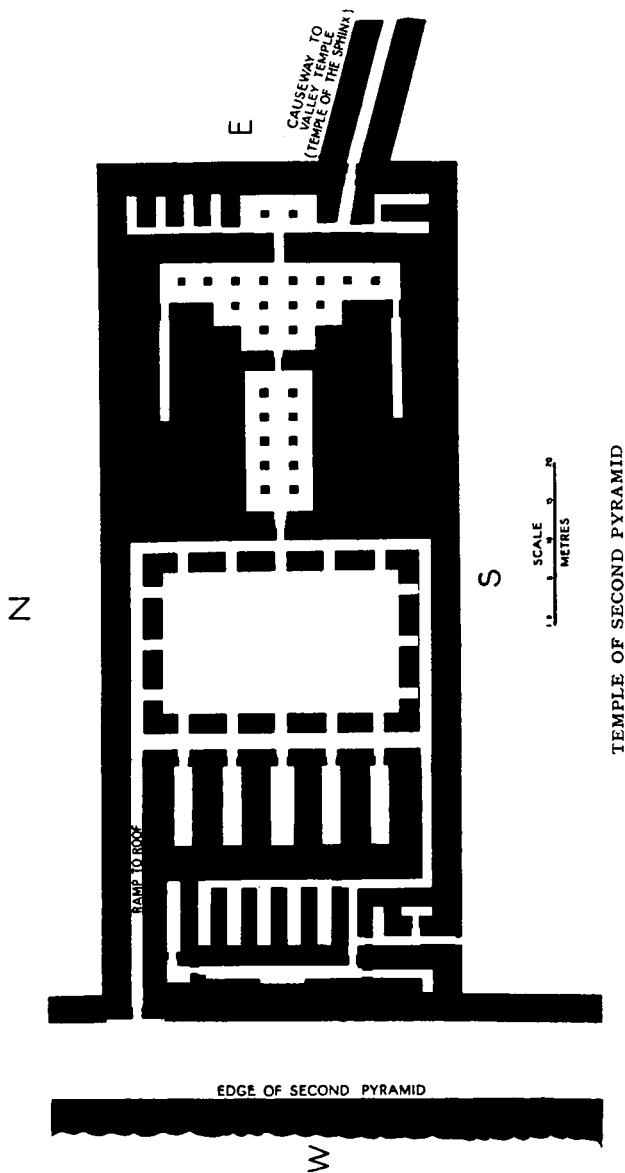
The interior lay-out of the passages and chamber of this pyramid is much simpler than that of its neighbour. Whatever may be the reason, there are two entrance-passages, both, as usual, on the north side (see plan). Of these, the lower (2) begins under the pavement, outside of the pyramid mass altogether. It descends to a horizontal section (3), on the west side of which is a rock-hewn chamber which was apparently never used. At the end of the horizontal section it rises again (4), and joins a horizontal passage (5) which leads to the actual tomb-chamber of the pyramid (6), half-hewn out of the rock, and half-built. The upper passage (1) is lined with rough-dressed granite, similar to that of the roof of the King's Chamber in the Great Pyramid. It descends to a horizontal section, which was blocked by a granite portcullis slab, sliding in vertical grooves. After passing this, the passage, continuing horizontal, finally joins the passage leading into the tomb-chamber.

This chamber is roofed with slabs of painted limestone, above its lower rock-hewn portion. It measures $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet north to south, $46\frac{1}{2}$ east to west, and $22\frac{1}{2}$ in height. The granite sarcophagus which occupies it is let into the floor of the apartment up to the level of its sliding lid ; but, though it was thus intended to be hidden, it is much better finished than that of Cheops in the Great Pyramid, being well polished, both inside and out. The lid, according to Belzoni, was broken at the side, and half off the sarcophagus when he entered the chamber ; Petrie, however, reports it as lying on the floor unbroken (*Pyramids and Temples*

of Gizeh, p. 36). This was in 1881, and 'unbroken' probably means not broken across, in which case there is no necessary inconsistency with Belzoni's description.

The Second Pyramid was first opened in modern times by Belzoni, whose description of his proceedings and their final success is one of the most diverting passages of his most interesting book. His entrance was accomplished, as he tells us in his narrative, on March 2nd, 1818, and this date is recorded in an inscription which is placed over the present access, a fact which renders all the more incomprehensible the repetition in a well-known Nile handbook of the erroneous statement that the pyramid was opened by Belzoni in 1816. An Arabic inscription scrawled upon the western wall of the chamber informed Belzoni that he had been anticipated in his feat; but his name is none the less often given to Chephren's resting-place. His measures of the sunk sarcophagus gave: length, 8 feet; width, 3 feet 6 inches; depth, inside, 2 feet 3 inches. The length measurement is plainly very rough, as it disagrees seriously with the subsequent careful measures of Vyse and Petrie. Otherwise his measures agree well enough with theirs, allowing for the fact that he was only able to take the inside measurement of the sarcophagus. Petrie's measures are: length, 8·64; width, 3·49; height (outside) 3·17. With these the measures of Vyse agree so closely that they need not be quoted. The length given in Baedeker, p. 143, 1929, namely, 6 feet 7 inches, is obviously a misprint. Chephren's sarcophagus was thus somewhat larger than that of Cheops, besides being much better made. Its measurements being, like those of the other, somewhat greater than those of the passages through which it would have had to pass, it is evident that it also must have been introduced into the burial-chamber before the latter was roofed over.

The outer casing of the pyramid consisted of Muqattam limestone till the second course above the foundations was reached. The two bottom courses were of granite. Some of the granite is still preserved, especially on the west side; but the limestone has been stripped off up to about three-fourths of the slanting height. Above this point the casing still remains, making this pyramid much more difficult of ascent than its companion, though the ascent is often accomplished by Arabs for the delectation of the more stupid tourist. The quality of the casing differs somewhat from that of the Great Pyramid, as it is greyer, harder,



TEMPLE OF SECOND PYRAMID

and more liable to splinter ; but the difference is only in quality not in origin.

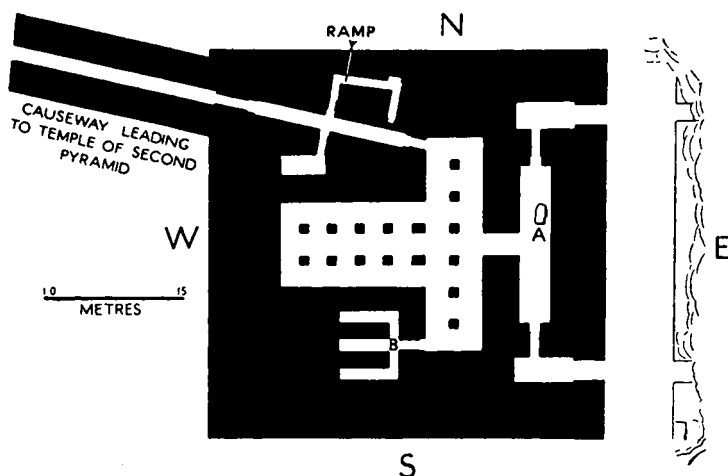
On the east side of the pyramid, as usual, lies the temple of Chephren. This was excavated in 1909 by the Von Sieglin Expedition under Messrs. Hölscher and Steindorff. The temple proved to have been on a grand scale, with two subordinate pillared halls, and a great hall of columns, which occupied almost the whole width of the building. Between the temple and the pyramid lay an open court. The material used was of great magnificence, the walls having been of limestone faced with granite, while granite was also used for the columns. Similar materials were employed, as we shall see, in the portico-temple, at the foot of the covered causeway. The total length of the temple appears to have been about 400 feet ; so that, quite apart from the pyramid with which it was associated, it was a building of considerable importance, contrasting very forcibly with the tiny temple of the pyramid of Sneferu at Meydûm, though the time separating the one from the other is quite short.

The causeway leading down from this temple to the valley- or portico-temple is still traceable, as can be seen from any good air-photograph. Originally it must have been a fine piece of construction over a quarter of a mile in length, and 15 feet wide, built sumptuously with fine white limestone, of which the lower blocks were let into rock-surface beneath. It terminates in the back entrance to what used to be variously called the ' Granite Temple ', or the ' Temple of the Sphinx ', but is now known to be the usual valley-temple, without which the complex of a royal pyramid-tomb was incomplete.

Chephren's valley-temple was discovered by Mariette in 1853, and after remaining in a semi-subterranean condition for more than half a century, was cleared, to a great extent, by the Von Sieglin Expedition in 1909-10, so that it now appears as a more or less free-standing building, as in the beginning. Access to it from the east was by means of two great gateways, with inscriptions, each of which gave access, by a right-angled turn, to an antechamber (see plan), which ran parallel to the eastern face of the temple.

Placed skew in the floor of this antechamber is the shaft (A on plan) in which Mariette found several statues of Chephren, the builder and object of the temple's existence, among them the famous diorite statue which is now one of the chief glories of the Cairo Museum,

and perhaps the most widely famous of all ancient works of Eastern art. The shaft is now filled with infiltrated water. From the middle of the antechamber a short entrance-passage leads into a pillared hall parallel to the antechamber, and measuring 82 feet by 23 feet. A single row of monolithic pillars of red granite, six in number, runs down the centre line of this hall, which forms the cross-piece of a T, of which the main hall of the temple is the shaft. This main hall is divided into three aisles by two rows of monoliths of red granite, five in each row. Across



VALLEY TEMPLE OF SECOND PYRAMID

these lie the architraves, also monoliths of red granite, which, formerly supported the roof. Indeed, the whole building despite its extreme simplicity and obviously calculated lack of ornament, is sumptuous in its construction; and, relying for its impressiveness solely upon the beauty of the surfaces of the materials, polished granite and alabaster, of which it is composed, it must have been all the more striking because of its disdain of adornment.

Evidence as to the methods of lighting adopted by the Egyptian builders for their temples is here given by the existence of oblique

slits in the upper part of the side-walls. In the perfect climate of Egypt these small openings doubtless provided quite sufficient light for all the purposes for which the building was designed. Around the main hall, and in the cross hall, sat twenty-three royal statues. These had been smashed and scattered, no doubt in the time of confusion with which the Old Kingdom closed ; fortunately some of them were thrown into the shaft already mentioned, from which Mariette recovered them. Altogether, the building, in its present condition, measures 147 feet square, and its walls reach a height of 43 feet, so that it was in keeping with the magnificence of the main funerary temple to whose splendours it was merely the prelude. From the southern end of the cross hall access is given to a group of store-rooms (B on plan) ; and from the northern end of the same hall the passage to the causeway of the pyramid runs skew, to keep in line with the causeway. On the way to the causeway we pass two openings. One of these, on the south side of the passage, leads to what may have been a porter's room, lined with alabaster slabs ; the other, on the north side, leads to the roof of the temple. Access to the temple is at present gained from the back, by the old causeway entrance, so that the visitor wishing to appreciate the temple as it offered itself to its frequenters in ancient times ought to pass straight down through it to its eastern face, and survey it in the order in which it is here described. Formerly it was probably faced on the east by a quay, to which the barges of the priests could come during the inundation, for the processional services in the valley-temple, and subsequent procession up the causeway to the main funerary temple.

The remains of the Second Pyramid complex thus offer to us the most complete extant example of the whole fabric of a royal pyramid of the Old Kingdom, and teach us that the actual structure, when furnished, as at first, with its two noble temples and its imposing causeway, must have been a much more striking object than the mere pyramid, as we see it to-day, impressive as the gaunt and stripped majesty of the great pile must always be.

On our way down to the valley-temple of Chephren we pass the Great Sphinx, which may perhaps claim to be the most famous monument in the world ; and as there is little doubt now that the execution of this vast monster dates from the time of Chephren also, it is best to consider it in connexion with his pyramid and temples. The Sphinx (who is always masculine in Egyptian art,

and quite a different type from the Greek sphinx) is a recumbent lion, with a human head, modelled, usually, on that of the reigning king, and adorned with the royal head-dress and uraeus. In this case advantage was taken by Chephren's artists of an outcrop of coarse grey and soft yellowish limestone; they shaped the mass into a gigantic portrait of their master, with a lion's body and outstretched paws. The attribution of the monument to Chephren has been questioned on the ground that it is mentioned in an inscription in the Cairo Museum as being in existence in the time of Cheops; but as this inscription is the same one which we have already seen, in connexion with the Sanctuary of Isis by the Great Pyramid, to be a late priestly forgery, this argument falls to the ground, and there remains no valid reason for denying Chephren's right to be considered the original begetter of the great monster; though the mere mention of his name on the stele of Tuthmosis IV between the paws of the figure would not in itself be sufficient to prove his case. This embodiment of royal dignity and power was subsequently identified with the god Harmachis—the god of the eastern horizon, towards which the Sphinx eternally looks.

In the course of ages, weathering has wrought havoc with the features, and especially with the neck and lower parts of the head-dress, and has also almost removed altogether an image of a god (or of the king) which once stood, as in the case of the Hathor cow of El-Deir el-Bahari (see Museum section), against the breast of the creature. At all periods the Sphinx, like all other striking monuments, has been held to contain treasure, in the search for which galleries have been driven through its body and even down into the head. Havoc scarcely greater has been wrought by fanatical hands, and by the sheer wantonness of the Mamelukes, who used the great head for musketry practice. In spite of all disadvantages, however, the Sphinx remains one of the most impressive monuments in the world, and appeals to the present time perhaps all the more forcibly because of the contrast between its serene and changeless calm and the bustle with which the modern age periodically surrounds it.

The measurements of the great statue are as follows: height from pavement to crown of head, 66 feet; total length, 240 feet; breadth of face, 13 feet 7 inches; size of ear, 6 feet 5 inches; length of nose, 5 feet 10 inches; breadth of mouth, 7 feet 8 inches. These facial measurements are taken from Mariette's *Itinéraire*.

The story of the Sphinx has been that of a ceaseless battle between human anxiety to keep clear so great a monument of human artistic skill and reverence and the unrelenting encroachments of the desert sands. The earliest account which we possess of the struggle stands between the paws of the Sphinx itself, in the shape of a huge red granite stele, made, it may be noticed, out of an architrave stolen from Chephren's valley-temple close at hand—an instance of the small respect shown by the Ancient Egyptian for the works of his ancestors. This stele bears an inscription purporting to be due to Tuthmosis IV, of the XVIIIth Dynasty (*c.* 1420 B.C.), in which that amiable and pious Pharaoh is made to narrate how, while yet merely a prince, during a hunting expedition he lay down for his midday siesta under the shadow of the great image. During his sleep the god appeared to him, and promised to bring him to the Double Crown if he would clear away the sand which was troubling him. 'I am thy father, Harmachis-Khepri-Rê-Atûm, who will give to thee my kingdom on earth at the head of the living. Thou shalt wear the White crown and the Red Crown upon the throne of Gêb, the hereditary prince. . . . Thou shalt be to me a protector, for my condition is that I am ailing in all my limbs. The sand of this desert upon which I am has reached me; turn to me, to have that done which I have desired, knowing that thou art my son, my protector.' The inscription, from this point onwards to its conclusion, is sadly mutilated by the weathering of that same desert sand of which the god complained. The name of Chephren can be made out among the broken sentences, but in what connexion it is impossible to say.

The clearing had to be repeated more than once in Ptolemaic and Roman times, when an addition to the already existent open-air shrine was made, in the shape of an altar for offerings, with a broad staircase of approach and retaining walls of brick and stone to hold back the restless sand. Early in the nineteenth century (1818) an English society entrusted the task of clearing the great statue once more to Caviglia, who accomplished his task at a cost of £450. In the course of his proceedings he discovered the pavement on which the shrine rests, the staircase of approach, and the great stele of Tuthmosis IV, with another belonging to Ramses II. Less than seventy years later, the sand had again asserted its claim, and Maspero was obliged to clear the Sphinx once more in 1886. The next interval was

still shorter, as the Department of Antiquities entrusted M. E. Baraize with a new clearing in 1925-6. At present the Sphinx can be seen more fully than ever within the memory of man ; and while some of the romantic suggestiveness of the great half-buried statue has passed away now that it can be seen with the patches of masonry where the rock was defective, especially on the gigantic outstretched paws, we have at least the advantage of seeing Harmachis as his creators intended him to be seen, subject of course to the wear and tear of approximately fifty centuries. Though no 'restoration' has been attempted by M. Baraize, portions of the Sphinx's anatomy, or of his head-dress, which were in danger of perishing altogether under the weathering which has remorselessly sought out the softer strata of the yellow limestone, have been secured, so that in the meantime he is in a safer condition than he has known for many a year. But the sand will win in the end.

The Third Pyramid of the great Giza group lies to the southwest of the Second. It is that of Menkewrê, the Mycerinus of Herodotus and the Mencheres of Manetho, who apparently succeeded Chephren on the throne. His pyramid, *Neter-Menkewrê* is considerably smaller than either of its companions, a fact which inspired Herodotus to narrate the curious fable which was told him about its builder. Cheops and Chephren (Khufu and Khafrê), he tells us, were impious and tyrannical kings who closed the temples, and forced all their subjects to toil at their vast pyramids. Between them they accounted for 106 years of misery for Egypt. Mycerinus, who was the son of Cheops, was, however, a man of quite a different type, pious and merciful ; in fact, by the account of Herodotus, somewhat of a plaster saint, and not a little of a fool. In spite of his goodness, misfortune after misfortune fell upon him, and finally it was announced to him by a divine oracle that he had only six years more to live. Even a worm will turn, and Mycerinus roundly taxed the gods with unfairness. In Matthew Arnold's version of the story his protest runs thus :

My father loved injustice, and lived long ;
Crown'd with grey hairs he died, and full of sway.
I loved the good he scorn'd, and hated wrong—
The gods declare my recompense to-day.
I look'd for life more lasting, rule more high ;
And when six years are measured, lo, I die !

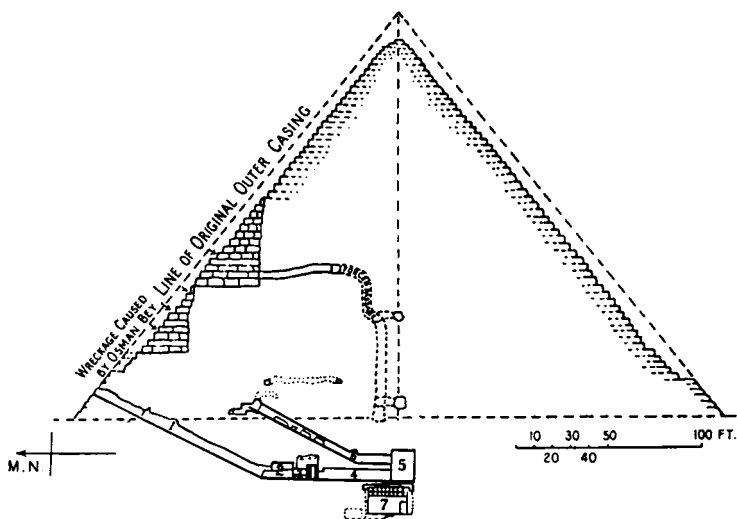
Ungraciously, but quite conclusively, the gods pointed out that he was reaping the reward of his interference with divine judgments for they had decreed 150 years of affliction for Egypt, and he had spoilt the plan by giving the land happiness when there were still 44 of the years to go. Mycerinus thereupon took the pet, and spent his six years in turning night into day, and revelling all the time, so that he might crowd twelve years of enjoyment into six !

This childish tale is quite in accordance with the character which Herodotus gives to Mycerinus ; but, needless to say, it finds no support from history, though the extant statues of the king show a type lacking alike in the concentrated energy of the little ivory portrait of Cheops and the serene dignity of the great diorite Chephren. The scale and workmanship of his pyramid show that Mycerinus had nothing like the control of the resources of Egypt which marked his predecessors.

His pyramid originally measured $356\frac{1}{2}$ feet along the base, and still does so, the exterior casing being still in position there. Its original height was 218 feet ; but it has lost a few feet, and is now only 204 feet high. From these figures it can be seen that the Third Pyramid belongs to a different order of size altogether from its two companions ; in fact, as we have seen, it only ranks ninth among existing pyramids. Its workmanship is also, in general, inferior to that of either of the larger buildings ; though an attempt has been made to disguise this by the more frequent use of granite instead of limestone. In fact, the progress of declension may almost be said to be seen in the proportion which granite plays in the three pyramids. In the Great Pyramid it is only used internally. In the Second, which is decidedly inferior, both in size and workmanship, it is used for the two lowermost courses of the external casing, as well as for the lining of the interior passage. In the Third, where the decline, both in size and skill, is manifest, the proportion of granite to limestone increases greatly, and the sixteen lowermost courses of the casing are entirely composed of the harder stone, as well as the upper lining of the entrance-passage and the sarcophagus-chamber.

The interior plan of the pyramid is somewhat complicated, and gives evidence of a complete change in the plans of the architect during the progress of the building. The real entrance (1) was discovered by Vyse in July 1837, after he had vainly attempted to reach the burial-chamber by the forced passage

which so disfigures the plan. It is, as usual, on the north side of the pyramid, and descends for a little more than 104 feet at a fairly steep slope. From the exterior casing to the point where it enters the solid rock it is lined with granite. From 104 feet, a short horizontal passage leads into an anteroom (2), which is decorated, in a manner unusual at Giza, with recessed ornament in white plaster. Beyond this room it passes three portcullises (3), and continues, descending very slightly (4), to a second



SECTION OF THIRD PYRAMID

(Numbers refer to description in text)

chamber (5 on plan), which seems to have been meant originally as the burial-chamber, as there is evidence that the sacrophagus had been placed there. This chamber is of large size, measuring $44\frac{1}{2}$ by $12\frac{1}{2}$ by about 13 feet high; and in its upper section another door opens, leading into another passage (6 on plan), which now terminates in a cul-de-sac in the heart of the pyramid, but must have been the entrance when the original smaller pyramid was built. The original chamber must therefore have been only half the depth of the present one. From the floor of the large chamber,

a shaft, 30 feet in length and lined with granite at its upper end, descends steeply to a portcullis at its lower end, whence a short, horizontal passage leads to the actual tomb-chamber (7), hewn out of the rock, and lined with granite. The granite roofing-blocks were laid at an angle so as to meet in a pointed ridge, and were then hewn out into a curve, so that the roof makes a false arch of the pointed type.

In this room was found the beautiful basalt sarcophagus of Mycerinus. It was decorated with the familiar Egyptian pattern of panelled doorways, and was finely finished. The lid was missing, and the sarcophagus was empty. Fragments of the lid were afterwards discovered in the upper chamber (5), together with part of a wooden coffin-lid, bearing an inscription with the cartouche of Mycerinus, and some human bones. The sarcophagus was removed by Vyse, and was shipped for transport to England, but unfortunately the vessel which bore it, after touching at Leghorn, was never heard of again. Mycerinus's sarcophagus now rests at the bottom of the Mediterranean, in all probability. The coffin, or rather the fragment of it which is all that has survived, together with the bones, is now in the British Museum. It is supposed that the granite-lined burial-chamber, with the shaft leading down from the large chamber, are the work of the Saite period, when such restorations of ancient work were not uncommon. Because of this, some doubt has been cast upon the authenticity of the wooden coffin, which has been supposed also to be a Saite restoration.

It ought to be mentioned that the remains of the granite external casing of the lower part of the pyramid show that the work was never finished, as the blocks still bear the excess which was left upon them at the Aswân quarry to protect them during transit, and which has never been smoothed down. Like its neighbours Mycerinus's pyramid suffered much from being so convenient a quarry; and in addition it is said to have become the object of the crazy malice of one of the khalifs, who imagined that it was inhabited by an evil spirit, and consequently endeavoured to destroy it piecemeal. Fortunately the pyramid proved tougher than the khalif's resolution, after he had persevered for several months in his mad task; but it still bears evidence of his misguided efforts.

When he entered Mycerinus's burial-place, Vyse, who up till then had imagined that he was to have the privilege of being the

first to enter the pyramid since the days of its builder, found that he, like the others who had forced the Great and Second Pyramids, was a day behind the fair ; for various Arabic inscriptions were scrawled upon the walls. A passage from Edrisi (A.D. 1226) shows that it was entered at that date, and that even the Arabs, who were then at least partially successful (if their account is to be believed), were not the first plunderers who had broken in upon Mycerinus's rest. Probably the pyramid had been violated, like its greater companions, ages before, in the troubled times at the close of the Old Kingdom. 'From thence,' says Edrisi, after describing the fatiguing crawl along the passages, 'another room is entered, the four walls of which are formed by six or seven chambers with arched doors, as are the doors over the small private chambers in the baths [plainly an attempt to describe the arched sarcophagus-chamber of the pyramid]. In the midst of the space on the side, and around which these chambers extend, is a long blue vessel, quite empty. The Sherif, Abû Hoseyn . . . has told me that he was present when the opening into this pyramid was effected by people who were in search after treasures ; they worked at it with axes for six months, and they were in great numbers. They found in this basin, after they had broken the covering of it, the decayed rotten remains of a man, but no treasures on his side, excepting some golden tablets inscribed with characters of a language nobody could understand. Each man's share of these tablets amounted to one hundred dinars.' Plainly, therefore, Abû Hoseyn and his comrades only got the leavings of a more fortunate and earlier band of spoilers ; though it is difficult to understand how the expert tomb-thieves of Ancient Egypt allowed such good and portable plunder as those same 'golden tablets' (whatever they may have been) to escape their clutches.

We now turn to notice the remaining objects of interest on the pyramid plateau. Entering the area round the Second Pyramid at the point on the north-west where a natural cleft gives access to it, there lies before us, on the north side of the levelled area, a number of squares marked out in the rock by incisions at right angles to one another. These look as if the rock had been draughted for the extraction of blocks, and it is agreed that they are the remains of the cutting by which Chephren's workmen removed the blocks which were necessary to fill up the south side of the pyramid platform. On the surface of the rock above these

marks of the original builders of the pyramid there is a hieroglyphic inscription in honour of one of its earliest destroyers. This was a certain May, who was chief architect of Ramses II in the temple at Heliopolis, and son of Beknamûn, who held the same position at Thebes. May's solitary title to fame, so far as we are concerned, is that, doubtless at his master's command, he used Chephren's mighty work at Giza, either his mortuary temple or his pyramid, as a quarry out of which to obtain the materials for building the temple at Heliopolis. May has indeed become famous, to an extent which he can scarcely have anticipated ; but it is with ' a fame which is marvellously akin to infamy '. Ramses II, his master, was, of course, the most hardened of sinners in respect of the way in which he treated the works of his predecessors on the throne of the Pharaohs. Beknamûn was doing every day at Thebes the same kind of work as his son was doing at Giza, and no doubt neither the father nor the son had any option in the matter, having simply to do what they were bid ; but we can scarcely be expected, all the same, to honour the memory of the man who did his best or his worst to destroy one of the most wonderful of human works.

The point is perhaps worth emphasizing, because of the impression which prevails among a section of less well-informed folk, that in modern excavation men of science are showing a lack of reverence to the great memories and works of the past, which, after having been honoured and revered for many centuries, are now exposed and used irreverently as mere tools in the acquisition of knowledge. The very reverse is, of course, the actual case. Neither great memories nor great works were ever revered for long in Ancient Egypt. The tombs of the great men of the past were ruthlessly rifled and dishonoured, as we have been seeing, ages before modern science was dreamed of ; and the Pharaohs of later ages, with the honourable exception of Seti I, and to some extent also Tuthmosis IV, never gave a second thought to the sacrilege they were committing when they pulled down the funerary temples of their predecessors, thereby gravely imperilling, according to Egyptian ideas, their chance of immortality, in order to gratify their own vanity as builders. Neither sentiment nor reverence has ever restrained the Egyptian from laying his hands upon the treasures of the past, simply to make them serve his own immediate interests ; both sentiment and reverence are present in the work of modern men of science

who are endeavouring to make plain once more the glories of the past by their work upon the poor remains of it which the carelessness and avarice of bygone generations have left to them. From this point of view, the case for scientific excavation is conclusive and unanswerable.

Passing round to the western side of the area, we notice that May has left us here another reminder of his miscreant name which need not detain us. One of the rock-tombs near this point—that of Neb-em-akht—has a ceiling of a type not uncommon among such tombs. The rock is hewn into an imitation of palm-logs, a reminiscence, doubtless, of the original roofing of the Egyptian house. The famous tomb of Ptah-hotpe, at Saqqâra, affords the best-known example of this imitation, on an elaborate scale.

Beyond the *temenos* wall of Chephren's pyramid, on the west side, lies an enclosure which merits more attention than is usually bestowed upon it. This is the ruin of what was once the great barrack in which were accommodated the skilled masons who were continually employed upon the erection of Chephren's pyramid—the bulk of the vast number of workmen needed being only present at Giza for three months of the year, preparing the loads of stone and transporting them, while these skilled men would be occupied all the year round. The barrack was discovered by Vyse, in 1837; but he failed to realize its significance, and did not pursue his discovery. In 1881, however, Petrie noticed that the 'parallel ridges' of which Vyse speaks were indeed the tops of walls; and on clearing out part of the work the object of the whole became plain. The barrack consists of a long western gallery, joined to the *temenos* wall by two shorter ones at its north and south ends. Each gallery is subdivided into a number of oblong *cellae* by the partition walls which caused Vyse's 'ridges'. Of these *cellae* there are ninety-one, giving a mile and a half of living space, 9½ feet wide by 7 feet high. Petrie has calculated that this would afford reasonable accommodation for 4,000 workmen, which is regarded as being quite a likely number for the permanent staff of skilled men employed on the pyramid. Whether this barrack may also have served for the men who worked on Cheops's pyramid is questionable. More probably Cheops had his own barrack, which was removed at a subsequent date to make room for the streets of mastabas which are grouped on the west of his pyramid. It is barely likely that he laid out

his workmen's barrack in such a position that it squared with the *temenos* wall of his successor's pyramid as if it had been planned to do so; nor that Chephren architects planned their pyramid area purposely to square with an already existing barrack.

To the south of the Third Pyramid stand three other small pyramids. These were all entered by Vyse in 1837; but, as usual, it was found that they had been rifled in ancient times. One of them bore evidence, in the shape of the 112th chapter of the Koran scrawled upon the wall, that it had been violated under the khalifs; while on the roof of the burial-chamber of another the cartouche of Mycerinus was written in red paint. On the east side of each of these small pyramids are the remains of a small brick offering-chapel, the humble counterpart of the great mortuary temples of the royal tombs.

Close to the north side of the causeway of Chephren's pyramid, and a little west of the Sphinx, lies a tomb which was discovered in 1837 by Vyse, and named by him 'Colonel Campbell's Tomb', after the absurd custom then prevalent, in accordance with which every fresh discovery, small or great, had to have pinned to it the often quite undistinguished name of somebody whom the discoverer wished to please. Belzoni's chamber, in the Second Pyramid, may have some reason to show for its title; but why Wellington or Davidson should have had their names affixed to two of the relieving-chambers in the Great Pyramid, or why Colonel Campbell, who was our Consul-General in Egypt in 1837, should give his name to the tomb of a royal scribe of the Pharaoh Ha-ib-Rê (Hophra, or Apries), who had a sonorous enough name of his own, Pa-kap Uah-ib-ra-em-akht, is a mystery, as he neither discovered it, nor was allowed by Vyse to pay anything towards the cost of excavating it. The fine sarcophagus found by Vyse in the tomb-chamber was empty when discovered, as were also three other sarcophagi which were found in niches in the tomb-shaft. Two of these are still in place; the third is now in the British Museum. The tomb had been plundered; but Vyse appears to have found a fine deposit of *shawabtis*, as he describes 'several tiers of green idols', beside the royal scribe's sarcophagus, and 'three hundred and ninety green idols' beside the other three. One more tomb worthy of a visit is the so-called Tomb of Numbers, which lies on the extreme eastern edge of the plateau, above the Arab village of Kafrel-Sammân. It belonged to the 'royal relative' and priest, Khafra-ankh, who was a

courtier of Chephren. It derives its name from the representation on its east wall of the royal relative and his brother (with their dog) inspecting the cattle of his estate, which are marched past them by his farm-servants, their numbers being duly given. The south wall has a scene of Khafra-ankh and his wife sitting at table; while the west wall bears the false doors and niche with statue of the dead man. There are also the usual pictures of farm-work and fowling.

CHAPTER VIII

ABUSÎR, MEMPHIS, AND SAQQÂRA (ROYAL TOMBS)

LEAVING the Giza plateau, we now move southwards towards the less imposing, but almost as interesting, pyramid-fields of Abusîr and Saqqâra, with the site of Ancient Memphis. An alternative to the route by the west bank, which may be done by motor-car or any of the more primitive means of conveyance still in use, is to take the train to El-Badrashein, and thence 'do' Saqqâra; but as this involves missing Abusîr and Zâwyet el-'Aryân, unless they are taken on the return journey instead of travelling back by train, it is better to work directly south from the Giza plateau, and to travel by car from Cairo to start with. On our way, we pass a piece of work, which though dismissed by the guide-books either with no notice at all or with no more than a line or two, is actually of the deepest interest, because it enables us, so to speak, to see the Egyptian pyramid-builder in the very midst of his work, and to realize for ourselves the grand scale on which he planned his task, and the sumptuous manner in which he carried it out.

Near the village of Zâwyet Abu-Musallam, there stands on the desert plateau a mound of rubbish which is all that remains of what was once the stone pyramid of Zâwyet el-'Aryân, excavated by the Harvard-Boston Expedition under Dr. G. A. Reisner, in 1910-11. This, however, is not our object. A little north-west of it lies the unfinished sketch of another pyramid, which was begun for King Nebkerê, of the IIIrd Dynasty. It therefore stands almost at the very beginning of the long series, its only known predecessor being the Step Pyramid at Saqqâra, which we shall see shortly; and though it is only the sketch for the finished work, it is perhaps, for that very reason, almost more impressive than a finished pyramid might have been.

Nebkerê began the work for his great tomb by sinking through the limestone rock of the plateau a huge oblong pit, 73 feet deep, 82 feet long and 46 feet wide. The sides of this gigantic shaft are of sheer rock, and it was destined to form the chamber, or

perhaps the series of chambers, of the completed pyramid. He next drove down to the foot of the shaft a sloping stairway of the most superb character, 360 feet long, and 28 feet wide, down which the massive blocks of granite and other material for the completion of the great chamber could be brought with ease and comfort. Down the stairway he then brought a quantity of great granite blocks for the pavement of the burial-chamber. The average block weighs about 9 tons; while the great block which was destined to form the centre of the pavement weighs at least 45 tons. Into the centre of this sumptuous pavement he sunk a fine sarcophagus, also of red granite, of an oval form, quite different from the type of sarcophagus used by the succeeding dynasty. It had a lid of red granite, and the workmanship of both sarcophagus and lid was of a high order.

Then, apparently, something occurred which caused King Nebkerê to change his plans. The idea of completing the pyramid was given up; no time was taken even to extract from the great shaft the splendid blocks of granite for service elsewhere, or to remove the beautifully wrought sarcophagus to another tomb, if it was the king's death which had caused the cessation of work. The granite blocks which had not yet been used were hastily piled anyhow into the unfinished tomb, and the whole was covered up. So everything was found, apparently undisturbed since ancient times, when M. Alessandro Barsanti cleared the whole for the Service of Antiquities, and found the empty sarcophagus with no trace whatsoever of its ever having been used. Where the king was actually buried remains an unsolved problem, though, no doubt, like most of his immediate predecessors and successors, he had more than one tomb constructed for him.

It may seem that more than enough time has been spent upon this monument, which, after all, is only an unfinished tomb which was never occupied; but actually there are many finished pyramids and tombs which are of far less significance than the unfinished pyramid of Zâwyet el-'Aryân. Here we are really at the very beginning of pyramid-building, with only a few years between us and the first attempt at a pyramid which Zoser and his wise man, Imhôtep, reared a few miles south of us at Saqqâra; yet there is no hesitation, or fumbling after an ideal only imperfectly seen as yet. The architect has seen, with perfect clearness, what he intended to do, and has done it as if he had the labour of Titans at his command. 'This amazing monument,' says

Weigall (*History of the Pharaohs*, I, 153), 'which yielded no rich burial to the expectant modern excavator to crown his laborious work, but yet which revealed in this early period a degree of skill and a largeness of conception hitherto unsuspected. It is obvious that already we have entered the age of the great builders, and are dealing not with primitive conditions, but with the heyday of a magnificent civilization.' Nebkerê's date is probably not far from 3100 B.C., that is to say he is, roughly speaking, contemporary with the kings of the Ist Dynasty of Ur, whose treasures of art and craftsmanship Mr. Woolley has been unearthing recently, and only a little later than the earlier princes whose wonderful metal-work has been a surprise to the whole world.

Maspero has written of the 'almost brutal strength' of Nebkerê's work; but 'brutal' is a totally wrong word to use of work which shows such careful thinking out, and such skilful adaptation of means to a foreseen end as this. The brute was left far behind in the past before Nebkerê and his architects planned this astonishing tomb.

Continuing southward, we reach Abu Girâb, excavated between 1898 and 1901 by Drs. Borchardt and Schäfer, at the expense of Baron von Bissing. The ruins proved to be those of the Temple of Rê, called Seshep-ib-Rê, which was erected by King Newoserrê in celebration of his thirty years festival. (The *Sed*-festival, which corresponds, more or less, to our royal jubilee, and was one of the most ancient of Egyptian royal functions, is probably the relic of a primitive custom whereby the reigning king was slain when he had accomplished thirty years upon the throne; the object being to secure that the Pharaoh, as leader of the nation in war, should always be a man in full vigour. The slaying speedily became a merely ceremonial one, and at last the whole function degenerated, or improved, into a jubilee celebration, which later Pharaohs commonly repeated at intervals much more frequent than thirty years.)

The temple stands upon the desert plateau, nearly a mile north of the temples and pyramids of Abusir. In design it is entirely different from the usual type of Egyptian temple, though it has distinct points of resemblance to the type which Akhenaten created at El-'Amârna in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and which may have derived at least a part of its conception from the Vth Dynasty building. It consists of a great open court, 330 feet

long, and 250 feet broad. The entrance is at the east end, the point of the sun-rising, and at the opposite end of the court stood the object upon which the rising sun should first shine—the huge truncated obelisk, reared upon a pedestal in the shape of a truncated pyramid. The pedestal measured about 130 feet square, and 100 feet in height, and the squat obelisk which stood upon it (built of brick) reached a height of about 120 feet more. The whole conception must have been one of the ugliest things which the Egyptian architect ever created, being neither a true obelisk nor a true pyramid, but a kind of muddle-up of both. Such as it was, however, it was the symbol and embodiment of the sun-god, and he was supposed to dwell within it, and to look down from it upon the sacrifices which were offered at its foot upon an immense altar, made of five great blocks of alabaster. The altar is 19 feet long, 18 feet broad, and 4 feet high; and gutters, cut in the pavement, carried the blood of the victims to ten alabaster basins placed in readiness to catch it.

Covered cloisters ran along the east and south sides of the court, and then turned to the north towards the obelisk; on the north side were store-chambers and treasuries for the sacred vessels of the god. These were reached by a covered passage from the great gate. From the main gate a sloping ramp led down from the platform of the temple to another large enclosure, where were the houses of the priests, and other store-rooms.

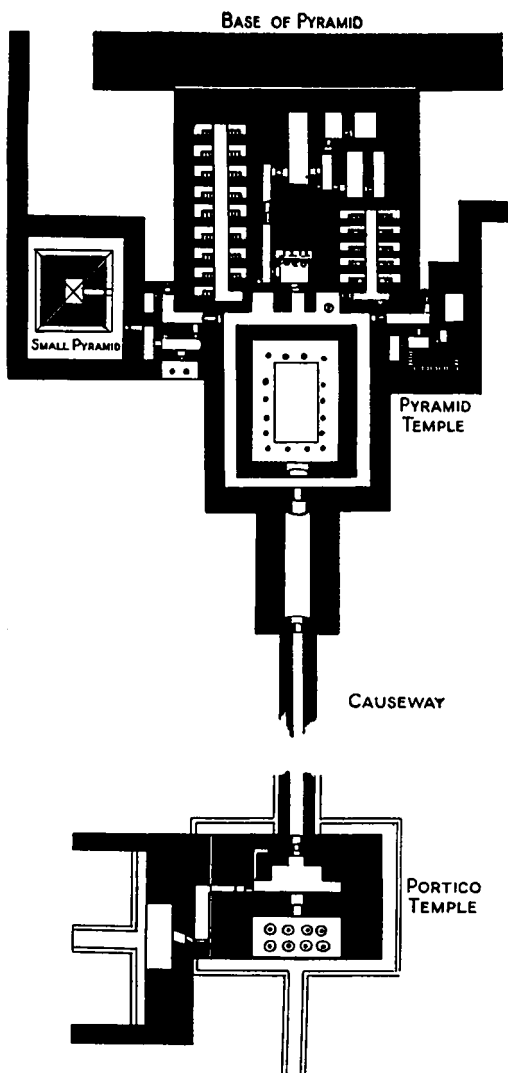
One of the most curious features of the temple lay outside the sacred enclosure, on its south side. This was the barque of the sun, in which he was supposed to make his daily voyage. Similar boats, it will be remembered, were provided at Giza, and the boat-pits in which they were kept have in some instances survived; but the boat of Rê, in this case, appears to have been entirely of brick, together with all his pavilions and insignia—the object being to secure greater permanency for it than could be expected in the case of any ordinary boat. The foundations of the brick barque still survive. To the south of the great obelisk stood a small chamber, which may have been the vestry of Pharaoh, when, as supreme high-priest of Rê, he took part in the worship of the god. This chamber was lined, as were also the cloisters, with fine relief-sculptures, some of which are now in the museum at Berlin, and others at Cairo. Altogether Newoserrê's sun-temple must have been a singularly interesting structure, and, though it can never have rivalled the temples of the normal

type in imposing dignity, and must, indeed, have been ugly rather than beautiful, it deserves attention as a novelty in an architectural style which has not too many novelties to offer us.

A short distance south of Abu Girâb, we come to the three largest pyramids of Abusîr, which have been looking across the desert towards the sun-temple during our visit to it. These were built by three of the Pharaohs of the Vth Dynasty, to whose religious devotion the recrudescence of sun-worship which marks this period was due. From the beginning, these pyramids can never have been of the first rank, and as their workmanship is also of the second class, they have suffered pretty badly at the hands of Time. They were excavated in 1902-8 by Professor Borchardt, for the German Oriental Society, and the results, though the interior chambers of the actual pyramids were almost completely in ruins, were of decided interest and value, from the light which was thrown on the whole question of the pyramid complex, with its four features of pyramid, funerary temple, causeway, and valley-temple.

The most northerly of the three pyramids was built by Sahurê, who was the second Pharaoh of the Vth Dynasty, and the second of the triplets, who, according to the Westcar Papyrus, were borne to the sun-god Rê by Reddedet, wife of the priest of Sakhebu, and were destined to become Pharaohs of Egypt in succession after the IVth Dynasty reached its end. The pyramid of the first of the three, is as yet unidentified, but is believed to be at Abusîr, or in its neighbourhood. Sahurê's pyramid now measures 216 feet on the base, but was originally 257 feet in length; its height is now 118 feet, but was originally 162½ feet, so that it has suffered very considerably. Its causeway measured nearly 650 feet in length, and terminated at the usual simple portico-temple on the edge of the inundated land.

The funerary temple, as usual, on the east side of the pyramid, is of considerable importance, as it reveals the first adoption of more than one architectural motive which became familiar in later Egyptian architecture. A long narrow vestibule leads into a colonnaded court paved with basalt. Sixteen tall monolithic columns of red granite supported the roof of the colonnade around this court, and their fragments are scattered around. 'The novelty in construction is the use of palm-leaf capitals on round columns, cut in red granite, as monoliths over twenty feet high. This marks the beginning of a new architecture.' The



PYRAMID-TEMPLE, CAUSEWAY, AND PORTICO-TEMPLE OF SAHURÉ

(See p. 142)

other notable feature is the introduction into the decoration, for the first time, of what came to be one of the most inevitable of Egyptian motives for sacred decoration—the sun-disk flanked with uraei. The court is followed by a cross room, and a recessed room, which once held funerary statues of the king. A narrow passage leads to the sanctuary, with its stele at the foot of the pyramid. On either hand are store-rooms and treasuries. At the south-east angle of the pyramid stands the small pyramid of the queen. This stood in a little separate enclosure, whose entrance was flanked by a couple of the palm-tree columns.

A little to the south of the pyramid of Sahurê, stands that of Newoserrê, whose sun-temple at Abu Girâb we have just seen. Its valley-temple was a somewhat imposing structure, with columns of the closed papyrus-bud type. It was built upon a large rectangular platform, furnished with a flight of steps, at which the funerary processions might disembark, for their journey up the long causeway (over a thousand feet), which led to the funerary temple at the eastern base of the pyramid. The forecourt of the temple has store-rooms on either side of it. From it we enter the open colonnaded court, whose columns, like those of the valley-temple, are of the closed papyrus type, in red granite. The pavement of the court, as in Sahurê's temple, is of basalt. West of this court extend the usual series of chambers for the service of the temple, now in a very ruinous state. Again at the south-east angle of the pyramid stands a small pyramid, probably that of one of Newoserrê's queens, of whom two are known by name, Khenti-kewes and Nûb. The wall-sculptures of the temple refer to conquests of Libyans, Syrians and others. Several of these striking reliefs, as also of those of the temple of Sahurê, are now in the Berlin Museum.

The largest of the pyramids of Abusir is that of the Pharaoh Neferirkerê, who appears to be the Kakau, the third of Reddet's triplets. It was originally 360 feet long on the base, and 228 feet high. It was thus slightly bigger, both in height and base-length, than the Third Pyramid of Giza; but, being of very inferior workmanship, it has suffered much more, and is now considerably reduced, its length being only 325 feet, and its height 164. The pyramid-temple is also of much inferior workmanship and material compared with its two companions. The colonnaded court and forecourt are only of brick, with four-lobed papyrus columns. All is in a much more ruinous condition than

is the case with the two more northerly pyramid-temples. It is, however, a matter of interest to remember that the Lord Ty, whose mastaba is one of the sights of the necropolis at Saqqâra, was keeper of this pyramid.

Among the other tombs which occupy the plateau is the mastaba of Ptahshepses, which was discovered by Mariette, and excavated by de Morgan in 1893. It is kept locked, but is opened by the Abusîr guardian on request. The large hall is adorned with twenty square pillars; the second hall, with three recesses for statues, has reliefs of workmen carving statues of the dead man; the third has reliefs, or the remains of reliefs, of boats and other objects. Ptahshepses, as may be seen from his memorial stele, was a typical specimen of the Egyptian bureaucrat. Born in the IVth Dynasty, in the reign of Mycerinus, he was brought up with the royal children in the harem, and married to the princess Maetkha, daughter of Mycerinus's successor, Shepseskaf. The change to the Vth Dynasty did not affect his position at court in the slightest. He continues to be favoured by Userkaf, Sahurê, Neferirkerê, Nefrefrê, and Newoserrê, in whose reign, after having served and been honoured by seven Pharaohs, he at last reluctantly succumbed to fate. He has described in feeling terms the greatest honour ever paid to him by royalty, which came in the reign of the otherwise little-known Pharaoh Neferirkerê: 'When his Majesty praised him for a thing, his Majesty permitted that he should kiss his foot, and his Majesty did not permit that he should kiss the ground; PTAHSHEPSES!' The mastaba of this supple courtier lies a little south-east of the pyramid of Sahurê.

SITE OF ANCIENT MEMPHIS

The site of Memphis, one of the most famous capitals of the ancient world, and the first capital of United Egypt, may be reached easily by train from Cairo to El-Badrashein, or, if preferred, by motor-car, passing Giza, Abu Girâb, and Abusîr. By the latter route, the great necropolis of Saqqâra would come before Memphis; but it will be most convenient to deal with Memphis first, and to leave the great mass of detail connected with Saqqâra until Memphis is done with. We approach the site, therefore, from El-Badrashein, following the embankment towards the village of Mît Rahîna. The scene does not suggest in the least that we are travelling over what was once the greatest city of the

ancient world ; yet there can be no doubt that Memphis occupied that position during the whole of the Old Kingdom, from the Ist to the end of the VIth Dynasty ; and even after it had been deposed from the dignity of being the residence of the Pharaoh, and had been succeeded, first by Itht-aui (El-Lisht), under the Middle Kingdom, and then by Thebes, under the New Empire, it still remained one of the most important and perhaps one of the most populous cities of Ancient Egypt. It was really only after the founding of Alexandria that Memphis began to decline from its position as the chief city of Egypt, after the royal seat.

The story of the city began, according to Herodotus, whose information there is here no reason to question, with Mena, the unifier of the kingdom. Having succeeded in bringing the whole Nile Valley under his dominion, he resolved, though himself a man of the upper valley, being a native of Thinis, near Abydos, to fix his capital in a position whence he could control the Delta, which, as the last part of the land to yield to the unifying process, might be expected to give more trouble than the upper valley. The site which Mena chose has obvious advantages. While near enough to the Delta to enable the king to keep a firm hand over his new subjects, it was yet actually not of the Delta, and gave easy access to the upper valley. Herodotus tells us that the site had to be reclaimed. The reason for this, which involved placing the new capital on the west bank of the Nile, is probably that the king wished to have the Nile as a barrier between his city and the restless tribes of the eastern Delta and the Isthmus of Suez, whose incursions were a continual danger to Lower Egypt.

'Menes who first ruled over Egypt', says Herodotus, 'in the first place protected Memphis by a mound ; for the whole river formerly ran close to the sandy mountain on the side of Libya [i.e. to the west] ; but Menes, beginning about a hundred stades above Memphis, filled in the elbow towards the south, dried up the old channel, and conducted the river into a canal, so as to make it flow between the mountains. . . . When the part cut off had been made firm land by this Menes, who was first king, he in the first place built upon it the city that is now called Memphis ; for Memphis is situate in the narrow part of Egypt . . . for the Nile itself bounds it towards the east.'

The importance which the new city derived from the royal residence was speedily increased by the establishment of a great religious tradition. Herodotus tells us that Menes 'built in it

the temple of Vulcan [i.e. Ptah], which is vast and well worthy of mention', and Manetho states that the second king of the IInd Dynasty, Kakau, set up there the form of animal worship which eventually became most famous in Egypt—that of the Apis bull. Probably, however, the establishment of the Apis worship was much earlier than this, as the Palermo Stone mentions, under the Ist Dynasty, the 'first occurrence of "Running-of-Apis"'. At all events, the temple of Ptah continued to be one of the most sacred and revered of Egyptian temples up to a late date. Even as late as the XXth Dynasty, when the cult of Amûn had settled like a blight upon the whole nation, the temple of Ptah still ranked only after that of Amûn at Thebes, and that of Rê at Heliopolis; though it must be admitted that Amûn held nearly nine times as much property, and Rê nearly twice as much, as the old creator-god Ptah at Memphis. The day of greatest glory for the city was that of the Old Kingdom. The first blow to its prosperity, apart from its abandonment as a seat by the royal court, was its capture by Piankhy, the Ethiopian Pharaoh, though the conqueror was not unmerciful, and duly did honour to Ptah in his temple. Then came capture and sack by the Assyrians, first by Esarhaddon, then by Ashurbanipal, neither of whom, we may be sure, was so merciful as Piankhy had been. Finally the mad Cambyzes, after his victory at Pelusium, wrecked the city to a great extent, slew its magistrates and priests, and as the crowning indignity of all, wounded the Apis bull with his own hand, so that the animal died.

Under the early Roman Empire the city still continued to be large and prosperous, though it had now sunk to the rank of an important provincial city, and its great palaces were deserted and rapidly becoming more and more ruinous. A deadly blow to what still remained of its religious prestige was given by the edict of Theodosius (A.D. 379–395), in consequence of which the ancient temples were destroyed, and the statues broken. The ruin of Memphis was completed when Muqauqas surrendered the city to 'Amr ibn el-'As, Omar's conquering general, for the Mohammedans founded their capital on the eastern bank of the Nile, and henceforth the ignoble role of Memphis was simply that of furnishing successive khalifs with conveniently prepared stone for their buildings in Cairo. The destruction of Egypt's ancient capital took a long time to accomplish, for even in the beginning of the thirteenth century 'Abd el-Latif was filled with wonder at the

extent of the ruins ; but in the end it was thorough. Few cities of the ancient world have been so absolutely wiped out as Memphis. The prophecy of Jeremiah, ' Noph shall be waste and desolate without an inhabitant ', has long since been fulfilled ; and the truth of Ezekiel's forecast, ' I will cause their images to cease out of Noph ', is only emphasized by the pitiful relics of broken colossi and lesser statues which have now and again rewarded the painful toil of excavators on the ancient site.

The circuit of the ancient city is stated by Diodorus to have been 150 stadia. If the Greek stadium is meant, then this would equal $17\frac{1}{4}$ miles ; if the Egyptian, $24\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Sir Flinders Petrie, who excavated here in 1908 and several subsequent years, is of opinion that the larger circuit is meant, and states that this would agree well with the length of the city cemeteries, from Dahshûr to the north of Abusir. ' This would be the size of northern London from Bow to Chelsea, and from the Thames up to Hampstead. Probably a large part of this area consisted of gardens and fields belonging to the various villages which were agglomerated to form the capital, like the component villages and towns of London.' Memphis, therefore, was ' no mean city ', however little may be left to bear witness to its former greatness.

As we pass westwards along the road, having the village of Mit Rahina on our right front, we have on our right hand an immense flat area sunk beneath the level of the surrounding country, and bordered by palm-bearing mounds of no great elevation. The part of this sunk area nearest to us represents the site of the great temple of Ptah, whose foundation Herodotus attributed to Mena or Menes. Beyond it, farther to the north, lay, no doubt, the sacred lake of the temple ; while beyond that again lay another great enclosure, part of which may have been the fortress of the city, and beyond that again a mound to the north covered the palace of Apries, of the XXVIth Dynasty. More to the east again lay the palace of Menepthah, of the XIXth Dynasty.

A good deal of excavation has been done on this site within recent years by Sir Flinders Petrie, and also by the Expedition of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. The results of the work of the Petrie Expedition mainly concerned the precinct of Ptah, and the palace of Apries. So far as regards the temple of Ptah, they were such as to vindicate the accuracy of Herodotus, who evidently possessed a good knowledge of the various epochs of building, and the authors of the additions and adornments of

the great sanctuary. The Sesostris to whom he attributes the setting up of two colossi of thirty cubits (ii, 110) must in this case be Ramses II, and not Senusret III, as usually now interpreted ; and one of the colossi which Herodotus saw survives in the larger of the two colossi of Ramses which we shall presently mention. Evidence was also found of his accuracy in stating that ' Moiris ' (Amenemhêt III) of the XIIth Dynasty built on the north side of the temple, that Ramses III, his ' Rhampsinitus ', set up two colossi of 25 cubits high before the western portal (ii, 121), and that Psammetichus I built a portico and forecourt, with colossal statues, in the XXVIth Dynasty. Herodotus also saw a colossus bigger than any of these lying face up, probably in front of the Ramses II colossi, on the south front of the temple. This monster, which was erected by Ahmôse II of the XXVIth Dynasty, and which must have been only second in height to the giant of Ramses II at Tanis, has not been found, and there can be little doubt that it has been broken up. Petrie found a number of fragments of the various colossi which Herodotus describes, though no complete statues were found, with the exception of a granite group, not colossal, representing Ramses II with Ptah. A fine red granite sphinx, weighing eleven tons, and dating from Ramses II, was found at the north gate of the temple, and is now in the Museum of Philadelphia, U.S.A. Its face had been entirely obliterated by weathering, and possibly by fire ; but the rest of the figure was finely preserved. Further evidence was forthcoming, if such were needed, of the shameless way in which the later Pharaohs pillaged the works of the ancient kings to save themselves trouble in their buildings, for the foundations of the west hall which Ramses II added to the temple of Ptah were blocks of granite stolen from the casing of a pyramid, as their shape plainly showed. Thus part of the ruin of the Abusir pyramids is doubtless accounted for.

The work of the Philadelphian Expedition resulted in a fairly complete understanding of the construction of the throne-room of the palace of Menepthah. The palace had been burned shortly after that Pharaoh's death ; but enough material survived to enable the Museum of Philadelphia to effect what must be considered the most perfect reconstruction in existence of the throne-room of a Pharaoh of the New Empire. For rich and tasteful beauty, the palace of this XIXth Dynasty Pharaoh, if its throne-room may be taken as a fair sample, must have been hard to

beat ; and this, it should be remembered, was not the palace of the capital, but only of a large provincial city.

As a whole, however, excavation has only emphasized the completeness of the ruin which has befallen Memphis. To-day, the best of the specimens of sculpture found on the site are either at Cairo, or scattered among the Museums of Europe and America, Ny Carlsberg and Philadelphia in particular. The only relics of the former splendour of Memphis which are to be seen where the city once stood are the two colossi of Ramses II, and the huge alabaster sphinx excavated in 1912.

Of the two colossi, the less important is that which was discovered in 1888. It is of granite, and measures, in its present mutilated condition, 26 feet long. The crown, which was morticed into the top of the head, has become detached, and now lies beside the statue. It measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height. The cartouches of Ramses II are sculptured on both shoulders, the breast, the girdle and the wrist of the figure, and its supporting pillar bears an inscription. The left-hand side of the statue has a relief *en creux* of the favourite daughter of Ramses, Bant-Anat, who was also possibly the king's wife. Beside this colossus stands a stele of Ha-ib-Rê (Apries), with figures of Ptah and Sokar, the favourite Memphite god of the dead. Close at hand stands the gigantic alabaster sphinx already mentioned. It weighs probably eighty tons, and is 26 feet long and 14 feet high. It is in all likelihood a piece of XIXth Dynasty work, very likely of Ramses II, who both did and stole so much to enrich this site.

The second colossus, near at hand, was for long a reproach to the British public, which 'cared for none of these things', and was as content to let Ramses II lie in Nile mud at Mit Rahina as to let Tuthmosis III's great obelisk lie in the sand at Alexandria. It was discovered in 1820 by Messrs. Caviglia and Stone, and was by them presented, in the large and easy way in which such monuments were then dealt with, to the British Museum. The Museum, however, took no steps to remove its somewhat inconvenient treasure, and the great statue lay for sixty-six years in a mud-hole, into which visitors had to descend if they wished to look upon the face of the great Pharaoh, which was 'smelling the ground' in a fashion which would have choked Ramses with indignation. It was drowned every year by the inundation, and was visible only when the water had receded ; but 'by those who have gone down into the hollow and seen it from below in the dry

season, it is reported of as a noble and very beautiful specimen of one of the best periods of Egyptian art'. So wrote Miss Amelia Edwards, who was evidently not of the number who went down into the hole to look at Ramses, as late as 1877. Ten years later, Sir Frederick Stephenson did something to wipe off the shame of such neglect, and collected a sum of money sufficient at least to enable Major Arthur Bagnold to lift Ramses out of the mud, and to give him a drier, if a harder bed on a brick pedestal. The great statue is now sheltered by a hut of mud-brick, and a platform is provided from which it may be comfortably viewed.

It is worth the small trouble which has been spent upon it, for, with the exception of the so-called Memnon colossi and the fragments of the vast colossus of Ramses II at the Ramesseum, it is perhaps the finest specimen of this peculiarly Egyptian type of art to be seen more or less *in situ* in Egypt. We may not consider, with Miss Edwards, that XIXth Dynasty art represents 'one of the best periods of Egyptian art'; but there is no question that the colossus of Mit Rahina is a remarkably good example of its somewhat overpowering class. The statue has lost part of its crown, and part of its legs; but when it was complete, it must have stood about 45 feet high, so justifying with considerable exactness the report of Herodotus, who gave it 30 cubits. It is too much to expect of a colossus, especially of a colossus with such a history, that it should be a highly individualized portrait; yet the regular features of Ramses are well, if somewhat conventionally, suggested. The Pharaoh's cartouche is carved on the right shoulder, the breast, and the girdle, and in the girdle he carries a dagger with two hawks' heads on the pommel. Strange to say, in spite of all its humiliations, the usual conventional beard of the Pharaohs, generally one of the first things to suffer in a statue, has survived in almost perfect preservation.

Leaving Ramses to watch over the desolate scenes of former splendours, we pass on, still westwards, towards the great necropolis in which the Memphite Pharaohs and the population of their capital city were laid to rest for generation after generation.

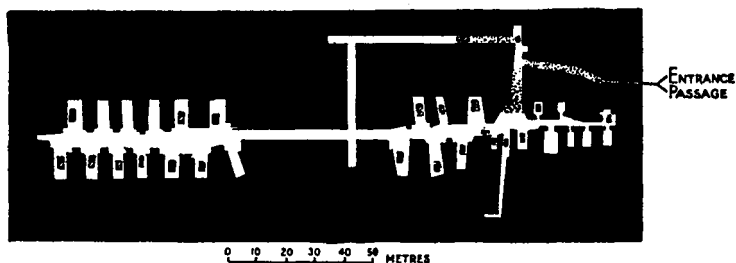
The necropolis of Saqqâra possibly derives its name from the Ancient Egyptian god Sokar or Seker, who was a god of the dead. It extends along the desert to the west of the site of Memphis for about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, with a maximum width of about 1 mile. Most of the interest associated with this wonderful storehouse of material illustrative of the life of Ancient Egypt is connected with

the Old Kingdom, and especially with the period of the Vth and VIth Dynasties ; though the monument which first attracted modern attention to the spot, the *Serapeum*, in whose underground vaults the bodies of the Apis bulls were buried, belongs (so far as the vaults open to visitors are concerned) to a late date in Egyptian history—the XXVIth Dynasty. Mariette's house, where that excavator lived during his work at the Serapeum and in the necropolis, still keeps watch and ward over the place where he first made his name famous. Whatever may be our opinion as to the methods which he employed in his work, it is fitting that he should be remembered on the site where the work began, though it might be wished that his house might be reserved for a more dignified use than that of a luncheon place for tourists, to whom the keepers 'supply coffee prepared in the Arab style'. The house stands, appropriately enough, about mid-way between the Serapeum, which represents almost the latest work on the site, though it was the first to be attacked by Mariette, and the Step Pyramid, which is the earliest, though its full importance has only been revealed within the last few years.

We shall begin, as Mariette did, with the Serapeum, though it is by no means the most interesting object at Saqqâra. The Apis bull, whose worship, together with that of other animals, such as the Mnevis bull of Heliopolis and the ram or goat of Mendes, was made such a reproach to the Egyptian religion, was the living emblem of the god Ptah of Memphis. He had a special temple in the city, and when he died he was embalmed and buried with great magnificence in a special tomb. The invaluable Herodotus has left us an exact description of 'all the good marks', to use the Egyptian phrase, by which the priests of Apis were enabled to declare that a new Apis had been discovered to take the place of one who had died—the discovery being welcomed with great rejoicing. 'This Apis is the calf of a cow incapable of conceiving another offspring ; and the Egyptians say that lightning descends upon the cow from heaven, and that from thence it brings forth Apis. This calf, which is called Apis, has the following marks : it is black, and has a square spot of white on the forehead ; and on the back the figure of an eagle ; and in the tail double hairs ; and on the tongue a beetle.' From which one may conclude that the priests of the Apis must have been adepts at making up a suitable candidate for the vacant post. The story of how Mariette, having come to Egypt to buy Coptic manuscripts,

spent the money with which he had been entrusted by the Louvre upon the much more congenial and important task of excavating the Apis catacombs has already been told. The great avenue of sphinxes, the mention of which by Strabo led the excavator to his discovery, is now, so far as it still exists, entirely covered with sand, as are also the remains of both the older and newer Apis or Osiris-Apis temples; and only the latest of the Apis galleries of tombs is now open to visitors.

There were originally three groups of these catacombs; in the earliest group, which dates probably from the middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty, the dead bull was buried in a separate subterranean tomb-chamber, above which a chapel was erected on the



THE SERAPEUM

(See text)

surface. In the period from the XIXth Dynasty to the XXVth Dynasty a different plan was followed. An underground gallery was hewn in the rock, with tomb-chambers opening out of it on each side, in which the coffins of the sacred bulls were laid. Finally Psammetichus I, of the XXVIth Dynasty, caused the gallery-plan to be carried out on a much larger scale, and his plan was followed during the Ptolemaic period. The total length of the galleries, in this latest catacomb, now the only one visible, is 1,150 feet, the great gallery alone measuring 640 feet in length. In the side-chambers opening off the passages were placed the huge granite sarcophagi, of a type characteristic of the Saite period, which held the sacred remains. Twenty-four of these were discovered, of which twenty are still in position. Each sarcophagus is hewn out of a single block of black or red granite, or of hard limestone. The average measurements are: 13 feet

long, by $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, and 11 feet high ; and the average weight is estimated at 65 tons. The finest specimen is that on the right hand at the farthest end of the great gallery. It is of black granite and is beautifully polished, inscribed and decorated. Three of the sarcophagi bear the names of Pharaohs ; one that of Ahmôse II ; one, curiously enough, considering his attitude to the Apis worship, that of Cambyses, the Persian conqueror of Egypt, who, as will be remembered, mortally wounded the Apis of the day with his own dagger ; and one that of Khababash, whose brief rule was a native revolt against the Persian dominion of Darius.

From the Serapeum we go in a slightly south-easterly direction, past Mariette's house to what, in some respects, is the most interesting building in Egypt, or in any land. This is the Step Pyramid of Saqqâra, which is, so far as is known, the earliest stone building on a large scale in the world. It is the tomb of Zoser, the second Pharaoh of the IIIrd Dynasty, and dates, approximately, from 3000 B.C. Prior to Zoser's time, the largest example of stonework in Egypt had been the limestone central tomb-chamber of Khasekhemui of the IInd Dynasty at Abydos, measuring 17 feet by 10 and a little less than 6 feet high ; while in Sumer, the rough limestone walls of the royal tombs of the Ist Dynasty of Ur give the measure of Sumerian progress at a date not very far removed from that of Khasekhemui. Now, at a single step, as it appears, Zoser advances to the accomplishment of a stone building, which, judged by any standard, is a great work.

Zoser's pyramid is really more a succession of mastabas, or bench-shaped tombs, piled one on the top of the other, than a true pyramid ; and it is therefore all the more interesting, as showing the first, and so far as we can judge, the only tentative step which the Egyptian architect found it necessary to take in the evolution of the true pyramid. The Meydûm pyramid of Sneferu stands on a different footing, being the remains of a true pyramid stripped. But Zoser's Step Pyramid, though the researches of Mr. Cecil Firth have shown that it was cased with fine white limestone, like its greater brethren of Giza, was never changed by the casing into true pyramid form, but always remained stepped, as at present, though what we see now is only the core of rough and coarse limestone, instead of the beautifully finished facing of fine stone with which it was covered originally.



STEP PYRAMID, SAQQARA



ARCHITECTURAL DETAIL

EXCAVATIONS OF THE ANTIQUITIES DEPARTMENT



PTAH-HOTPE



ANKHMAHOR (PHYSICIAN'S TOMB)
DETAILS FROM SAQQÂRA MASTABAS

The pyramid was surrounded by a *temenos* wall which surrounded a court 490 yards long by 295 yards wide. This wall was 23 feet high, and some of it still survives. The pyramid stands almost in the middle of this great enclosure. It consists of an oblong rectangle, which on ground-plan measures 413 feet by 344 feet. The first stage is $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and upon it rises a second, which is set back on all sides about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the first, and rises to a height of 36 feet. The third stage, also set back, as all the succeeding stages are, by about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet, is $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, the fourth, $32\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the fifth, $30\frac{1}{2}$, and the sixth, 29 feet, the total height being thus 200 feet. The pyramid was entered in 1821; but its passages and chambers, two of which were lined with tiles of blue-green in imitation of reed-mats, are not open to the public. In 1925 Mr. Firth found in the 'serdâb' or secret niche for the statue of the deceased, the *Ka* statue of King Zoser, a very remarkable piece of work, which shows that the conventional royal attitudes, which became traditional in later Egyptian history, had not yet become stereotyped. One of the rooms in the underground system, beneath the pyramid was full of stone vessels (mostly of alabaster and diorite), some of which were inscribed with the names of predecessors of Zoser. In one room were three fine limestone steles, adorned with beautiful work in low relief.

The remains outside of the pyramid, within the sacred enclosure, have also recently been excavated with results of great importance and interest. Two large mastabas which lie between the north-east angle of the pyramid and the *temenos* wall seem to have been the tombs of two of Zoser's daughters, Intkaes and Hetepher-nebti. They had no funerary chapel to the east, as is usual; but in place of this they had each a façade to the south of fine Tura limestone, decorated with four engaged columns, fluted, and crowned with a leaf-form fluted capital, which supported the cornice. The façade was also adorned with a ribbon pattern, which had originally been painted red. This façade, whose columns offer the first instance of the fluted style in the architecture of the world, faced in each case upon a courtyard, measuring about 27 yards square, whose side-walls were decorated with engaged columns, representing a single papyrus-stalk with its flower.

The mortuary temple of the pyramid stood, most unusually, on the north side; but the main buildings of the enclosure lay

to the south-east corner, where a great entrance opened between two towers into a great colonnaded hall, about 80 yards long, with forty-eight columnoids about $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and over 3 feet in diameter at the base. These are actually pilasters of fine white limestone, arranged in pairs, and carved in imitation of bundles of reeds. At the east and west ends were curious false doors carved in the stone as if half swung open. The temple to the north of this pillared hall is probably Zoser's *Sed*-festival or Jubilee temple. It had a series of chapels adorned with fences carved in stone, and staircases leading up to a second story.

Almost as important as the discoveries on the level of the enclosure, was that made by Firth in 1927, in the shape of an earlier tomb which had been commenced for Zoser but never completed. It seems probable that in the course of the great underground excavations which were being made by Imhôtep, Zoser's architect, for the funerary chambers of the pyramid, it was found that the rock was not of a quality suited to the purpose. It was therefore abandoned, or perhaps handed over to another occupant; and the chambers designed for it were almost exactly duplicated in the new site chosen for the pyramid. In the first rooms of this unfinished tomb, Firth discovered a number of the largest alabaster jars ever found in Egypt, some of them a metre high, together with the pieces of a diorite bowl inscribed on the outside with the names and titles of the Pharaoh Khasekhemui, the last king of the IIInd Dynasty. Beyond these rooms, a stairway and passage led to two rooms lined with blue-green tiles of the same form and colour as those of the underground chambers of the pyramid (which, it should be noted, were discovered later). The second of these rooms had three false doors on which King Zoser was beautifully depicted in low relief. In one he is represented as striding forward, wearing the White Crown; in the next he is standing, and wearing the Red Crown; in the third he stands, wearing once more the White Crown. The reliefs are accompanied by inscriptions giving his names and titles. In short, these rooms are so exact a counterpart to the actual chambers below the Step Pyramid, which were discovered the next season, as to leave little doubt that the explanation already given is the true one, and that Zoser's workmen had to abandon this great underground set of rooms when the work was far advanced, and seek a more suitable place for the pyramid with its system of chambers where the Step Pyramid now stands.

Here, then, we have a series of discoveries, which, though comparatively little has been heard of them, and though little sensation has been caused by the little that has been heard, are in actual fact far more important, and far more revolutionary in their bearing upon our knowledge of Egyptian architecture and art than the discovery of ten tombs of Tutankhamûn could be. Tutankhamûn's tomb gave us no revolutionary views of Egyptian art, though it admirably and richly illustrated aspects of it with which we were familiar already ; but this series of discoveries at the tomb of Zoser is one which forces us to reconsider our views as to the time at which, and the manner in which, Egyptian architecture and the art of the Egyptian sculptor began to reach maturity, and to reconstruct them from the very foundation. For the architecture of the chapels and colonnades of the *temenos* of Zoser's pyramid is not an architecture which is timidly reaching out towards greater things whose full significance is not yet apprehended ; it is an architecture already conscious of its aims, and aware of its own ability to carry them out. With the exception of the fact that the pyramid type is as yet only in process of evolution, and has a little distance to go before it reaches completion, the architecture of Zoser's tomb is already fully equipped. And, although the material for judging of the progress of the Egyptian sculptor is less ample, there is no sign of immaturity here either. The reliefs of King Zoser are already remarkably perfect examples of a kind of work which the Egyptian artist carried to a high pitch of excellence in later days ; they have even now all the promise, and a good deal of the fulfilment, of that strong yet delicate art which charms us in the best work of the later Old Kingdom artists.

Are we to attribute this remarkable development, which will seem all the more wonderful to us when we realize that in all probability only a single reign, and a matter of twenty or thirty years, intervenes between the comparatively primitive, though strong work of Khasekhemui, and the mature art of Zoser, simply to the genius of the Pharaoh's great architect and adviser, Imhôtep ? The Egyptians themselves thought so, as is evident from the fact that they deified, in the end, the man whose counsel ' was as if a man had inquired at the oracle of God ', and imagined that the plans which he carried out for his master were the result of divine inspiration, and ' descended to him from heaven, to the north of Memphis ' ; but we shall probably be nearer the truth

if we regard Imhôtep simply as a phenomenon not so uncommon, though always remarkable—the great man who sometimes seems to crystallize in himself all the growing aspirations of a people towards a richer and fuller expression of its genius. The outburst of genius which culminated in the pyramid-builders would have come in any case, sooner or later ; the genius of Imhôtep hastened the process which was already struggling towards fulfilment.

At the same time, we should be on our guard against the danger of being so carried away with the charm and apparent perfection of the architect's and builder's art displayed in the Step Pyramid complex of buildings as to imagine that with Zoser and Imhôtep Egyptian building appeared full-armed and complete at once, so that no greater heights were afterwards reached, and, indeed, subsequent building was rather a declension than an evolution. Such an impression has been created, and is a natural one to be received from the wonderful delicacy of the architectural motives, at so early a date, and still more from the apparently superior quality of the actual masonry, whose jointing, as it appears on the faces of the buildings concerned, is of remarkable exactitude. Accordingly some have spoken of the art of masonry as revealed in the work in the Step Pyramid complex as having become a lost art in the subsequent period ; with the natural inference that the magnificent masonry of the IVth Dynasty is, in some unexplained particulars, inferior to that of the earlier period. This, however, is to attribute to the earlier work qualities which, in spite of its great beauty and attractiveness, it does not possess.

'The Zoser masonry', say Clarke and Engelbach (*Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, p. 8), 'is, generally speaking, of much poorer quality than that of good mastaba and pyramid masonry of the IVth and Vth Dynasties, and the structures, owing to the smallness of the blocks used, were not calculated to last any great time.' The apparent extraordinary quality of the IIIrd Dynasty jointing is only superficial, and only extends to a matter of at most two inches behind the visible face of the stonework ; while the joints in the megalithic masonry of the IVth and Vth Dynasties are equally good from front to back. 'In the Zoser masonry, fineness of jointing at the face of the walls was only obtained at the expense of solidity' (op. cit., p. 97). All this, however, does not imply that the wonderful work of Zoser and Imhôtep is not deserving of the highest praise. Had their work been superior to that of the men who followed and learned

from them, it would have been a miracle, and not a example of natural development, powerfully assisted by the genius of one outstanding man. 'The more the IIIrd Dynasty small-block masonry is studied, the more clear it becomes that the megalithic masonry which followed is merely a development from it' (op. cit., p. 8). That this can be said with truth is surely the highest of compliments to the genius of Zoser's great architect, and the skill of his workmen.

Apart from this question of the comparative merit of the masonry of the IIIrd and subsequent dynasties, the excavations at the Step Pyramid have provided two surprises. The first, and perhaps the less important of the two, is the revelation of the extremely high standard which Egyptian portrait sculpture had attained at this very early date. The statue of Zoser in the round is unfortunately too much battered to allow of its quality being fully appreciated, though it conveys an impression of great dignity (see *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, XXV, Plate IV, 1). But there can be no question of the quality of the reliefs representing the king. The words of their discoverer may be quoted. 'The work is of the finest, and it is difficult to believe that these exquisite limestone reliefs can be so early as the IIIrd Dynasty. Every muscle is indicated, although the relief is less than a millimetre in height' (C. M. Firth, *Annales*, XXVII, p. 108).

The second surprise was the appearance, at this date, of the pilaster, which appeared here only for a moment, so to speak, and then disappeared again, not to reappear until Ptolemaic and Roman times. The true pilaster is seen in the fluted specimens attached to the façades of the chapels of the princesses. The colonnade, and the cross-hall at the end of it, have the reeded specimens which are actually the terminations of cross-walls. This early appearance, with the subsequent disappearance, may signify that at this early stage the Egyptian builder was afraid to trust a free-standing column to support the weights with which it would be loaded, but quickly learned its capability in this respect when larger blocks were used for the drums of his columns.

Zoser, in accordance with a custom which was not uncommon at this period, possessed another tomb besides this splendid one at Saqqâra. This was the great mastaba at Beit Khallâf, near Abydos, which we shall see in due course. There is still some doubt as to which tomb may have been the scene of his own personal interment; but looking to the splendour of the whole

pyramid complex at Saqqâra, it seems likely that he was actually buried here, and that the great mastaba at Beit Khallâf is the tomb of his *Ka*. Before we turn to the examination of the more important mastabas at Saqqâra, which, apart from the Step Pyramid, are decidedly the most interesting features of the great necropolis, it will be convenient to notice briefly the remaining pyramids within the area, which, though of no great importance architecturally, are yet of the utmost importance in the history of Egyptian religion.

The pyramids concerned are five in number, and belong to the last king of the Vth Dynasty, Unas, and to four kings of the VIth Dynasty, Teti, Pepi I, Merenrê, and Pepi II. The pyramid of Unas is quite close to the south-west angle of the Step Pyramid. It is of comparatively insignificant appearance as pyramids go, its original height having been only a matter of 62 feet, while its base measurement was 220 feet. The workmanship also shows a sad deterioration from the sumptuous and solid splendour of the IVth Dynasty. The internal arrangements of this pyramid are comparatively simple, and those of the other four pyramids of the group are practically the same, with only minor variations, the three recesses of the eastern chamber of the pyramid of Unas having been thrown into one in the other four. The pyramid was opened in 1881 by Maspero, as were also the remaining members of the group; but the whole group has been subjected to the attacks of men who were evidently actuated by more powerful motives than the mere desire for plunder, and, while they have been plundered thoroughly in ancient days, they have also been wrecked with a malicious violence which points to fierce spite against the kingship at this period, for what reason is unknown. The whole fabric of the Old Kingdom fell to pieces with the end of the VIth Dynasty.

The great importance of these trifling pyramids of the decline of the Old Kingdom does not, however, consist in anything connected with the funerary equipment, which has now vanished for ever. It lies in the fact that the walls of the passages and chambers of the whole group of pyramids were covered with hieroglyphic writing, cut into the stone, and filled in with blue pigment. It was believed that the pyramids, in spite of the questionable statement of Herodotus about the Great Pyramid, had never been inscribed, and Mariette remained of the belief that no pyramid inscriptions would ever be found until within

a fortnight of his death in January 1881. During the winter of 1880-81, however, his workmen, under the guidance of Maspero, were engaged in clearing these Vth and VIth Dynasty pyramids, and, first in that of Pepi I, and then in that of Merenrê, they found these lengthy series of texts, all relating to the welfare of the king in the life after death, and all of more or less similar character in both pyramids. The information of this great discovery was one of the last things which Mariette was able to hear and understand as he lay on his death-bed. Later, the other three pyramids of the group were found to be similarly inscribed, the texts in all cases preserving a great general similarity, so that they evidently represented the current and recognized religious ideas of the time, so far as these concerned the Pharaoh.

The importance of these texts, the *Pyramid Texts*, as they are now universally called, is very great indeed. Though they are obviously not the earliest body of Egyptian religious belief that once existed (for they themselves refer to chapters of a ritual which has not survived, or has not yet been discovered), they are by far the earliest documents concerning Egyptian religion which are in our possession: and the primitive character of many of the conceptions which they embody proves that they were not novelties of the end of the Old Kingdom, but were already ancient survivals of a much older and ruder state of civilization when they were engraved upon the walls of the pyramids of the last kings of the period. Such passages as those in which the Pharaoh is described as hunting and lassoing the gods that he may make a cannibal meal of his brother divinities manifestly carry us back to a time very different from the highly cultured days of the Vth and VIth Dynasties.

Thus the pyramid of Unas and those of his brother Pharaohs remain as landmarks in the history of Egyptian religion, however paltry they may appear to casual observation; and the hieroglyphic writing on their walls is the earliest collected body of religious writing—the earliest Bible, in fact, in the world. The *Book of the Dead*, which is so often regarded as the complete compendium of Egyptian religion, is a thing of yesterday compared with this; while the *Coffin Texts* of the Middle Kingdom, are only of the day before yesterday.

The granite sarcophagus of King Unas stands in the tomb-chamber of his pyramid, close to the west wall, flanked by false doors of alabaster.

To the north-east of the step-pyramid stands the pyramid of Teti, the first king of the VIth Dynasty. It is of much the same size as that of Unas, being about 59 feet high and 210 feet long on the side, though it has lost a good deal of its height. Its interior shows many signs of the vicious spite with which the destroyers were inspired when they broke into these tombs. The writing of the *Pyramid Texts* shows in this tomb a change in style, the hieroglyphics being much smaller than in the pyramid of Unas; and this change was carried still farther in the pyramid of Pepi I.

The pyramid of Pepi I (Phiops) is in a very dilapidated condition. It lies some distance to the south of the Step Pyramid, being the first of the southern group of Saqqâra, and it now measures about only 40 feet in height, though its base-line is about 250 feet. Malicious destruction here reached its height. The destroyers forced their entrance by mining down straight through the pyramid, and breaking up the great stone slabs which roofed the tomb-chamber. 'The spiteful destruction of this pyramid is far beyond what would be done by treasure-seekers. Every cartouche in the entrance passage is chopped out; and the black basalt sarcophagus has been elaborately wrecked, rows of grooves have been cut in it, and it has been banged to pieces, breaking through even a foot thickness of tough basalt (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, I, p. 104). The object of such deliberate vandalism was, of course, the destruction of Pepi's chance of immortality, and the process was frequently repeated in Egyptian history, though perhaps not often with such intensity of spite as was here displayed. A granite Canopic box, sunk in the floor of the burial-chamber, contained the alabaster Canopic jars.

The pyramid of Merenrê (Mehti-em-saf) lies to the north-east of that of Pepi I, and has not only suffered at the hands of ancient destroyers, but also at those of modern tomb-robbers, as it was entered in the Middle Ages, and again early in the nineteenth century, when the villagers of Saqqâra broke into it, and carried off a number of alabaster vases, wrecking also some of the walls of the interior chambers in their eager search for the golden treasures which, if they were ever there, had long since vanished. The black granite sarcophagus is in good condition. The mummy found in it is now in the Cairo Museum; but it is at present considered to be an intruded burial of much later date. The modern tomb-robbers stripped it of its wrappings; but they did

not destroy it altogether, as their ancient forerunners would very likely have done.

The last of the group is that of Pepi II, who has the distinction of having by far the longest reign in history, variously estimated at from seventy-five to ninety-five, or even ninety-six years. Eratosthenes gives the king's age at his death with an exactitude which is unfortunately found quite unattainable in the case of events much nearer at hand than the death of a Pharaoh 4,500 years ago ; for Pepi died, he tells us, just one hour short of his hundred years ! A statement which may, or again may not, incline us to have implicit confidence in the author's other statements of fact. This would give the Pharaoh a reign of ninety-six years if he came to the throne at the age of four, as is not improbable. His pyramid is of the same type and size as those of the other kings of this group, though its height is somewhat greater (95 feet). The pyramid temple was cleared in 1926 and subsequent years by M. Jéquier. It showed within the entrance a transverse hall, followed by a deep vestibule, and a peristyle court, with eighteen square-section pillars. This court was flanked on either side by store-chambers. Beyond the peristyle court a transverse passage divided the outer temple from the inner, which contained a hall of statues, an antechamber, and the sanctuary, with the usual surroundings of store-chambers. On the right hand of the main fabric, looking towards the pyramid, lay a large open court, the largest single portion of the building. The reliefs were much destroyed ; but certain fragments were sufficiently well preserved to show that they had been of the best type of Old Kingdom relief work. One curious relief in particular showed a sort of maypole, with cords attached to it on which individuals were climbing or swinging—a form of ritual observance which later became associated with the worship of the god Mîn, the Lord of the Eastern Deserts. The procession of bearers of offerings to King Pepi I, although sorely mutilated, is of very high quality. ' The great scene of offering-bearers of the temple of El-Deir el-Bahari is alone worthy, from this point of view, to be compared with that of Pepi ' (G. Jéquier, *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, XXVIII, p. 58).

A little distance south-east from the pyramid of Pepi II stands the Mastabat Fara'ûn, or Mastaba of Pharaoh, whose Arab name proclaims the local belief that it was a royal tomb. There is no doubt of this being the case ; but the question of to which

Pharaoh it should be attributed was another matter. It was for long ascribed to Unas, on the strength of a statement of Mariette that he had seen quarry-marks bearing the name of Unas on the backs of several of the blocks used in the building (cf. Petrie, *History of Egypt*, I. p. 94) ; but M. Jéquier found evidence in the course of his excavations which led him to the conclusion that it was the tomb of Shepseskaf, the last Pharaoh of the IVth Dynasty, and no evidence has since been forthcoming to invalidate this conclusion (see Jéquier, *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, XXV, pp. 62, 70). The building is a large mastaba of the usual shape ; it was evidently once cased with fine limestone, which, as usual, has vanished, leaving rough stepped courses to view. Access may be had to the interior passages and chambers. ' A sloping passage turns horizontal at the bottom, passes three slides for portcullises, and lastly opens into a chamber running east and west, with a ridge-roof. From the west end opens another chamber with a barrel-roof. And from the east end of the south side is a short horizontal passage, with four recesses and a small chamber. The arrangement is closely like that of a pyramid, and every part is equalled in that of Unas at Saqqâra, though rather differently arranged ' (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, I. p. 94). The mastaba had a funerary temple on its east side. Near the north-west an angle of the *temenos* wall of the Mastabat Fara'un, M. Jéquier discovered in 1925-6 the remains of the pyramid of Queen Udjebten, the wife of Pepi II, whose pyramid, as we have just seen, lies close at hand. It was a small and poorly built structure ; but the burial-chamber was decorated with an inscription in vertical columns, giving a version, unfortunately much ruined and very incomplete, of the well-known *Pyramid Texts*. This was the first occasion on which these texts had been found anywhere else than in the tomb of an actual Pharaoh. The queen's funerary chapel was on the east side of her pyramid, with its doors to the north, in the direction of the pyramid of her husband, Pepi II.

About a mile and a half south of the Mastabat Fara'un are the pyramids of Dahshûr, of which there are two large ones, and a small one in limestone, and two of brick. Of these, the most northerly is the north brick pyramid, once covered with the usual stone casing, but now stripped. It is the pyramid of the famous warrior Pharaoh Senusret III (Sesostris), of the XIIth Dynasty. It measures about 344 feet along the base,

but it has suffered some reduction in height, and now measures only about 90 feet. The entrance follows the new plan, adopted first, apparently, by Senusret II, in which the old entrance on the north face of the pyramid was abandoned, and an entrance made from a point outside the pyramid altogether, on its southern or western side. The entrance, in this case, is on the west. It was in the gallery entered from a pit at the north-east corner of this pyramid, and within its *temenos* wall, that M. de Morgan made his first discovery of the famous jewellery of the XIIth Dynasty princesses, already described in the account of the Cairo Museum—that of the princesses Sit-Hathor and Merit.

South-west of the pyramid of Senusret III, lies the great stone pyramid of Dahshûr, a colossal piece of work which has received but little of the attention which it deserves. It is one of the two pyramids of Sneferu, the predecessor of Cheops, and is the most ancient true pyramid (as distinguished from the Step Pyramid of Zoser). The other pyramid of Sneferu is at Meydûm, where it will be noticed in due course. In spite of its early date, the Dahshûr pyramid of Sneferu is fairly comparable in size to its vast successor at Giza. It still measures 709 feet along the base, and 325 feet in height. It thus comes very near to the Great Pyramid in base-length, and is actually larger in this respect than the Second Pyramid, though considerably less in height. In spite of its size, however, it is held by some authorities to have been only the secondary tomb of Sneferu, whose real resting-place was at Meydûm; but the question is still unsettled. To the east of Sneferu's great pyramid lies the brick pyramid of Amenemhêt II of the XIIth Dynasty. It was plundered in ancient days and is now almost entirely destroyed. Its main interest lies in the fact that this Pharaoh was surrounded in death by the tombs of his relatives, and that, while excavating among those of the royal princesses to the west of his pyramid, M. de Morgan had the good fortune, on the 15th February, 1895, and subsequent days, to discover the second store of royal jewellery, belonging to the princesses Ata-urt, Khnûmet and Sit-Hathor-merit. This jewellery, and especially the diadem of the Princess Khnûmet, have been described in the Cairo Museum section. Somewhat farther south lies the well-known 'Blunted Pyramid', more famous for its curious change of angle than for anything else. It is, however, a pyramid of very considerable size, measuring nearly 620 feet along the base, and

nearly 320 feet in height. It is thus considerably larger than the Third Pyramid of Giza, and not so very greatly inferior to the Second. Indeed if this, and its more northerly companion, the pyramid of Sneferu, were more in the beaten track of tourist traffic, they would be recognized as not unworthy forerunners of the later pyramids of the IVth Dynasty, and as possessing an even greater interest because of their earlier date.

The Blunted Pyramid has been described as a huge mastaba with a mansard roof, and the description is not altogether inapt. The lower portion, for somewhat more than half the height of the building, rises at the usual angle of about 54° . It then suddenly changes, and the rest of the work takes an angle of only 43° . Its construction has been ascribed to Neferkerê Huni, one of the last kings of the IIIrd Dynasty, and probably the immediate predecessor of Sneferu. There seems nothing unlikely in the attribution, as the change in plan so conspicuous in it seems to show that the early pyramid-builders had not yet finally made up their minds as to the recognized type at which they were aiming. The fact that the exterior coating is still in remarkably good preservation, except along the base, and especially at the angles of the base, adds to the interest of this curious survival, as it shows us what must have been the appearance of the other pyramids which have not preserved their casing.

East of the Blunted Pyramid, stands the southern brick pyramid. This was built by the Pharaoh Amenemhêt III of the XIIth Dynasty, but was only his secondary pyramid as his personal tomb was the pyramid of Hawâra, near the mouth of the Faiyûm. The entrance, as usual with the XIIth Dynasty Pharaohs, did not conform to the ancient usage, but was on the east side, near the south-east corner. 'The system of passages, with a long blind passage, is much like that of Hawâra', which will be noticed in its proper place. After de Morgan's work had been finished here, the pyramidion of the pyramid was found sticking out of the ground. It is a very fine piece of black granite, magnificently wrought and polished, with a finely cut inscription. It is now in the Cairo Museum, and has already been noticed.

At the north-east corner of the pyramid, within the *temenos* wall, de Morgan found the tomb and relics of the young Pharaoh, Auibrê Hor, whose wooden statue has been mentioned in the Cairo Museum section. He has been placed by some in the XIIth Dynasty, and has been supposed to have been a successor

of Amenemhêt III and co-regent with Amenemhêt IV; but in view of the style of his statue, which is not at all like the strong virile work of the XIIth Dynasty, but rather resembles the decadent work of the following period, it seems more likely that he belongs to the XIIIth Dynasty, though the point is not settled. The grave of a princess, Neb-hetepti-khart, was also found near; some of her jewellery, with some of that belonging to the king, is to be seen at Cairo (3986-3987, U 3, Case 4).

A short distance south of Dahshûr lies Mazghûna. Here, in 1910-11, Mr. Ernest Mackay, working for the British School of Archaeology, discovered the substructures of two XIIth Dynasty pyramids whose superstructure has vanished. The southern pyramid of the two, which lies about 3 miles south of the southern stone pyramid of Dahshûr, proved to have been of brick, cased with limestone, and to have had a brick *temenos* wall. The internal chambers were complete, with plug blocks and false passages to deceive tomb-robbers, much on the same plan as those of the pyramid of Amenemhêt III at Hawâra. The sarcophagus was found in its chamber, bedded into the body of the pyramid. It was of red quartzite, and was of huge dimensions, its inside measurement being over 10 feet by 3 feet 9½ inches, and its external width 7 feet. This pyramid may possibly be that of Amenemhêt IV.

The northern pyramid lies about a quarter of a mile north of its companion, and appears to have been of stone throughout. Its chambers and passages were of a character similar to those of the southern pyramid, and its sarcophagus was still huger than the other, measuring 15 feet 7 inches by 8 feet 7½ inches, by 6 feet. Its southern end was also bedded into the south end-wall of the sarcophagus-chamber. It is possible that this second pyramid may have been the sepulchre of that Queen Sebeknofru, who succeeded her brother Amenemhêt IV after his short reign.

CHAPTER IX

THE MASTABAS OF SAQQÂRA

WE turn now to the consideration of a few outstanding examples of what are certainly the most interesting, though perhaps not the most immediately arresting, features of the great necropolis—the mastabas of the courtiers, officials, and other notabilities of the latter reigns of the Old Kingdom. We have already glanced, in passing, at one or two of the mastabas of the earlier pyramid-building age at Giza; but Saqqâra is in a sense the home of the mastaba, and there are nowhere finer specimens of the class than are to be met with here; and therefore it is fitting that we should stop for a moment to consider the nature of the mastaba, the various forms which it took during its time of favour, and the extreme value of the information which it has given us, not only with regard to the ideas of the Egyptian of the Old Kingdom with regard to the life after death, but also with regard to the life he was wont to live among his fellows day by day.

The name 'mastaba' is an Arabic word meaning the bench which is usually placed by the side of an Arab doorway, and it was transferred to these tombs of the Old Kingdom, which bear an obvious resemblance to a bench of brick- or stone-work, and was accepted by Mariette, when he heard his workmen using it as a good title for this class of tomb. The mastaba is really a development of the earthen mound which was heaped above the primitive pit-grave. First came the simple pit-grave, round or oblong; then the mound heaped over it to protect its contents from spoliation; then the facing of this mound with brick to render its protection more permanent; then the enlarging both of the grave-pit below, and the brick-faced structure above, until the pit had become a considerable chamber, divided by cross-walls so as to sustain better the weight pressing upon it from above, and the mound above ground had become a large oblong building. Then came a step forward in the evolution of this type. As the superstructure grew larger, it became more and

more difficult to finish the tomb until after the burial had taken place, and more and more difficult to secure that it would be finished after its owner had died, and was no longer there to see to its completion. Accordingly the plan was adopted of making the entrance to the tomb outside the limits of the superstructure, so that the actual burial-chamber underground might be finished quite independently of the latter ; while at the same time the superstructure might also be finished, without the need of waiting until the burial-chamber had been completed and occupied before putting the final touches. So, when the owner died, nothing remained to be done but to draw his body down the sloping shaft into the burial chamber seal the door of the latter with a big stone, and fill up the shaft with sand.

The final stage, so far as regards mere construction, was to substitute stone for brick in the superstructure, and to drive the burial-shaft perpendicularly down through the mastaba to a considerable depth, placing the burial-chamber at right angles to the foot of the shaft. The mastaba had now reached its completion as a type of tomb, and held its own in this form until the rock-tombs of the Middle Kingdom and the Empire superseded it. The royal tomb followed the same stages of evolution until the oblong tomb with cross-walls had been fully developed (as in the royal tombs of the first two dynasties at Abydos) ; it then began to diverge from the strict mastaba type, first into the pyramid made by superposing several mastabas one upon the top of another, as in the Step Pyramid, then by casing down the successive mastabas with a casing smooth from top to bottom, as in the case of the Meydûm pyramid of Sneferu (the casing of which has, of course, long ago been stripped away), instead of having the casing also stepped as in the Step Pyramid. Lastly came the full pyramid form, as in Sneferu's second pyramid at Dahshûr and the Giza group.

Meanwhile the internal evolution of the mastaba has been proceeding *pari passu* with that of its external form. There had always, apparently, been a system of marking the tomb, at all events of the great man, by a couple of steles, as in the case of the royal tombs at Abydos ; and at these, doubtless, offerings were made for the benefit of the departed. The next step was that a couple of niches were made in the brick-work of the east side of the superstructure. These two niches were shaped like a door, and were indeed ' false doors ', by which the dead man

was supposed to come out to breathe the fresh air, and partake of the offerings of his friends. The funerary services were held before the southernmost of these two doors, and offerings were laid at the door to be partaken of by the tenant of the mastaba. Next came the development of the simple niche into a stele, fashioned so as to resemble an ornamented door, and inscribed with the name and titles of the dead man, and with a list of the offerings which are desired on his behalf. Last of all, came the idea of transferring the funerary services from the publicity of the outside niche of the mastaba to the interior of the building. First a screen-wall was built outside the niche to convert it into a kind of open-air chapel; next the niche was opened into the heart of the building, and a short passage-way led into an internal chapel, on the western wall of which the former niches, now converted into a pair of steles shaped like doors, were placed with offering-tables before them, to receive the gifts of the friends of the tenant. He himself is often represented on the stele, either in relief, or almost in the round, as looking out upon the tomb-chapel and the offerings, or even as stepping out from the tomb to partake of them. One other feature was an essential of the mastaba, and that was a portrait-statue of its occupant which could take the place of his actual body, so that, if anything happened to the latter, there might be a substitute available to which his *Ka* might return. For the accommodation of this statue a secret chamber was made in the thickness of the masonry of the mastaba, inaccessible to any one, but, of course, easily pervious to the *Ka*; and this secret chamber is called the *serdâb* of the mastaba. Sometimes a small aperture was left between the *serdâb* and the chapel, so that the scent of the offerings might reach the statue in its recess. A wealthy man would have more than one statue, so as to multiply his chances of survival in the world beyond death.

These, then, were the bare essentials of the mastaba—the shaft, with its tomb-chamber at the foot, the superstructure, finally developed into a chapel, with two steles or false doors, and offering-table, and a *serdâb*, with a statue or statues of the dead man. But if these had been all, while there would still have been an interest in the type as representing the Egyptian's beliefs as to the after-life, the other aspect of its interest, as informing us about the actual earthly life of its tenant, would have been lacking. Fortunately it came to be believed also that

representations of this earthly life were necessary also to the welfare of the deceased in the other world.

The process by which this belief was arrived at seems to have been almost precisely similar to that which inspired the Magdalenian, in the Old Stone Age, to paint upon the walls of the darkest recesses of his cave the pictures of the bison, the mammoth or the reindeer which he was in the habit of hunting for his daily food. The Magdalenian believed that by sympathetic magic the beast which he painted on his cave-wall to-day would fall the more easily a victim to his dart or his pitfall to-morrow. The Ancient Egyptian of the Old Kingdom believed that the same magic would give to him in his mastaba-tomb the heaped tables of good things which were painted on the walls of his chapel, would surround him with the offerings which were represented in the hands of his servants, would enable him to go in and out and enjoy the sight of his servants working on his estate, driving in his cattle, counting his geese ; while the representations of his wife, his sons and daughters, even his dogs or cats, would give him the pleasure, in his tomb, or their constant company. And so the mastaba was completed by a scheme of adornment which gave its tenant a series of pictures, carved and painted, or only painted, of everything that he had most enjoyed in his earthly life, in order that it should all accompany him in reality in the new life on which he entered when he died. So, when we see in the tomb of Ptah-hotpe or of Ty the marvellous pictures of life in Old Kingdom Egypt which are so astonishingly vivid in their realism, we are not to suppose that they were merely placed there as a pretty decoration, or even in the belief that it might gratify the eye of the master, even in the disembodied state, to look again on the things that had been his joy in life. We were looking on what he and his whole race regarded as a vital necessity for his continued existence in the other world, without which he might endure all the agonies of hunger and thirst, and the final horror of the second death. These tomb-pictures are not only the most vivacious representations ever offered of the life of an ancient people ; they are the most conclusive evidence of a nation's passion for eternal endurance—a passion which has had no parallel in the religious history of any other race on earth.

The things which an Egyptian of the Old Kingdom therefore considered as essential to the proper equipment of his mastaba and its chapel with a view to the security of his future after

death were briefly these ; they are summarized from De Garis Davies (*Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*, II, 9) :

- (1) The stele, fashioned to represent a door, generally with representation of the deceased passing in or out, or with his statue, and usually inscribed with prayers.
- (2) The figure, names, and titles of the dead man.
- (3) A list of articles of food and drink, containing, if complete, about a hundred entries.
- (4) Representation of the dead man sitting before a lavishly spread table.
- (5) Processions of servants bringing provisions ; also the slaughter of animals for food.
- (6) Record of the ritual by which the pictured viands were transformed into realities.
- (7) Representations of the dead man's wife and family, domestic pets, and favourite servants, intended to secure him their companionship in his new life.

It seems a fairly elaborate equipment ; but of course it is the strictly logical development from the action of the first Stone Age man who placed a flint knife and a joint of meat beside the dead friend whom he laid to sleep in the cave shelter ; and it has been the most precious source imaginable of knowledge as to the conditions of Egyptian life nearly fifty centuries ago.

After this long excursus, which will not have been wasted if it makes the mastaba intelligible instead of merely picturesque, we go on to describe the most important and accessible specimens of the multitude of such tombs at Saqqâra.

There are, of course, in a cemetery so vast and so long-established as Saqqâra, examples of almost every period of Egyptian history, and of every type of interment which characterized each succeeding epoch. Several very interesting interments of the Middle Kingdom have been discovered, e.g., the tomb of Karenen, which has furnished the Cairo Museum with a very interesting set of models of the Early Middle Kingdom, and a copy of the *Coffin Texts*, the Middle Kingdom counterpart of the *Pyramid Texts* of the Old Kingdom ; or the tomb of Anpu-emhêt, also Middle Kingdom, which provided the best set of models known till the discovery of the Meketrê models (now partly at New York), which were found at Thebes in 1920. But,

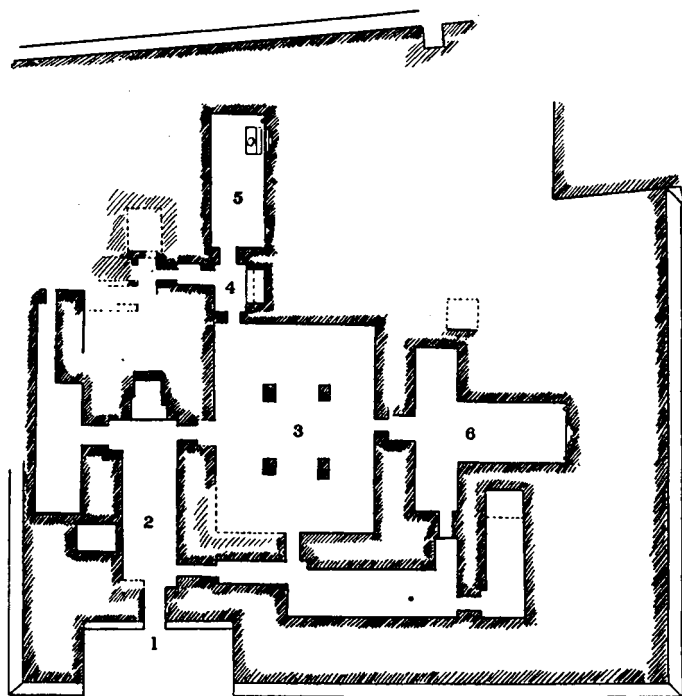
after all, at Saqqâra the interest chiefly belongs to the Old Kingdom, and especially to its later days, when the decline was just beginning under the Vth Dynasty and the early kings of the VIth. Accordingly, the most important early painted tombs are of the Vth Dynasty; and of these we select that of Ptah-hotpe and Ty, which are not only easily accessible but thoroughly deserve their reputation as the show mastabas of the Saqqâra necropolis, because of the elaborateness and beauty of the scenes with which they are decorated.

We begin with the mastaba of Ptah-hotpe, who was a great dignitary under the Pharaoh Isesi of the Vth Dynasty. There are at least four of this name who own mastabas in the Saqqâra necropolis, and the disentangling of their respective identities and relationships is a somewhat difficult matter. It would be tempting to assume that our Ptah-hotpe was the famous vizier of Isesi, who wrote, or had attributed to him, *The Instruction of Ptah-hotpe*, one of the two *Wisdom Books* of the Old Kingdom which has survived; but this is highly unlikely; nor are we even certain that the book belongs to any of the other holders of the name whom I have mentioned, though there is a disposition to regard the 'Judge of the High Court, Vizier, Confidential Friend, Ptah-hotpe', known as Ptah-hotpe II, whose mastaba (D 62) adjoins that with which we are dealing, as having been responsible for it.

The mastaba of Ptah-hotpe is a double one, and is shared between the man whose name it bears and another great official of the same family called Akhet-hotpe, whose relationship to Ptah-hotpe is also somewhat obscure, though the available evidence seems rather to point to Akhet-hotpe as having been the elder of the two, and as being probably the father of our Ptah-hotpe, who, in his turn, was the father of another Akhet-hotpe, the owner of another mastaba (E 17) in the necropolis. It is quite possible, however, that the relationship may have been the other way, and that our Ptah-hotpe may have been the father, instead of the son, of the Akhet-hotpe who is joint occupier of the mastaba.

The plan shows the distribution of the various apartments; and it will be seen that a large mastaba like this offers a considerable complication of rooms and corridors compared with the simple idea of the type mastaba which has been described. Entering at 1 on the north side of the building, we proceed through

a corridor (2), and when almost at the end of it, turn right-handed into the large pillared hall (3), which though of imposing size (29 feet 9 inches by 27 feet 5 inches) is of no great importance otherwise, as the work on it has been somewhat rough, and has not even been finished. Passing through a narrow doorway in



MASTABA OF PTAH-HOTPE AND AKHET-HOTPE, SAQQÂRA

(For explanation of numbers, see text)

the south-east corner of this hall, we enter another corridor (4), or rather small room, with a shelved recess, in a corner of which was found a shell containing red paint, when the tomb was discovered. Probably this was left there by one of the artists who painted the chapel of the mastaba—quite possibly by the master-painter Ni-anekh-Ptah himself. From this room we pass into the

chapel of Ptah-hotpe, a narrow room measuring 17 feet 5 inches by 7 feet 2 inches (5). Thence, returning into the pillared hall, we enter, by a door opposite the entrance from the first corridor, the chapel of Akhet-hotpe, which is a T-shaped chamber. The cross-head of the T measures 21 feet 8½ inches by 5 feet 5½ inches, and the shaft 14 feet 1 inch by 8 feet 1 inch (6). These are all the rooms open for inspection, though the plan will show that there are several other rooms, which, however, are of no particular interest.

We have now to deal with the reliefs in the two chapels. The work in the entrance corridor (2) does not need much notice, save for the example which it affords of the methods of the Egyptian tomb-decorators. 'The sculptures of the walls were never completed, and exist in every stage, from almost obliterated ink designs to exquisitely finished reliefs.' The pillared hall, with its four pillars, none of which has been finished, need not detain us. The chapel of Ptah-hotpe (5) contains, however, some of the finest examples of the skill of the Egyptian artist in relief and colour, and it is fortunate that some of the colouring has survived fairly well. The roof of the chapel is carved in imitation of palm-logs, and is painted red.

The entrance doorway shows scenes of servants bringing into the chapel offerings of flesh and fowl. The north wall, through which we have just entered the chapel, shows above the door a scene, somewhat damaged, of Ptah-hotpe being dressed for the day, with his pet dogs beneath his chair and a monkey being strenuously held in by an attendant. Servants in front of the great man attend to his toilet, and others await his orders, or divert him with music. Below, on the right hand of the door as we enter are more servants with gifts, and a scene of sacrificial slaughter.

We now turn to the west wall, on which (therefore facing the east, according to the old custom from which they originated) are the two steles, which have been described as being indispensable to a mastaba. That to the right or north is very highly decorated, but uninscribed; it represents the front of a mansion, with its elaborate door. Between this and the southern stele are wall-reliefs, of which the uppermost gives the list of offerings, while below is a row of priests making offerings, and below them again are three rows of servants with gifts. Beside the south door Ptah-hotpe sits before an amply-furnished table. The south stele

is a complete false door, with drum, tympanum, and cornice. It is fully inscribed for Ptah-hotpe, and has at the foot scenes of him seated in a chapel and borne in a litter. The south wall shows us again Ptah-hotpe seated at table, with servants and priests slaughtering cattle and bringing in fresh supplies ; while still further supplies are brought by servant-women above, who represent the estates of the great man.

But it is the east wall of the chapel that is alike of greatest interest and most masterly execution. In the first scene we have Ptah-hotpe in undress, so to speak, being represented without his cloak and official beard, and looking on, as the inscription tells us ' at every good pastime that is done in the whole land '. In the top row papyrus-gathering is going on in the marshes, and servants are bringing cattle across a pool which is infested with crocodiles. One herdsman in the boat punts, another guides a calf by a cord, and they shout to the lurking crocodile : ' O filthy one, may your heart be pleased with the water-weeds ! ' In the second row boys are playing games, and particular attention may be directed to the group represented as swinging round in a circle on their heels while others act as the pivots on which they turn ; also to the boys who are sitting on the ground with their fingers holding their toes, while they try to rise without the aid of their hands. Notice also the boy who is kneeling on the ground, and trying to catch the feet of his four playmates, who try to confuse him by attacks from all sides—one of the oldest and simplest of games. The inscriptions read : ' Behold ! you have kicked me ', ' I am weary in my sides ', and ' I have grasped you '.

In the third row, we have a vintage scene, with men watering a vine, plucking the grapes, treading the wine-press, and wringing out the juice.

One of the most striking scenes represents desert-life and hunting. The fourth row, which is devoted to this, is divided into two registers. In the upper, greyhounds attack hyenas, ibex, and oryx, while a gazelle suckles her fawn ; and other animals are also represented. In the lower, two greyhounds are held in leash by a huntsman, who is attired in a kind of rudimentary football jersey of elaborately striped pattern in vivid colours. He points to a scene in which a lion has caught a bull by the muzzle, to the great distress of the latter ; more greyhounds worry a gazelle and an oryx ; a herdsman has lassoed one of two

wild bulls; and above them two large hedgehogs, admirably characterized, walk tranquilly along, one of them holding in its mouth a grasshopper which it has captured. The desert herbage is conventionalized to a degree which renders the plants unrecognizable; but the whole scene is brilliantly rendered, and full of life and interest.

In the fifth row follow scenes by the river. Fish are laid out to dry in the sun; an old man and a boy are busy 'twisting ropes for boat-building', the inscription says. A man says to a boy: 'O strong youth, bring me ropes', and the boy, offering him two coils, says: 'O my father, here is the rope for you.'

The sixth row gives us a fowling scene. In the upper division of it a gang of men is pulling so hard that they are lying flat on their backs; in the lower another set is squatting, ready to pull; the man who is giving them the signal cries: 'Pull, comrades, there is a catch for you.'

In the seventh row we see a mock fight between the crews of three boats—a frequent subject for the Egyptian artist. Behind the fighting crews lies a fourth boat, in which an elderly man is quietly enjoying a plentiful meal, which he is washing down with an equally plentiful drink. The inscription tells us that he is Ptah-hotpe's 'beloved and trusty *mehenk*, the chief sculptor Ni-ankh-Ptah [or Ptahenankh]'. It is probable that this is really the signature of the great artist who executed these wonderful reliefs; the only pity is that his likeness is not better preserved. In any case, the scene is another of the not uncommon similar scenes or inscriptions which refute the customary fable, repeated until it has almost become an axiom, that 'Egyptian art is always anonymous'. 'We know', says M. Elie Faure (*History of Art*, vol. I), 'a thousand names of kings, of priests, of war chiefs, and of city chiefs; we do not know one name of those who have expressed the real thought of Egypt, that which lives for ever in the stone of the tombs.' Mertisen, in the Middle Kingdom, Bek and Auta in the New Empire, to say nothing of others, give the lie to such a misstatement; and here is Ni-ankh-Ptah in the Old Kingdom to add his testimony to that of the other epochs that the Egyptian artist, like the artists of every time and land, loved to be known and remembered in his beautiful work.

The second scene of the east wall shows us Ptah-hotpe, more ceremonially dressed, with his cloak, his full-bottomed wig, and his official beard, 'seeing the gifts and contributions of the

villages of the North and South'. The top row shows wrestling, with admirable studies of the body in violent exertion; a body of youths bring up a prisoner, captured, no doubt, in a game resembling 'prisoner's base'. In the next two rows the huntsmen return with their captures. The huntsman with the striped jersey brings in his dogs; hares and hedgehogs are carried in cages; a lion and a leopard are drawn along, each in a cage on a sledge; and oryx and ibex, with other game of a similar kind, are led along.

The fifth and succeeding rows belong to the farm-yard. In the fifth, cattle are being crammed for fattening by artificial means; in the sixth, fat oxen are being led up for inspection, one of them wearing round its neck what might pass for a 'highly commended' ticket. Notice this double group especially, and particularly the curious attitude of the cattleman who leads the highly commended bull—a good example of an attempt, which the Egyptian artist really made, to depart from the conventional posture, and to show the natural swing round of the human head and body to address a man behind. The attempt has not been altogether successful, but it is noteworthy and commendable.

Finally, samples of Ptah-hotpe's innumerable flocks of poultry and other birds are exhibited before him, with numbers attached, showing the immense stock of each which belonged to the big man: *re-geese*, 121,200; *terp-geese*, 121,200; *smen-geese*, 11,110. A swan is one of the few representations of the bird in Egyptian art; but Ptah-hotpe had 1,225 of them, though he only exhibits one; pin-tailed duck, 120,000; widgeon, 121,022 (nothing like being exact); pigeons, 111,200.

Obviously Ptah-hotpe's farm-yard was plentifully stocked, and 'it snowed in his hous of mete and drink'. The curious thing is that in this remarkable series of outdoor scenes there is not one solitary example of the scene that the Egyptian artist usually most delighted in. Ptah-hotpe has not a single ploughing, sowing, or harvesting scene in his whole chapel. Curiously enough, also neither has Akhet-hotpe a ploughing scene in his section of the mastaba, though he has reaping, thrashing, and winnowing, with subsequent storage of the grain. Ty's tomb, however, will make amends for this omission.

There is no need to describe in such detail the scenes from the chapel of Akhet-hotpe, which are largely conceived on similar lines. Attention should be paid to the series on the east wall of

the chapel, where Akhet-hotpe sits watching the business of the papyrus marshes, with the usual skiffs and bearers of bundles of papyrus. The actual papyrus thicket, with its innumerable birds' nests and hovering cloud of birds, and the ichneumons climbing up the swaying stems to rob the nests, has been finely rendered, though now much weathered. Note the solitary and contemplative fisher in the little papyrus skiff close to the doorway. He has just caught a fish, or is on the verge of hooking it, at all events; but he endures his good luck with the most philosophic detachment. His companion with the net, on the other side of the doorway, has less luck, but more energy. The fighting boatmen above are adorned with diadems of lotus-blossoms in a way which marks the squabble to be a sham-fight.

The work in the Akhet-hotpe section of the mastaba is on the whole less perfect than that in the chapel of Ptah-hotpe. There are scenes in the chapel which could scarcely be bettered, and even in the corridor one or two are modelled in the most delicate relief. 'The swell of the creatures' muscular necks as they bend their heads is so beautifully indicated that to pass the finger over it is like stroking the living animal.' But again there are passages where the drawing has been poor and awkward, and others where the work has been left incomplete, in some cases apparently because the artist found that a patch of poor stone hindered him from making a good job. Here, as in other tombs, the designer was of course bound by a certain standard routine, and had to follow definite lines in order to secure the maximum of eternal welfare for his patron; but within these limits he found room, here as elsewhere, for slight variations in the programme, and for a gentle humour in his renderings of familiar scenes, in a manner which makes it impossible to deny him a claim to originality, and which offers a quiet commentary on the frequently cherished ideas of the writer of popular novels of Egyptian life, that the Egyptian was a dark and sinister creature, malicious and vengeful, with a religion as gloomy as himself. Here, in the very heart of his religion, we have the evidence before our eyes that he was the exact opposite of all that—a man who loved the joy of life, and was able to take a humorous view of it all, and who had no objection to having this evidence recorded on the walls of the home which he hoped to inhabit eternally.

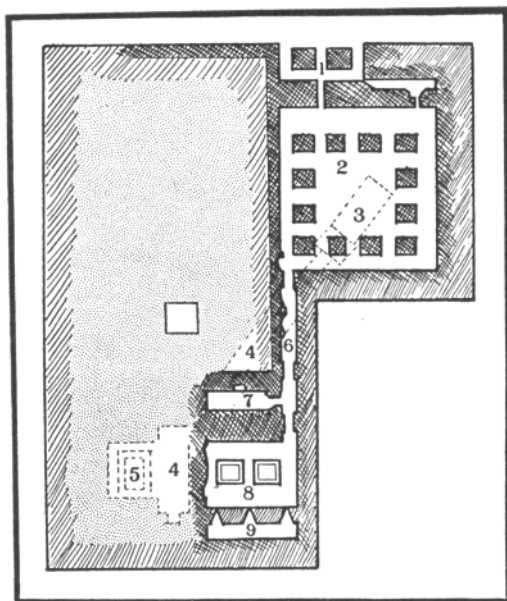
Taken as a whole, the mastaba of Ptah-hotpe and Akhet-hotpe

is perhaps the finest example of the art of the Old Kingdom artist, though the mastaba of Ty, which we shall look at next, surpasses it in the richness and quality of its sculptured and painted material. The Ptah-hotpe tomb is so finely carved that when the Egypt Exploration Fund wished to secure a standard set of hieroglyphic signs, it was this mastaba that was selected as the pattern from which they should be copied. Since that time other fine examples have been found, and in particular the work in the mastaba of another Ptah-hotpe (D 62) has won high praise. 'For beauty of line, design, and decorative effect there is nothing finer in Egypt.' This mastaba almost touches that of the better-known Ptah-hotpe, being only separated from it by a narrow passage.

Ptah-hotpe's mastaba, lying a little to the south-east of Mariette's house, makes a flat triangle with it and the tomb of Ty, which lies a little to the north-east. This mastaba, which is certainly the most famous of all the Saqqâra tombs, and is only rivalled in Egypt by the tomb of Seti I in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes, was, up to the end of the nineteenth century, the show exhibit of Saqqâra. The opening to the public of Ptah-hotpe's tomb then gave it a worthy rival; and since then the mastabas of Mereruka and Kagemni (both excavated in 1893) have become strong candidates for a share of admiration; but on the whole Ty still maintains his place, though he has now to share his primacy with Ptah-hotpe.

The plan of the great mastaba is comparatively simple (see plan). Entrance is gained through a small vestibule (1), with two pillars adorned with figures of Ty, clad in a kilt and wearing a large wig. The east and south walls of this entrance have reliefs respectively of women bringing offerings, representing Ty's estates, and of poultry, etc., being artificially fattened. A narrow doorway adorned with figures of Ty leads into the great pillared hall of the mastaba (2), whose ancient roof, once borne by the twelve pillars which are still in existence (partly restored) is now replaced by a wooden one. From the middle of this hall a flight of steps (3 on plan) leads down to an underground passage which runs diagonally across the building, and gives access to a small vestibule (4), and thence to the tomb-chamber, with niche and empty sarcophagus (5). The reliefs of the great pillared hall are neither so interesting nor so well preserved as those in the rest of the building, so that we need not delay over them. The

north wall (behind which was one of the two serdâbs of the mastaba) are the usual representations of offering-bearers and cattle being slaughtered for sacrifice. The east wall has reliefs of Ty being carried in a sedan-chair, with attendants. The west wall has scenes of Ty and his wife (for all through Ty appears as a highly domesticated man) watching farm-yard operations, and receiving



MASTABA OF TY, SAQQÂRA

(For reference to numbers, see text)

reports, and overseeing the arrival of his Nile boats ; here also is a stele for Ty's son.

A door in the south-west corner of the hall leads into a corridor, which on its right hand has a false door for Neferhotpes, Ty's wife ; offering-bearers are figured on either wall. A second door leads into another section of the corridor, with reliefs of cattle as usual, and especially a view of statues of Ty being drawn along on sledges, also more Nile boats. Over the door is a picture of

Ty and his wife in a skiff in a papyrus thicket (corridor 6 on plan). Singers and dancers decorate the door at the end of this corridor, by which we enter into the tomb-chapel. On our right hand, however, before we enter the chapel, is a side-chamber (7) with good reliefs, still fresh in colour. These are of the usual character, with offering-bearers and servants engaged on their duties.

The tomb-chapel (8) is a large room, 23 feet long, 16 feet wide, and 15 feet high, with a ceiling resting on two square pillars, which are coloured to simulate granite—a practice to which the Egyptians were addicted to an extent curious in so artistic a race. The east wall is immediately on our left hand as we enter. In a more or less central position on it appears Ty, with his wife, duly small and humble, of course, and in front of them are harvest scenes, both of the flax harvest and the grain, with thrashing and winnowing. Behind Ty and his wife are scenes of boat-building, the upper ones damaged, the lower two registers in good condition. In one of the boats Ty is standing, superintending the work. The whole business of Egyptian ship-building is here well pictured in a most interesting manner.

The south wall has again representations of Ty and his wife and family, with a third scene of him sitting at table. The east end of this wall is badly damaged, which is all the more to be regretted because the remaining scenes are of high interest, being largely concerned with Egyptian crafts, sculpture, carpentering, and leather-working. The central scenes, between two figures of Ty and his wife, are of game, cattle, and poultry; and western groups of this south wall, round the figure of Ty at table, are of offering-bearers, musicians, etc.

The west wall is as usual largely occupied with the two great false doors, in front of the left one of which is the offering-table. Between the false doors are slaughterers, offering-bearers, and tables.

Finally, the north wall is devoted to scenes from river and marsh life. To the right of the middle of the wall is the great scene of Ty sailing through the marshes in his skiff. In another skiff in front of him the crew is engaged in hunting the hippopotamus with harpoons. The hippopotamus, strange to say, appears to resent this, and the artist has succeeded in conveying its frame of mind with some expressiveness. This of course is a stock motive, and occurs also in the tomb of Mereruka, twice in one scene. Behind the exasperated hippopotamus, another hippo takes a mouthful

of a crocodile—also a stock motive, which occurs again in Mere-ruka's scenes. Under the stern of Ty's skiff appears the same philosophic fisher as we saw lately in Akhet-hotpe's chapel, or at least his twin brother. He is hooking the twin brother of the Akhet-hotpe fisher's fish, and he sits in a little arm-chair, like his brother in the other mastaba. Over Ty's head tower the papyrus plants, with their blossoms and buds; and the thicket is peopled with a great company of birds, several nests with fledglings, and the usual ichneumons climbing up the bending papyrus stems to rob the nests, to the distress of the parent birds. On the west side of this wall is a mutilated scene of a similar kind, with Ty and his family together in the papyrus swamp, and the same hippopotamus biting the same crocodile. Scenes of bird-snaring, cattle driving, cattle at pasture, etc., occupy the space between this and the other marsh scene.

On the eastern side of the great papyrus-thicket relief are scenes of boat-building, mock fighting between boat crews, fishing, and especially what we missed in the scenes of Ptah-hotpe, a series of ploughing, sowing, and treading the seed into the ground. Along the foot of this north wall runs a procession of women servants bearing gifts and representing, as usual, the estates of Ty.

Altogether, this famous mastaba well deserves its reputation. If that of Ptah-hotpe surpasses it in the fineness of some of its relief work, Ty's has no rival for the variety and extent of its representations of Egyptian life. It should be mentioned that behind the south wall of the chapel is a second *serdāb* (9) in which were found several broken statues of Ty, and one complete one, which is now one of the treasures of the Cairo Museum (229, G 32, centre), and which gives an admirable representation of the alert and vigorous Egyptian official of the Old Kingdom. Notice in it the contrast between the highly wrought and carefully studied head, where lifelikeness was a religious necessity for the convenience of the *Ka* and its recognition of its former possessor, and the comparatively roughly wrought extremities. This is typical of Egyptian portrait-sculpture, as we shall see again and again.

The other two mastabas which of late years have become show places and to some extent rivals to the well-established fame of Ty and Ptah-hotpe, are those of Mereru-ka (Mera) and Kagemni. They lie not far apart on the north side of the pyramid of King

Teti, already described, a short distance to the north-east of the Step Pyramid.

That of Mereruka is conspicuous for the multitude of its corridors and chambers, of which there are no fewer than thirty-three. This apparent superabundance is due to the fact that the tomb is a family one, and has one section devoted to Mereruka himself, one to his wife, Har-watet-khet, and one to his son Meri-teti. The plan will make clear the details of this somewhat complicated arrangement, in which Mereruka, not unnaturally, comes off with the lion's share of the accommodation. Mereruka's own chapel is A 13. His wife's, or at least the room which has her false door, is B 5; his son's is C 3. There is no need to go over in detail the whole series of reliefs, which in the main follow the standard pattern which we have already seen in the tomb of Ptah-hotpe. There are, however, a few details of the scenes which may be mentioned on account of their intrinsic interest. Of these, one of the most interesting occurs at the very entrance to the mastaba, where, on the right hand, the artist who is responsible for the decoration of the tomb, and who, it is suggested, may be Mereruka himself, is represented sitting before his easel with a shell full of paint in one hand, while in the other he holds the pen with which his outlines are drawn. His writing-case hangs from his shoulder. Readers may remember that in one of the smaller chambers of Ptah-hotpe's tomb there was found a shell containing red paint. The shell was apparently a regular part of the equipment of the Egyptian artist, taking the place of the modern tube. It is curious to remember that an even earlier artist than the Egyptian, the Magdalenian of the Old Stone Age, has also left us examples of the manner in which he carried the colour which he used in his marvellous cave-paintings—in his case a tube of hollow bone. In one of the papyrus-marsh reliefs, on the north wall of room A 1, is a representation of men in two skiffs spearing hippopotami, of whom there are three, all resentfully protesting against the interruption of their peace. The point of interest, however, lies not with them, but in the water-plant which grows in the middle of the picture. On its stems rest two extremely well-nourished frogs, and two absolutely colossal locusts, enough of themselves to cause a plague—a quaint example of the artist's interest in all forms of life. Mereruka, who is fishing with a leister in the north wall scene, is hunting in his boat in the south wall scene of a similar type in the same room. The

usual hippopotamus is seen chewing the usual crocodile in this relief, which, for the rest, is a fine piece of work.

In room A 4, west wall, is a scene similar to, but more detailed than, the scene in Ty's tomb, in which Mereruka's estate office is represented, with the clerks sitting at their work, while the village elders are cudgelled into the office to pay their taxes or give evidence as to the payments due from others. One who has failed to give satisfaction to the great man's great men has been stripped and is being flogged at a whipping-post. In A 13, the chapel of Mereruka, is the most interesting feature of all. His false door, on the north wall, has a statue of himself in the round, represented as stepping out of the door to partake of the offerings on the offering-table in front. On either side of the false door is a relief picture of him. The effect of this arrangement is remarkably striking and vivid. On the north wall also is a relief of an unusual type, in which Mereruka is represented, not, as generally, in the prime of life, but as a man advanced in years, and led by his two sons. If he designed the reliefs himself, as is suggested, he was evidently a realist. The east wall of the chapel has, among other things, a relief of Mereruka and his wife playing draughts. The other scenes call for no particular notice.

Kagemni, whose mastaba lies a little east of Mereruka's, was vizier and judge under three successive kings of the VIth Dynasty, Egyptian bureaucrats, like annuitants, having a habit of long life. His titles were ' Judge of the High Court ; Governor of the Land unto its Limit, South and North ; Director of every Command ' ; evidently a very great gentleman indeed, in the latter days of the Old Kingdom. He is not to be confused, however, as is sometimes done, with the Kagemni who wrote the famous *Instruction of Kagemni*. The latter was Governor of the City and Vizier under King Huni, who as we have seen, was the last king of the IIIrd Dynasty and immediate predecessor of Sneferu, and who may have been the builder of the Blunted Pyramid. The Kagemni of the book, therefore, belongs to a much earlier period than the owner of the Saqqâra mastaba. Kagemni's mastaba is a large one, and some of its individual reliefs are of high quality ; but on the whole it is not so fine an example of Old Kingdom relief work as some of the earlier tombs, like those of Ptah-hotpe and Ty. The relief figures of Kagemni himself, however, are fine, and some of the scenes have an interest of their own. In a room opening off the pillared hall, for example, is a

scene of hyenas being artificially fattened for Kagemni's table ; which shows that Egyptian taste in food differed somewhat from our own. The representations of ducks in a duck-pond and on the shore are vigorous ; and those of the fishermen coming home with their catch are also admirable. Kagemni's pillared hall, with three pillars, is narrow in proportion to its length ; and one other unusual feature is a staircase leading up to the roof of the mastaba, so that the vizier could enjoy the air, and inspect two large rooms, 36 feet long, which probably held solar barques, in which he might sail with Rê on the Celestial Nile.

A little east again of these two last tombs, and north of the pyramid of Teti, is the mastaba of Ankhmahor, which forms one of a street of tombs which were opened up by the Service of Antiquities in 1899. It is usually known as ' The Physician's Tomb ', because in a room opening off its first chamber there are representations of surgical operations (in the doorway), such as circumcision, and an operation on a man's toe. Besides these, however, there are some reliefs of considerable merit. In the second room is one of a bullock being thrown for slaughter, and depicts with some vivacity a well-worn theme : two servants pull at the beast's horns and two at its tail, while two others pull the legs from under it. The usual scene of men pulling a clap-net for birds is well executed. But perhaps the two scenes most worthy of attention are the representation of mourning for the dead, and that of the ballet-girls. In the mourning scene, the true Oriental abandon of grief is displayed. There is no possibility of mistaking the fact that both the men, in the upper row, and the women, below them, are mourning. They are quite audible in their lamentations, and to complete the proof of their grief some of them, in both rows, are actually fainting and falling down under the stress of emotion, and have to be attended to by their weeping companions. As a corrective to this excess of sorrow it is a relief to turn to the scene in which Ankhmahor's ballet-girls, each flat-footedly poised on the left foot, are doing a high kick, in which each dancer's right toes exactly touch, with mathematical accuracy, the line which divides their register from the one above it ; while both hands are rhythmically raised, and each head is inclined backwards at precisely the same angle as its neighbour, and the long pigtail, with a pompon at its end, hangs downwards in perfect line with all the other pigtails. Ankhmahor had his ballet well trained, evidently. But what becomes of our ideas of

the gloomy Egyptian, when we see such a performance in his tomb?

Next door to the gay Ankhmahor is Nefer seshem-Ptah, whose mastaba, not otherwise of any special interest, deserves notice for the ingenious way in which he has used his false door so as to get the maximum of enjoyment of the funerary gifts out of it. He is represented no less than three times upon it, twice by complete statues of himself, which are stepping out on either side of the stele, and once by a bust of himself, which looks out into the chapel from a little window above the lintel of the false door, just to make sure that he was not missing anything. The idea of the bust, which is the original part of the composition, the statues having already been used in a somewhat similar way, evidently caught on, as it is repeated in other instances, and lends a curious and rather weird interest to the chapel, with its idea of the dead man watching from his peep-hole to see that his friends did their duty by him.

Another notable example of a mastaba with a false door used in a realistic fashion for the exit of a statue of its owner was afforded by the tomb of Ateti (D 63), which stands south of the tomb of the lesser Ptah-hotpe (D 62), and west of the great Ptah-hotpe mastaba (D 64). Ateti is represented on his false door almost entirely in the round, his figure measuring 3 feet 8½ inches in height. He is painted red, after the usual Egyptian convention for the male figure, with black hair, and a white kilt. On either side of the false door are reliefs of him on a smaller scale. This false door has now been removed to Cairo, where it is No. 239, G 32, east, and is in the company of great men like Ty and Ranûfer.

It would be an endless and fruitless task to attempt to give details of all the tombs at Saqqâra which have been described by their excavators; but before we leave the great necropolis mention must be made of two mastabas, not for any special interest that they now possess, but on account of what has been found in them in the past. Both of them are now neglected by the ordinary visitor, and indeed contain nothing likely to interest him.

The mastaba of Ka-aper (Mariette, C 8) is of the early and simple type, in which the funerary chapel was still a simple chamber built on in front of the false door, so as to screen off the performance of the ritual from public view. Its distinction lies in the

fact that it was in the recess on the south side of this little chapel that Mariette found what is perhaps, with the possible exception of the diorite Chephren, the most famous of Old Kingdom statues—that known as the Sheikh el-Beled (Cairo Museum, No. 140, G 42, centre). As this masterpiece has already been described, it is sufficient to point out here its identity. In the doorway which leads north out of the chapel was found, at the same time, the not less admirable statue, also in wood, which is now known as the Wife of the Sheikh el-Beled, and which, though it attracts less attention owing to its mutilated condition, is no less remarkable as a representation of an Old Kingdom great lady than the statue of Ka-aper is as that of a magnate of the same period. This lady is No. 117, G 36, of the Cairo Museum, having been unkindly separated from her putative husband (who was not her master, if there be any 'art to find the mind's construction in the face').

The tomb of Hesirê, which is the other of the two, lies on the high ground overlooking the village of Abusir, at the northern end of the necropolis, and occupies the highest piece of ground in the neighbourhood. The crude brick mastaba, which is very early, being possibly of the time of King Zoser of the IIIrd Dynasty, is of an unusual plan. Its chief features were two long and narrow corridors, of which the more important and inner one, elaborately recessed, was painted with patterns and representations of vessels, woodwork, etc., in colours which still remained comparatively fresh after so many thousand years, when the tomb was excavated for the second time by Mr. J. E. Quibell, in 1911-12. 'There were no scenes of bearers of offerings, no figures of butchers with little explanatory texts above them, no human figures, nor animals, indeed, at all, but long rows of oblong frames on a background of matting, looking much like pictures in a gallery.' But it was not for this curious scheme of decoration, sufficiently remarkable departure though it be from the customary scheme which finally asserted itself in the mastaba, that Hesirê's tomb was famous, but for the astonishing specimens of IIIrd Dynasty skill in wood-carving which it contained. In three of the niches or recesses of the long, painted gallery, Mariette, who strangely enough says nothing about the paintings, found five wooden panels, each one representing Hesirê himself. Four of them show him standing in various attitudes, the fifth shows him sitting before the usual well-furnished table of the tomb. The panels

are now in the Cairo Museum (No. 88, G 31, west), along with a sixth, which was found in its ancient place by Quibell in 1912. This last panel is much mutilated. It may confidently be said that, in spite of the ravages wrought upon the work by the lapse of nearly 5,000 years, the world can show no finer examples of delicate, yet powerful relief sculpture in wood than these panels. In spite of the extreme shallowness of the relief, Hesirê is a living figure, and we realize with a new appreciation the vigorous and forceful type of the men who were helping Zoser to create his new wonders in Egypt.

Before we leave Saqqâra, notice should be taken of one stage in the development of the mastaba, which is more or less characteristic of these older tombs above Abusir of IInd and IIId Dynasty type, and which is curiously illustrative of the extraordinary thoroughness with which the Egyptian held to his belief in the continuance of life after death, even in its smallest details. At this period it seems to have been believed that while the dead man could range about the rooms of his mastaba quite freely he was not able (as came to be believed later) to come out of his underground home. Accordingly he was provided with a bedroom and a bedstead, and all other things necessary for his personal comfort ; and that absolutely nothing might be lacking, the suite of chambers in the mastaba included a lavatory ! The force of consistency could no farther go ; and while there is a ludicrous aspect of the matter, it is also true that scarcely anything could show us better than this, to our minds, idiotic arrangement, the force of conviction with which the Ancient Egyptian held his religious beliefs. A man who does a thing like that does not need to affirm that he really believes what he says he believes ; his actions speak more forcibly than any amount of words.

CHAPTER X

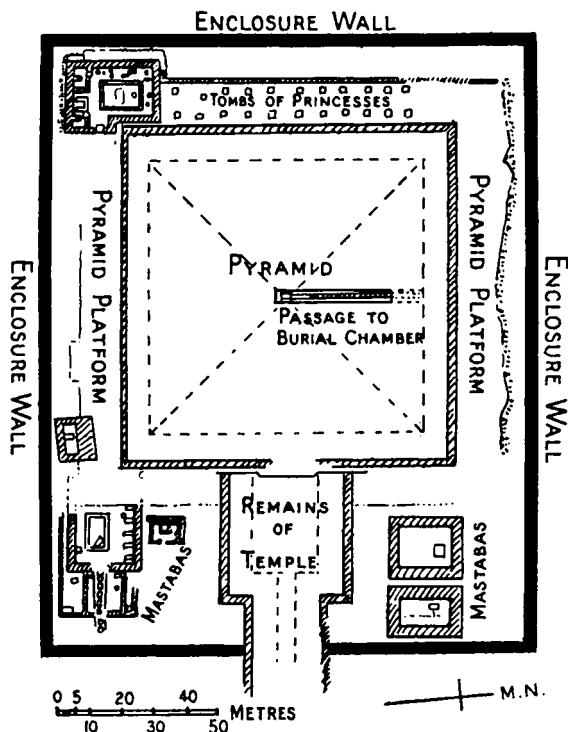
EL-LISHT, MEYDÛM, EL-LÂHÛN, AND HAWÂRA : THE FAIYÛM

WE have next to visit the Faiyûm, that depression in the desert, descending to about 120 feet below sea-level, which in ancient days held what was known as the Lake Moeris, whose shrunken representative is now the Birket Qarûn. This exceedingly fertile area, which has been described, not inaptly, as the bud on the stem of the long Nile lily, of which the Delta is the fully expanded blossom, was pre-eminently favoured by the Theban Pharaohs of the XIIth Dynasty, who established their court at a place called Ith-ttaui, whose precise situation is not yet known, but may have been not far from El-Lisht, where the pyramids of the first two Pharaohs of the dynasty still stand. These great Pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom, under whom Egypt reached its greatest internal prosperity, have left the marks of their power over the whole land, and we have already seen the work of Senusret I at Heliopolis ; but they devoted a great deal of their attention to the Faiyûm and its immediate neighbourhood. Their reason for establishing themselves at this point, hitherto unassociated with royalty, was, no doubt, the facility of control which such a position gave them over both sections of their long, straggling kingdom. The Faiyûm is easily reached, either by train or car, from Cairo. The first two important sites near the mouth of the Faiyûm are those of the pyramids of El-Lisht, and the pyramid of Meydûm, which are reached respectively from the station of El-Matânia, and that of El-Riqqa.

The northern pyramid at El-Lisht is that of Amenemhêt I, the founder of the XIIth Dynasty. It is of crude brick, with a casing of limestone. The pyramid had the usual funerary temple to the east of it, and must have been adorned with granite from Aswân, as there is an inscription there referring to it. Its name was *Qa-nûjer* ('The Lofty and Beautiful'). The entrance-passage was slightly inclined, and protected by plug-blocks of granite ; but a forced entrance had been effected in ancient times

to the burial-chamber, which is now below water-level, owing to the rise of the Nile bed.

The south pyramid at El-Lisht is that of Senusret I, son and successor of Amenemhêt I. (Cook's Handbook is here in error in stating that the north pyramid is that of Senusret I.) It, along



PYRAMID OF AMENEMHÊT I AT EL-LISHT, WITH
MASTABAS AND TOMBS OF ROYAL RELATIVES

with its companion, has been excavated within recent years by the expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of New York. In 1894 an earlier excavation found in the temple of the pyramid ten statues of the king, each about 6 feet high. They were carved in fine white limestone, and though somewhat stiff and lacking in

individuality (as was to be expected with such a specimen of mass-production), are notable examples of the reviving art of the early XIIth Dynasty. They had never been set up, but were found lying on the ground and covered with sand. They had not been maliciously overthrown, as they were all in perfect condition, with the exception of one, which was cracked. They are now in the Museum at Cairo (301, G 22, centre), where they present an imposing, if somewhat monotonous, array. Six Osirid statues of Senusret were also found, and are in the same room of the Museum. Three of these wear the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, and three the White Crown of Upper Egypt.

The Metropolitan Museum excavators had one or two finds of considerable interest, particularly in their clearing of the area around the pyramid and immediately outside the *temenos* wall. The pyramid-temple was of the usual type, with a narrow vestibule, leading from the causeway into the colonnaded court, which in turn opened upon a paved court, which backed on the pyramid. On the north side of the temple, and within the *temenos* wall, were two small pyramids, of which the western had a core of small, rough limestone blocks; the eastern, one of crude brick, which had been cased with limestone. Just outside the enclosure wall to the east, in the angle between the wall and the causeway, lay a large mastaba of 'The Hereditary Prince and Count, Treasurer, High Priest of Heliopolis, Priest of Horus, Priest of Min, Chief Scribe of Divine Records, Superintendent of Land, Superintendent of all Works, the King's Favourite, Great in his Office, Imhôtep.'

This distinguished pluralist, who seems, by his titles, to have occupied a position similar to that of his namesake under King Zoser, must therefore have been high-priest of the great temple which we have seen Senusret I building at Heliopolis, and probably, as superintendent of all works, responsible for the great building and the still extant obelisk. Immediately south of the enclosure wall of Imhôtep's tomb were found two funerary barques, each about 9 feet in length, one a 'dug-out', the other built of planks; and within the wall were found the remains of two solar barques, with the symbolical emblems usually found on such vessels of the sun-god. The most interesting find, however, was made in a chamber in the enclosure wall itself, which yielded a wooden shrine containing a specimen of the symbol known either as 'the Anubis-symbol' because of its connexion with

Anubis, the god of embalming and protector of the mummy, or as 'the Osiris-symbol'. It consists of the skin of a dappled bull, headless, and wrapped round a wand. In this case the symbol was a dummy one, made of wadded linen cloth covered with an animal's skin. Beside the shrine were two remarkable statuettes of Senusret I, carved out of cedar-wood, and about 2 feet high. In one of them he wears the Red Crown, in the other the White; and in both his only garment is a short white kilt. 'In the delicacy and subtlety of their modelling, these figures exhibit finer qualities in sculpture than anything previously known from this period of the Middle Kingdom' (Lythgoe, *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, p. 150). Their importance lies in the fact that they come from the earlier part of the XIIth Dynasty, when fine work is by no means so plentiful as (comparatively speaking, of course) it becomes later in the dynasty (Cairo, 313, G 22, Case D). Five miles south of El-Matânia lies Kafr 'Ammâr, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of Kafr 'Ammâr is Kafr Tarkhân, where Sir Flinders Petrie in 1911-12 excavated a prehistoric burying-ground. A large Ist Dynasty mastaba, with facing of recessed brickwork, was also found among the abundant prehistoric material which came to light. At El-Gerza a little farther south another prehistoric cemetery was excavated by Petrie and Wainwright in 1910. Among the results attained were important evidences of the practice of ritual dismemberment of bodies in the predynastic period. Between El-Gerza and Meydûm lies El-Riqqa where Mr. Engelbach, working in 1912 at a XIIth Dynasty cemetery, had the good fortune to unearthen a somewhat striking set of jewellery, dating from the reigns of Senusret II and Senusret III. Along with the jewellery he found curious and conclusive evidence of the plundering of the tomb, or rather of an unsuccessful attempt to plunder it in ancient days. The tomb had been filled with marl by the collapse of the roof, and when this was removed the body of a tomb-robber was discovered, with the body of his victim, whom he had taken out of his coffin for the more convenient robbing of his remains, firmly clasped in his grasp. Obviously the robber had just got the body out of its coffin and laid it across the lid to strip it, when the roof collapsed and buried both robber and robbed together. The robber's accomplices had not dared to try a rescue of their unlucky friend, or to attempt to secure the jewellery for which he had sacrificed his life; and the ruined tomb was left, with

its treasure and its grim witness to the attempted crime, for a resurrection nearly 4,000 years afterwards. Three very interesting interments of the XIIth Dynasty were also found at El-Gerza in 1912. Of these two had painted coffins and the third had a brightly painted tomb-chapel.

El-Riqqa is the nearest point on the railway from which to visit Meydûm ; but the journey may also be made from El-Wâsta, which is the junction for the Faiyûm railway. The pyramid of Meydûm was built by Sneferu, the father of Cheops the builder of the Great Pyramid. It is interesting as having been the first true pyramid, little as it may appear to be of the true pyramidal form at present. It began with being a simple mastaba, on a square plan, with entrance on the north side. The entrance-passage sloped downwards for a short distance, then continued horizontal for a little, then rose as a perpendicular shaft to the tomb-chamber, which was half below ground and half above, in the stone of the mastaba. Then came successive enlargements, of which there were seven, so that the building looked like a great stepped tower. It was finally cased from top to bottom in white limestone, and dressed down to the usual pyramid angle.

The casing, of course, has been long since removed, and of the original seven stages only three remain, with a total height of about 115 feet. Fragments of a wooden coffin, which was believed to belong to Sneferu, were found by Petrie when he entered the pyramid in 1891 ; while *graffiti* of various periods, from the Old Kingdom to the XVIIIth Dynasty, show that in ancient times there was no doubt as to its having been the tomb of the Pharaoh ; but it is now considered doubtful if the certainty as to Meydûm having been Sneferu's burying-place is quite as secure as was supposed. The pyramid was again opened in 1929-30 by the Expedition of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, under Mr. Alan Rowe. The passage leading to the sarcophagus-chamber was cleared, and also the antechambers and the sarcophagus chamber itself. No sarcophagus was found in the chamber, which was corbel-roofed, with a wooden beam crossing the upper part of the roof. Evidence was discovered of the names of some of the gangs into which the workmen were divided for the work on the pyramid. An inscription already found on a copper adze by Petrie has given us the name of one of the gangs : ' The Craftsmen-Crew, "How-beloved-is-the-White-Crown-of-Sneferu" ' ; the new discovery has given us

the names of another five gangs—'Pyramid-gang', 'North-gang', 'Enduring-gang', 'Vigorous-gang', and 'Sceptre-gang.'

The most interesting discovery made here when Petrie examined the temple in 1891 was that of the pyramid-temple, which was then the earliest Egyptian temple known. It has since been displaced from this honourable position by Firth's work at the Step Pyramid at Saqqâra. Sneferu's temple was the simplest of structures, consisting merely of a courtyard, with enclosing wall of limestone, two tall steles, uninscribed, and a little pent-house structure for the sanctuary. Indeed, a not inadequate idea of its type of architecture can be derived from the common pigsty, multiplied several times and furnished with two tall tomb-stones. Such as it is, however, it had been adorned with the scribblings of visitors of all sorts and periods, who for many centuries had left their autographs, as already noticed, on its humble structure. *Graffiti*, or, to put it more plainly and less refinedly, scribblings, come to have their unexpected use by the mere lapse of time; not that this excuses the offence. The temple had the usual causeway, stretching down towards the valley, and search was made by Petrie, in 1910, for the valley-temple. The search was fruitless so far as any actual remains of the temple were concerned; but the discovery of two foundation deposits proved that a temple had once existed (see Petrie, *Meydûm and Memphis*, p. 8).

Around the tomb of Sneferu lay the mastabas of his princes and courtiers, now covered with sand. Of these the most famous was that of Rahotpe and Nofret, from which there came in 1871 the famous statues of this prince and princess, which ever since have been among the greatest treasures of the Museum of Cairo (223, G 32, Centre). Two very large mastabas, those of Nefermaet and an unknown prince of the IIIrd Dynasty, were examined by the Petrie Expedition in 1910. That of the unknown prince proved to be 'by far the best built mastaba in Egypt', and to have a sarcophagus of red granite which is believed to be the oldest known—fifty years older than that of Cheops in the Great Pyramid. Its occupant had undergone the process of ritual dismemberment after death, his bones having been first unflashed and then wrapped, each one separately, in linen and deposited in the sarcophagus. The American Expedition in 1929-30 confirmed Petrie's statement as to the quality of the building, and

added the discovery that the great mastaba was stepped in receding stages, thus bearing a close resemblance to the present stepped appearance of the Meydûm pyramid, or still more to the Step Pyramid at Saqqâra. It offers also striking resemblances to the great mastaba of Sa-nakht at Beit-Khallâf. In later years the mastaba had been used for a number of intrusive burials, of which the most interesting was that of one who was apparently a Cypriot, named Gemesh, or Ka-Gemesh.

On opening the tomb of Nefermaet, Petrie found that, although this was the first time that it had been opened since Nefermaet's interment 5,000 years before, the hope of finding a great prince of the IIIrd Dynasty, with all his funerary equipment intact, was a vain one. The workmen who conducted the burial had seen to that, and the tomb was thoroughly rifled, in all probability, before the family mourners got home from the funeral! (Wainwright, in *Meydûm and Memphis*, p. 18).

We now approach the narrow opening in the Libyan hills which gives access to the Faiyûm, and as we do so we come in sight of the two sites which are of first importance in this neighbourhood, though there are several others of ancient interest around. The two are El-Lâhûn, with its pyramid of Senusret II, its record of the great jewellery find of 1914 (subsequent additions in 1920-21), and its town for the workmen employed in building the pyramid; and Hawâra, with its pyramid of Amenemhêt III, its poor relics of the once famous Labyrinth, and its mummy portraits. The order in which these two are taken will depend upon whether the visitor approaches them from Medinet el-Faiyûm, or from the Nile Valley. We shall deal with El-Lâhûn first, as it lies farther out than Hawâra.

The pyramid of Senusret II is the most prominent object on the site. Its site is chosen so that it commands a view both of the Nile Valley, in which it stands, and of the entrance to the Faiyûm, up which it looks. The building is peculiar in respect that the whole core of it is formed by a mass of native rock about 40 feet high. Baedeker's statement that it is the Hawâra pyramid which has this core is mistaken, as Petrie pointed out forty years ago (see *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, p. 1). The rock is isolated from the hill of which it forms a part by a deep and wide cutting on the north and west. Above this isolated mass of rock a grid-iron of stone walls was built, so as to give support to the outer stone casing and prevent it being displaced by any settlement of

the brickwork of which the bulk of the building was to be composed. The spaces between these walls were then filled up with brickwork, so that substantially the pyramid, above the rock nucleus, is a brick one ; and the whole was cased with limestone, as in the case of the other pyramids.

Senusret abandoned the ancient plan of an entrance on the north side, and took a new plan to conceal the access to his tomb-chamber. The shaft leading to the chamber had two openings in the shape of perpendicular shafts, and these were both outside of the main structure of the pyramid altogether on the south side, the small secondary shaft, probably used by the workmen for coming and going during the work on the pyramid, being under the pavement which surrounds the pyramid, and the main shaft, larger and farther out, being concealed under the floor of the tomb of one of the royal princesses. The first protection, once the shaft or shafts had been discovered, was a deep well, about 22 feet in depth. This may have been used to catch any rain-water which drained into the shafts and passages ; it was not an obstacle, as it was in a recess and out of the line of the passage. From this point the passage continued upwards, until it reached a large chamber lined with limestone, which gave access by a short passage to another lined with red granite, in which was the sarcophagus. A curious passage almost completely surrounds the sarcophagus-chamber, though its function remains obscure, Senusret evidently entirely abandoned the old idea of protection by plug-blocks, as the only protection is the manner in which the two entrance-shafts are concealed.

The sarcophagus of the king was a magnificent piece of work. It was wrought in red granite, and its errors in flatness and straightness were ' matters of thousandths of an inch '. It was of unusual shape, having a broad and thick lip round it on all sides, so as to suggest that it had been intended to sink it in the floor of the chamber. This, however, had not been done, and would have required a considerable amount of reconstruction in the chamber.

The main facts about the pyramid were discovered at Petrie's visit to El-Lâhûn in 1889-90. In 1914, however, he paid another visit to El-Lâhûn, in company with Mr. Guy Brunton and others, when the famous find of jewellery, to which we shall return directly, was made ; and in 1920 a third visit resulted in a more complete clearing of the pyramid-passages and the whole complex

of the building. In the course of clearing out the offering-chamber, which leads out of the sarcophagus-chamber to the south, there was found the only known specimen of the royal uraeus which was worn attached to the Double Crown. It was of gold, with head of lapis lazuli, eyes of garnet, and hood ornamented with carnelian, turquoise, and lazuli. There were two loops of gold sunk into the tail of the serpent behind, evidently for attaching it to the crown. It was thus meant to be fixed either by sewing or by wires, and this suggests that the material of the crown was soft, either leather, linen, or, as Newberry has suggested, felt.

The usual funerary temple lay on the east side of the pyramid, but scarcely more of it has survived than suffices to show its position. It had once been richly carved and painted; but it shared the fate of all buildings of earlier date which lay within any locality where Ramses II wished to build. His masons had mercilessly spoiled it, and removed its stonework to Ihnâsya, where a re-worked block still bears the name of Senusret II. On the north side of the pyramid enclosure, and within the *temenos* wall, stood a small pyramid, no doubt that of Senusret's queen, and eight mastabas of royal princesses. To the south are four shaft-tombs also of royal relatives, and it was in one of these, that of the princess Sit-Hathor-lunet, that the discovery of the treasure was made. The chief pieces of this remarkable find have been already described (3995-3999, U 3, Case 8). Sir Wallis Budge, in Cook's Handbook, states that 'with the exception of the pieces kept by the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the whole "find" was sold by its discoverer to the Metropolitan Museum of New York, where it now is'. This is an incomplete statement of the facts, as the British School of Archaeology first offered the find to the British Museum.

We have already noticed the usual fiction of the anonymity of Egyptian art. This entirely groundless idea receives another blow at El-Lâhûn, where the tomb of Senusret's architect, Anpy, has survived, though in a somewhat ruinous condition. It is a large mastaba on the top of a small hill about half a mile west of the royal pyramid, situated so that Anpy could survey his works without needing to go farther than his own funerary chapel (cf. a similar arrangement for the tomb of Senmût, Hatespsut's architect, at El-Deir el-Bahari). The mastaba covers four underground chambers, while the chapel was partly built and partly excavated in the side of the hill. Its walls, covered with

the finest white limestone, were painted and sculptured ; but all had been badly wrecked. One strange feature was that there was a huge shaft, 9 feet by 24 feet, and 26 feet deep, interrupting the access to the chapel. This appears to have been used to prevent general access to the building, the family crossing it on occasion by means of a light bridge. In the inscriptions which were rescued from the debris of the tomb, Anpy describes himself as ' Overseer of all the Works of the King in the Land to its Boundary '.

On the high ground north of the pyramid stood a temple or chapel whose purpose is uncertain. Only the merest fragments of its structure remained, with a coating of chips, showing where the destroyers had been at work. The temple had once contained a statue of basalt, and a smaller one in black granite, with a red granite shrine, of all of which chips were found.

To the north of this temple lay the town of the workmen who built the pyramid for Senusret. This was excavated by Petrie in 1889-90, and the result was a complete plan of a XIIth Dynasty town, which had been occupied only for a short time, and then almost entirely deserted after the completion of the pyramid. The town, which was named *Hetep Senusret*, covered about 18 acres, and upwards of 2,000 rooms were cleared. The houses of the superintendents and officials were fairly large and important mansions ; those of the workmen were closely packed in rows, with narrow lanes between. A channel ran down the middle of each lane. In some of the houses were found papyri, and it was here that the papyrus was discovered which gives the famous Hymn to Senusret III, one of the outstanding examples of Middle Kingdom poetry. *Hetep Senusret* has been usually known for the last forty years by the archaeologist's name of Kahun.

About three-quarters of a mile south-west from the pyramid, and close to the station of Bash Kâtib, lies the ancient cemetery of the same name, which was also explored by the Petrie Expedition of 1920-1. Its tombs were of the first three dynasties, and embraced all types, from the shallow pit, through the stairway-grave, to the deep shaft-tomb.

Continuing our journey north-westwards, we reach the station of Hawâret el-Maqta, from which the pyramid of Hawâra is reached by a short journey through cultivated fields. It stands on the edge of the desert plateau, looking across the inner side of the entrance into the Faiyûm, as the pyramid of El-Lâhûn

guarded the outer side. It is built of crude brick, originally cased, of course, with limestone, which has disappeared. It must have measured in the beginning about 345 feet on each base-line. The distinction of the pyramid, however, lay not in its dimensions or its materials, but in the extraordinary ingenuity with which its interior passages and chambers had been planned so as to weary out and deceive the ingenious tomb-robber.

'In construction,' says Sir Flinders Petrie, who was the first modern to enter it, in 1888, 'this pyramid differs from all others known, but is more like that of Senusert II than any other. The mass of it is entirely of brick, which was coated with fine limestone, like the other pyramids. The passages leading to the central chamber are peculiarly complex, and laboriously planned to defeat plunderers. A new system was elaborated here, of dumb chambers, with gigantic sliding trap-doors in the roofs leading to further passages. The explorer who found the entrance, in the unusual place on the south side, descended a long staircase, which ended in a dumb chamber. The roof of this, if slid aside, showed another passage, which was filled with blocks. This was a mere blind, to divert attention from the real passage, which stood ostentatiously open. A plunderer has, however, fruitlessly mined his way through all these blocks. On going down the real passage, another dumb chamber was reached; another sliding trap-door was passed; another passage led to a third dumb chamber; a third trap-door was passed; and now a passage led along past one side of the real sepulchre; and to amuse explorers, two false wells open in the passage floor, and the wrong side of the passage is filled with masonry blocks fitted in. Yet by some means the plunderers found a cross trench in the passage floor, which led to the chamber. Here another device was met. The chamber had no door, but was entered solely by one of the immense roof-blocks—weighing 45 tons—being left raised, and afterwards dropped into place on closing the pyramid. This had been mined through, and thus the royal interments were reached' (*History of Egypt*, Vol. I, pp. 194-5).

Such a passage shows, better than anything else, the astonishing ingenuity of the royal architects who planned such devices, and the still more amazing patience of the tomb-robbers who circumvented them, or simply forced their way through them. It is singularly difficult to realize the daring and patient skill with which these sacrilegious scoundrels in ancient days must have

wrought at their nefarious task, in darkness and secrecy, with limited means and tools, and with constant dread of discovery and of a death which would be most merciful where it was swiftest. If limitless and indomitable energy and a kind of black and grim courage merit rewards, they certainly earned every penny of such gain as they made out of their ghoulish trade. In the case of the pyramid of Hawāra they were as successful as they seem to have been in every other case. 'They [the royal interments] had been entirely burnt; and only fired grains of diorite and pieces of lazuli inlaying showed the splendour of the decorations of the coffins.' And so all the precautions of Amenemhêt III, the wise and beneficent Pharaoh for whom the pyramid was built, went for nothing in the end, and neither they nor the reverence which might have been expected to hedge the memory of a king so great and good served to preserve his body, or that of his dear daughter, who was buried beside him, from the callous hands of spoilers.

If no funerary splendours rewarded the excavators, they had the reward of seeing one of the most extraordinary works which even the Egyptian architect ever contrived. 'The sepulchral chamber', says Petrie, 'is one of the most remarkable works in Egypt. It is hollowed out in one block of glass hard yellow quartzite, cut and polished with exquisite truth. It is over 22 feet long by about 8 feet wide inside, and over 2 feet thick, so that it must weigh about 110 tons. The roof of it is formed of three blocks of the same material, one of 45 tons, by which entrance was obtained, another larger, and a third smaller. All of this was built into a pit in the rocks; a limestone sloping roof was placed over it, the beams of which are 7 feet thick; over that a brick arch was thrown, and the brick pyramid was built on it! The Hawāra pyramid is comparatively inconspicuous as a pyramid, beside such monsters as the Great Pyramid or Sneferu's Dahshûr giant; but it must be allowed that the Middle Kingdom architect was in nowise inferior in skill to his forerunners of the Old Kingdom; the only difference was that his skill was used in another, and perhaps more subtle, way.

The sarcophagus of Amenemhêt III was found in the chamber. There was a second interment, which proved to have been that of the king's daughter, Ptah-nefru, who must have died during her father's lifetime. An alabaster altar of offerings bore an inscription for her.

South of the pyramid lay the mortuary temple of Amenemhêt, or rather the temple which was partly devoted to the mortuary services of the king, for its other objects remain doubtful. It was an immense structure, which covered an area of about 1,000 feet by 800, 'enough to include all the temples of Karnak and of Luxor'. Time, and still more the ravages of the neighbouring and unfriendly city of Heracleopolis, and of other vandals, have, however, sufficed to destroy it so completely that nothing remains of all its splendours save the great concrete beds upon which its foundations were laid, and the vast heaps of chips which have resulted from its destruction.

Yet, though scarcely a fragment remains, this was the most famous building of antiquity, that Labyrinth which, in the opinion of the classical writers who saw it, was the most marvellous building on earth. It is much to be wished that Herodotus, Strabo, and Pliny, who have written with such admiration about the Labyrinth, had been a little less ecstatic and a little more orderly in their descriptions of what they saw; for, as it is, it is impossible to make very much out of their descriptions in the way of facts which will enable us to reconstruct the great building in our minds. The only thing on which they all agree is that the Labyrinth was the vastest and most imposing of buildings; but the detailed description of Herodotus leaves his readers as muddled as he appears to have been himself as to the plan and purpose of the building; while those of Strabo and Pliny suggest a sort of General Council Chamber for all the County Councils of Egypt, combined with a general series of temples for all the gods of the different nomes, which is absurd. Pliny, indeed, seems to have lost his head completely, and to have been at the mercy of a dragoman who had fairly well taken the measure of the gullibility of his employer. 'Some of the palaces', he says, 'are so peculiarly constructed that the moment the doors are opened a dreadful sound like that of thunder reverberates within!'

The only intelligible account of this vanished wonder of the world is that which Petrie has given: 'From the scanty indications of the levels of the ground, and the fragmentary accounts of ancient authors, it appears as if the Labyrinth were a peristyle temple, with a central passage and two great crossways: the first crossway with courts or small temples opening on each side of it; the second crossway being a hall with a long row of columns,

and with courts opening on the farther side of it, much like the temple of Abydos.'

On the second of his two explorations of the site (1888-9, 1910-11) Petrie discovered two great granite shrines which had been placed in these chapels of the temple, and part of a third ; also several parts of statues of the gods, mainly of Sobk (Sebek), the crocodile-god of the Faiyûm. A seated statue of Amenemhêt III was also discovered some time ago, and is now in the Cairo Museum. Beyond these poor scraps nothing remains of the largest temple the world has ever seen.

To the north and east of the pyramid lies the necropolis of Hawâra, which was used from the XIIth Dynasty onwards. Its most interesting interments, however, are of late date, such as that of Harudja, a noble of the XXVIth Dynasty, which was remarkable for a very complete set of amulets. An all-Roman section of the cemetery contained a remarkable series of portraits painted in wax, and fastened on to the coffins above the face of the mummy within. These have been distributed among the museums of the world. We now enter the Faiyûm proper. Its chief town, Medînet el-Faiyûm, lies directly to the south of the great mounds which cover what remains of the ancient town of Shedet. Shedet was devoted, as was all the district of the Faiyûm, to the worship of Sobk, the crocodile-god ; and the Greeks, in consequence, named it Crocodilopolis. It was renamed Arsinoë by Ptolemy II, Philadelphus, in honour of his sister-wife.

The whole district of the Faiyûm has proved extraordinarily rich in ancient papyri, and several of the most productive papyrus-sites lie within it ; though Oxyrhynchus, the most famous of them all, lies beyond its limits. The mounds of Arsinoë were almost the first to yield a find of papyri in modern times ; but the excavation of the find was badly managed, and much of the material was lost, though the Rainer Papyri in Vienna, which represent the survivals from the carelessness of the native diggers, are still a considerable collection. Arsinoë is still one of the chief sites of the activity of the *sebbakhîn*, whose work, while occasionally productive of a valuable discovery (as in the case of the Amârna tablets), has oftener been a hindrance and a heartbreak to the scientific excavator. (*Sebâkh* is the native name for the degenerated walls of crude brick which once formed the homes of the Ancient Egyptians, and now form the core of the rubbish-mounds which have accumulated on ancient

city sites. It is possessed of valuable fertilizing qualities and the *fellahîn* are allowed to dig it out and use it. Permission for such digging is only given under licence, and the diggers are supposed to be obliged to deliver up the *antikas* which they discover during their work to the officials of the Service of Antiquities; but adequate enforcement of the rule is next to impossible, and the *sebbakhîn's* industries are responsible yearly for the unregistered and therefore valueless scattering abroad of a large quantity of valuable antiquities whose usefulness to science, had they been properly dealt with, might be considerable.) The ancient temple of Sobk lay on the extreme north edge of the present rubbish-heaps. It belonged, like most of the work in the Faiyûm, to the XIIth Dynasty, but was rebuilt by Ramses II. The sacred lake lay beside it, in which were kept the sacred crocodiles, of whose treatment by their worshippers Herodotus has given us such an engaging account: 'Those who dwell . . . about Lake Moeris consider them to be very sacred; and they each of them train up a crocodile, which is taught to be quite tame; and they put crystal and gold ear-rings into their ears, and bracelets on their fore-paws; and they give them appointed and sacred food, and treat them as well as possible while alive, and when dead they enbalm them, and bury them in sacred vaults.'

A papyrus of the Roman period shows that even then the sacred crocodiles of Arsinoë were regarded as one of the sights which no self-respecting tourist of Egypt could afford to miss. It is from Hermias, a high official at Alexandria, to Asclepiades, a local official, and is worth quoting as an example of tourist customs eighteen hundred years ago: 'To Asclepiades: Lucius Memmius, a Roman Senator, who occupies a position of great dignity and honour, is making the voyage from Alexandria to the Arsinoite nome to see the sights. Let him be received with the utmost magnificence, and take care that at the proper spots the guest-chambers be prepared, and the landing-stages to them be completed, and that the appointed gifts of hospitality be brought to him at the landing-place, and that the things for the furnishing of the guest-chamber, and the customary tit-bits for Petesuchos [Sobk, the crocodile-god] and the crocodiles, and the necessities for the view of the Labyrinth, and the offerings and sacrifices, be provided. In short, take the greatest pains in everything, that the visitor may thereby be well-satisfied; and display the utmost zeal!' Doubtless Lucius Memmius duly

gaped at the crocodiles, and they at him, and Asclepiades yawned when the senatorial back was at last turned, and wondered what vulgar Roman clod they would be sending him next. The ways of the *no-veau riche* and the official have not changed much since the sacred crocodiles of Arsinoë performed their usual tricks to make a Roman holiday.

On the extreme southern margin of the Faiyûm lies Tebtunis, a site from which a number of Graeco-Roman papyri have been recovered. Tebtunis is also famous as a store of mummified crocodiles, and is being excavated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* under Dr. C. Anti. On the other side of the district, in the far north, Graf found, at the necropolis of El-Rubiyât, a number of mummy portraits of the Graeco-Roman period, similar to those which Petrie found at Hawâra. About two miles to the south-west of Medinet el-Faiyûm lies Begig (Abgig) near to which are the broken fragments of a remarkable red granite obelisk of Senusret I. It was originally about 41 feet high and 7 feet by 4 at the base; but its peculiarity lies in the fact that instead of terminating in a pyramidion, like Senusret's other obelisk at Heliopolis, and all subsequent obelisks, it was rounded from front to back at the top so that it offered a rectangular face in front, but when viewed from the side it looked like a gigantic stele, rather than an obelisk. This would suggest that while the obelisk form was already arrived at in the time of Senusret I, it had not become the standard form for such a monument. The Begig obelisk is further unusual in that its decoration consists of five registers of sculpture at the top of the two principal faces, showing Senusret offering to various divinities. Below these scenes are thirteen lines of hieroglyphics. The minor faces are occupied by an inscription more in the usual obelisk style, though not altogether of the standard pattern, giving the cartouches of Senusret.

Four and a half miles north of Medinet el-Faiyûm lies Biahmu, and half a mile north of Biahmu station rise two piles of stone which are worth attention as being one of the few remains in the Faiyûm, or indeed anywhere in Egypt, which we can connect directly with the name of one of the greatest of the Pharaohs—Amenemhêt III. The first mention that we have of them comes from Herodotus, in the course of his account of Lake Moeris. 'About the middle of the lake', he says, 'stand two pyramids, each rising fifty orgyae above the surface of the water, and the

part built under water extends to an equal depth : on each of these is placed a stone statue, seated on a throne.' Tradition and Lepsius had linked this enigmatic statement of Herodotus with the two piles at Biahmu, and the matter was finally cleared up in 1888 by Petrie, who discovered near the piles the remains of two sandstone colossi, with thrones, and parts of an inscription of Amenemhêt III. It was then apparent that the two piles of stone had once been the pedestals (doubtless in the form of truncated pyramids) supporting these two colossi. 'The limestone pedestal rose twenty-one feet, then the sandstone colossus had a base of four feet, on which the figure, seated on its throne, rose to a height of thirty-five feet more.' Herodotus had therefore seen what he described, but only from a distance, and probably backed by the water of the lake, which then extended much farther than it does now. He thus imagined that the figures which he saw actually rose out of the water, instead of standing on the margin of the lake.

The fact that Amenemhêt III erected these two statues in such a position must indicate that he was concerned with the great irrigation works, or rather the great reclamation works, which seem to have begun under the XIIth Dynasty Pharaohs, and ended, as late as Ptolemaic times, in turning the Faiyûm, which had originally been partly lake, partly swamp, and altogether unprofitable, into the most fertile province of Egypt. It is not easy to ascertain what exactly was due to the XIIth Dynasty Pharaohs ; but at the very least they seem to have reclaimed a considerable tract from marsh and lake by means of huge dikes, and to have also regulated the inflow and outflow of the Nile, which had been going on unrestricted from time immemorial. Amenemhêt I may have begun the reclamation at Shedet (Medinet el-Faiyûm), whose Egyptian name, as we have seen, means 'Reclaimed'. His statue found at Arsinoë indicates that he did work there. Senusret I carried the reclamation farther, as appears by the presence of his obelisk at Beg g ; and the existence of the colossi at Biahmu, and the fact that to Herodotus, viewing them from a distance, they appeared to be standing in the water, indicates that Biahmu marked the limit of the reclamation in Amenemhêt's time, and that it was still unchanged in the time of Herodotus. The subsequent reclamations which have resulted in the Lake Moeris being at present represented by its shrunken successor the Birket Qarûn, are

mainly due to the Ptolemys, who carried out gigantic reclamation works here, with a view to obtaining fertile land on which to settle their Macedonian veterans.

On the north-western side of the Birket Qarûn, and about 1½ miles from the shore, the ruins of the town and temple of Soknopaïou Nesos (island of Soknopaïos) stand on the edge of the desert, about 230 feet above the level of the lake. The town must once have been of considerable size. Its main street was formerly adorned with figures of couchant lions, apparently a Ptolemaic variant on the old Egyptian motive of ram-headed sphinxes. It led to a large temple of Soknopaïos, who is another form of Sobk, the crocodile-god of the Faiyûm, and who was here associated with Isis. The building is, however, of even less interest than most other Ptolemaic temples. Five miles north of Soknopaïou Nesos (Dimay) stands the desert temple of Qasr el-Sâgha, a small but massive building of limestone, with one long court, out of which open seven recesses, which have once been closed with doors of which the pivot-holes may still be seen. It is uninscribed, and has never had either statues or reliefs. With the remains of the other towns round the lake—Karanis (Kôm Aushim), Bacchias (Kôm el-Asl), Dionysias (Qasr Qarûn), Euhemeria (Qasr el-Banât), Philoteris (Wâtfa), and Theadelphia (Kharâbet Ihrît)—we need not concern ourselves, as they are of Greek foundation. We may state, however, that, for the last five years, Karanis has been most systematically excavated by the University of Michigan under Mr. Enoch Peterson, and, for the first time in the history of archaeology we have a vast quantity of Graeco-Roman material, each item of which can be dated to within half a century.

As we leave the Faiyûm, we pass at the mouth of the entrance, opposite Lâhûn, the site of Kôm Medinet Ghurâb, the 'Gurob' of the archaeologists. Here stood a town which was founded by Tuthmosis III, and ruined under Menepthah. It had been largely inhabited by foreigners during the two and a half centuries of its existence, and here in 1889-90, as also at Lâhûn in the same season, Petrie found the foreign pottery he, even at this early period, recognized as Aegean, and which we have subsequently come to know as Minoan. Here also in Ptolemaic times must have existed another town, whose necropolis yielded to the same excavator a number of coffins made of cartonnage, which, on examination, proved to consist of sheets of papyrus

moulded together, sometimes with and sometimes without glue. The papyri, when detached from one another, proved to be of great interest and importance, as being the first series of such documents dating from as early as 300-200 B.C.

It may be noted that Miss Caton Thompson has discovered in the Faiyûm the survivals of an ancient civilization antedating the earliest predynastic civilization of Egypt, and akin to the Badarian culture which Brunton has discovered farther up the Nile Valley. The Faiyûm relatives of the Badarians dwelt round the shores of the great lake which then filled the depression to a height of 200 feet above its present level. They were fishers and hunters ; but they had also begun to cultivate and store emmer, wheat, and barley, and to domesticate oxen, sheep or goats, and swine. That they also engaged in trade is evident from the presence of shells from the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

A very pleasant alternative method of entering the Faiyûm is by desert road from Kôm Aushîm, which runs straight to the Gîza pyramids. A fast car can cover the whole distance in an hour and a half.

BOOK III—THE NILE VALLEY: THE FAIYÛM TO THEBES

CHAPTER XI

BENI SUËF TO MALLAWI: HERACLEOPOLIS, OXYRHYNCHUS, BENI HASAN

EMERGING from the Faiyûm, we now begin to follow the course of the Nile Valley southwards. During the first stage of our journey objects of interest still continue to be more numerous, as they have hitherto been, on the west bank of the Nile than on the east, and it is not until we draw near to Mallawi that the proportions become more equal. It will be advisable, at this stage, to bring our survey of the east bank parallel with the stage which we have reached on the west by glancing at the sites on the Arabian side from Cairo south to Beni Suëf. There are not very many of them. Between Cairo and the modern town of Helwân, and about six miles north of the latter town, are the famous quarries of Tura and Ma'sara, whence the Pharaohs, especially those of the Old Kingdom, drew the fine white limestone which was used for the outer casing of the pyramids, for the fronts of temples, and the linings of tomb-chambers, and also often for statues. Though the period of the Old Kingdom may have been that of the greatest activity at Tura and Ma'sara, the limestone from these quarries continued to be used throughout Ancient Egyptian history, and it is still used at the present day.

There is nothing which is better calculated to heighten our opinion of the skill and the essentially civilized character of Ancient Egyptian labour than a contrast between modern methods of extracting stone from the quarry and those of the Old Egyptian workman, where they can be seen side by side as at Tura. What we see there at the present day is but the wreck of what the ancient workers left, for Maspero wrote in 1895: 'During the last thirty years the masons of Cairo have destroyed most of the ancient remains which were found in these localities, and

have completely changed the aspect of the place', and the process has continued up to to-day. Nevertheless, enough remains protected to enable us to appreciate the fact that in such matters it is the modern workman, and not the ancient, who is the barbarian. The modern quarryman contents himself with scratching the outside of the rocky slope for his material; his forerunner of 5,000 years ago drove his galleries with skilled daring into the heart of the mountain, and extracted the fine stone of which he was in search with the precision and economy of means of a great artist. Maspero's judgment shows us what was the impression made upon him by the ancient work at Tura, even after much of it had been wrecked by modern bungling: 'The appearance of these quarries is perhaps as astonishing as that of the monuments which came out of them. The extraction of stone went on there with a skill and a regularity which are evidence of an experience of centuries. The galleries exhaust the finest and whitest seams without any waste, and the chambers are of almost terrifying extent; the walls were squared, the pillars and the roof were finished as if it were a business of a subterranean temple, and not merely a simple exploitation of material.' Farther south, at Silsila, we shall see a still more perfect example of Ancient Egyptian methods, and it has been said that 'in comparison with this puissant and perfect quarrying, our rough and ready blasting looks like the work of savages'.

Some of the halls from which the ancient quarrymen extracted the limestone, apparently with as much ease as one would cut slices from a cheese, still survive, their roofs supported by pillars of rock (see Clarke and Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, chap. II). There are also a few inscriptions and reliefs, chiefly of Middle Kingdom and New Empire Pharaohs—Amenemhêt III, Amenophis III, and Nectanebis II. The ancient name of the quarries was *Royu*, which was speedily corrupted by the Greeks into *Troja*. Strabo finally put the cap on the corruption by narrating what was probably a popular legend of his time, that the quarrymen's village was 'an ancient residence of captive Trojans who had followed Menelaus to Egypt and remained there'—an admirable example of the way in which a misunderstood place-name gives rise to a totally false and often ridiculous legend to explain and support itself.

Seven miles south-east of Helwan are the remains of an ancient Egyptian dam which was thrown across the mouth of the Wâdi

Garâwi, probably to provide water for the workmen who wrought in the alabaster quarries in the neighbourhood. The wadi whose torrent it was designed to control measures about 240 feet in width and from 40 to 50 feet in depth. The dam itself was 143 feet thick. 'It consists at the bottom of a bed of clay and rubble; next comes a piled mass of limestone blocks; finally comes a wall of hewn stone, built in retreating stages like an enormous flight of steps.' Thirty-two out of the original thirty-five stages are still *in situ*; but the middle part of the dam has been swept away by the torrent. This interesting specimen of Egyptian work was discovered by Dr. Schweinfurth in 1885.

Travelling south, we meet with no site of any importance on the east bank until we reach a point almost exactly opposite El-Riqqa, which we have already mentioned in connexion with the discovery of Middle Kingdom jewellery and tomb-robbery. Here at some little distance inland (the cultivated land being broader here than for some distance north or south on the east bank) lies the village of Atfih, which marks the site of the ancient Egyptian city of Tep-yeh. This city was sacred to Hathor, who often was represented as incarnate in the sacred cow. Hathor was identified by the Greeks with their own Aphrodite, and hence Tep-yeh was named by them Aphroditopolis. With the other association of Aphroditopolis, which, curiously enough, is with St. Anthony, the originator of Christian asceticism and the hermit craze, we have fortunately nothing to do.

We now return to the west bank of the Nile, where the interest lies for the meantime.

About ten miles west from Beni Suêf, and some distance south of the branch line which runs from that town to El-Lâhûn, lies the village of Ihnâsya (Ahnâsia, Ahnâs el-Medina). Near it is a great area of rubbish-mounds, from which the place has derived its local name, *Um el-Kimân*, or 'Mother of Dust-heaps'. These mounds, which cover an area of about 360 acres, mark the site of one of the most famous cities of Ancient Egypt, which from time immemorial was one of the capitals of the land. Its ancient name was Ehininsi (Henen-ensu), but its local god, Harishaf (The Terrible of Face), or Harsaphes, was identified by the Greeks with their own Heracles, and so they called the city Heracleopolis, a name to which the Romans added the adjective *Magna*. Both Harishaf and his city are mentioned on the Palermo Stone as early as the Ist Dynasty: 'Station at the lake

of the temple of Harishaf in Heracleopolis ', and the city was the capital of the Reed or *Insi*, King of Middle Egypt, whose emblem and title were taken over and joined with the emblem and title of the Bee or Hornet King of Lower Egypt to make the *Insi-Bya* title which was held by every Pharaoh, with the signs of the Reed and Bee or Hornet. Its period of distinction in the historical period came, such as it was, during the troubled times which succeeded the collapse of the Old Kingdom, when the kings of the IXth Dynasty bearing the name Khety or Ekhtai reigned from Heracleopolis over a very doubtfully loyal Egypt. The first Khety seems to have been a somewhat formidable king, for Manetho's account of him says that ' he was more terrible than all who went before him, and was one who did evil throughout Egypt ', which may mean no more than that he established his dynasty, as the first of a new line is apt to do, with some exercise of force. The later kings of the dynasty, however, were apparently as mild as its founder had been fierce, and they were kept upon the tottering throne of Heracleopolis mainly by the power of a redoubtable line of loyal local princes, who bore the same name as the shadow kings of Heracleopolis—the Khetys or Ekhtais, of Asyût. The dynasty finally collapsed before the attacks of the Intefs of Thebes.

In spite of the feeble character of the line of kings who ruled from the city, Heracleopolis had a repute for sacredness quite out of proportion to its real power : ' It was here, according to an old tradition, that the sun rose for the first time on that day when the heavens and the earth were created ; and here, too, the god Osiris was crowned, and when he died, his son, Horus, was here proclaimed king. Moreover, when the sun-god ordered the destruction of mankind, and sent the goddess Sekhmet to carry out that terrible command, she set forth, they said, from this city. Somewhere in the neighbourhood lived the mythical Benu, the Phoenix ; and here also dwelt the " Crusher of Bones ", the dread of every evil soul at the last judgment ; while Nekheb-kew, the serpent-goddess, who distilled the nectar of the gods, was thought to reside in the heart of the city ' (Weigall, *A History of the Pharaohs*, I, 266). With such a variety of sacred associations Heracleopolis remained important in Egyptian religious history long after its temporary and uncertain political importance had vanished before the rising power of Thebes.

Naville excavated on this site in 1892-3, for the Egypt Exploration Fund, and was followed in 1904 by Petrie. Between them they made out the fairly complete plan of a temple, with a forecourt adorned with a colonnade of red granite monolith columns, with palm-leaf capitals, a hypostyle court, whose roof had apparently been supported by twenty-four columns, a small pronaos, and a sanctuary with three chambers. Petrie also found some remains of statuary, including a granite triad of Ramses II between Ptah and Harishaf, and a fine gold statuette of Harishaf dating from the XXIIIrd Dynasty. There were no signs of any remains earlier than the XIIth Dynasty, which was a disappointment in view of the importance of the city in the First Intermediate Period. The temple remains showed an original (and small) building of the XIIth Dynasty, with a rebuilding on much larger lines by the XVIIIth, and again a rebuilding by Ramses II of the XIXth Dynasty. At present there is practically nothing to be seen upon the site save the remains of a few Byzantine columns.

The necropolis of Heracleopolis lies west of the city on the left bank of the Bahr Yûsif, between Gebel Sidmant and Mayâna. The cemetery is continuous for three or four miles, and its size is therefore much more consonant with the importance of the ancient city than anything that has been discovered on the site of the latter. It was excavated by Petrie in 1920-1. A series of Old Kingdom tombs was found, including a remarkable tomb of Merirê-haishetef, 'The Chief Companion, Reciter, devoted to the Great God'. Merirê-haishetef was also 'Keeper of the Palace Garden'. His tomb yielded three fine statuettes in ebony of its owner, representing him as a youth, as a man of mature age, and as verging upon old age; the idea apparently being that his *Ka* might have the choice of any of the three bodies to inhabit, according to its taste at the time. The statuette of the youth is now in the British Museum, that of the middle-aged man at Ny Carlsberg, and that of the senior at Cairo. Sidmant also yielded a number of interments of the IXth and Xth Dynasties, as we should expect from the history of Heracleopolis. These, in some instances, had painted coffins, with inscriptions, and sets of model servants, somewhat roughly executed. The curious gap at the XIIth Dynasty may perhaps be explicable on the theory of the conquest of the city by its southern rival Thebes, under the Intefs and Mentuhotpes of the XIth Dynasty. The

occupation of the cemetery is resumed again under the XVIIIth Dynasty and continues in the XIXth.

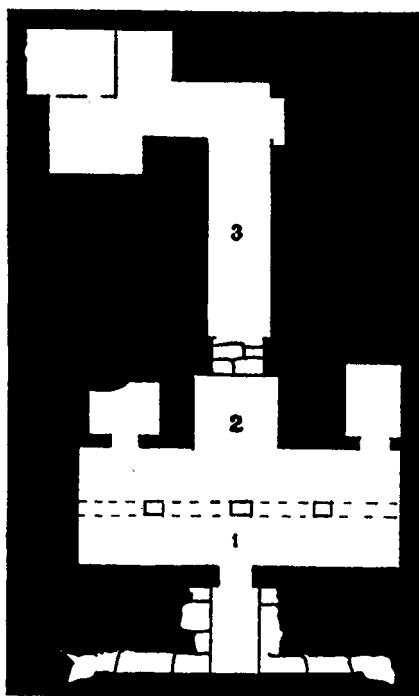
About eight to ten miles south of Ihnâsya on the west bank of the Bahr Yûsif, lies Dishâsha. Behind it the limestone edge of the plateau rises to a height of eighty feet or so. Here a series of Old Kingdom tombs has been cut in the rock, and extends for about half a mile. They appear, according to Petrie, who examined them in 1895, to be all of the age of the Vth Dynasty, and are of all sorts of form, from mastabas with deep pits, down to 'mere cracks in the rock containing bones heaped together'. There are a few secondary burials of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and a few instances of re-use in Roman times; but the cemetery is essentially a Vth Dynasty one. The most important tombs are those of Inti and Shedû, which are opened for inspection on request to the caretaker.

The tomb of Inti is cut in the rock just below the top of the isolated hill at the south end of the cemetery. Its construction will be easily understood from the plan. The sculptured chamber (1) was divided by three pillars, which were not rock-hewn, but fitted into their places. Two of the three have been overthrown. The back of the chamber has three recesses; the middle one of these (2) is sculptured with figures of Inti and his wife, and tables and lists of offerings. From the back of the middle recess a sloping passage (3) leads down to the sepulchral chamber.

The sculptures of the tomb-chapel are of considerable interest. On the north half of the east wall are scenes of warfare between the Egyptians and a people of North Arabia or Southern Palestine. Egyptian archers attack a town, and Egyptian infantry armed with battle-axes fight against Asiatics armed with clubs. Egyptian sappers mine the base of the town wall with long spear-headed crowbars, while within the wall one of the Asiatics listens intently to find out at which point the attack is being made. Another attack by means of a scaling-ladder is being made by Arab auxiliaries of the Egyptians, who, however, are finding the Asiatic women rather too much for them. Another line of sculpture shows the chief of the town sitting on his throne and tearing his hair in grief at the approaching loss of his town. This is by far the most interesting scene in the tomb, and is superior to the corresponding scenes in the XIIth Dynasty tombs of Beni Hasan. The remaining scenes are more of the

usual Old Kingdom type, with the trapping of birds, gathering of papyrus, fishing, and boating.

A scene on the west wall, between the door in the north-west corner and the middle recess, shows Inti's galley, with himself



TOMB OF INTI, DISHÂSHA

standing before his cabin, and his titles written in full : ' Royal Acquaintance, Overseer of Distribution, Overseer of Royal Monuments, Ruler of a Fortress, Leader of the Land, devoted to his Lord, Inti.' Inti and his wife Merit-min are frequently represented in other scenes, some of them unfortunately badly mutilated by

Coptic fanaticism. The place was occupied as a house by Copts, 'who smashed the sculptures, daubed pious *graffiti* [less euphemistically "scribbles"] in red upon the walls, and plastered much over with mud and filth'.

Shedu's tomb is also quite simple, though of somewhat unusual form. Its façade is at a lower level than its chapel, to which access is gained by a flight of steps from the forecourt. The chapel had a row of three pillars and two pilasters dividing it into two portions; these, however, have been mercilessly cut away for stone. A recess in the western side was for the false door, and beneath the floor of the recess a shaft led down to the sepulchral chamber. The serdâb was to the south of the recess, and from it a narrow cutting led up to the open air above the rock. Thus Shedû's *Ka* would have free access at all times to his funerary statues. The sculptured scenes are mostly of the conventional type; but some of those representing the estate workmen are worthy of notice.

From the destroyed mastaba-tomb of another Vth Dynasty grandee Petrie secured the statue in limestone of Nenkheftikai, which is one of the treasures of the British Museum, where it is attributed to the IVth Dynasty, and wrongly given to Dahshûr instead of Dishâsha (Budge, *Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum*, plate III, and p. 7).

Nearly a hundred miles from Cairo we reach the town of El-Fashn, a district capital. A little distance south of it lies the village of El-Hîba, which in ancient days was the town of *Hat Benu*, and a centre of the worship of the Phoenix. The town walls, built in the XXIst Dynasty, are still comparatively well preserved, and there are also the ruins of a temple of Amûn built by Sheshonq I, of the XXIIInd Dynasty. But far more interesting than the trifling and late remains to be seen here is the fact that it was at El-Hîba that there was discovered in 1891 the papyrus which was afterwards sold to M. Golénischeff, the Russian archaeologist, and which proved to contain the world-famous story of the 'Adventures of Wenamûn'. How such a document came to be at El-Hîba, instead of in the archives of the temple of Amûn at Thebes, where Wenamûn, its author, was 'Eldest of the Hall of the House of Amûn', is a mystery, unless the precious Golénischeff Papyrus is merely the clean copy of a report which we may possibly yet find at Thebes—though that is somewhat unlikely. In any case, El-Hîba deserves to be

mentioned as having given us one of the most priceless documents which have survived from the days of the priest-kings at Thebes.

About twenty miles farther on from El-Fashn a branch line leads from Beni Mazâr, a district capital, to Sandafa, a village situated on the east bank of the Bahr Yûsif, which here runs close beneath the edge of the western plateau. On the opposite bank lies the village of El-Bahnasa, which within recent years has sprung into world-wide fame. It occupies the site of the town of Oxyrhynchus, which in ancient days was *Per-medjet*, the capital of the XIXth nome of Egypt. It derived its Greek name from the Oxyrhynchus fish, which was here an object of reverence. In early Christian days it was an extreme example of the craze for monasticism which ran riot in certain parts of Egypt, and is said to have contained, in the diocese of which it was the centre, no fewer than 10,000 monks and 12,000 nuns—much to the profit of the district, no doubt. Its modern fame, however, is not connected with this parasitic growth upon Christianity, but with the excavations which were conducted here from 1897 onwards by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt. Rich as have been the treasures which the rubbish-heaps of many Egyptian towns have yielded to the papyrus-hunter, the ruins of Oxyrhynchus have surpassed all others in the quantity of valuable papyrus with which they have rewarded the seekers. The finds which have made Oxyrhynchus famous were chiefly, of course, those of the two series of what are known as the *Logia* Sayings of Jesus Christ, and other similar fragments, such as the fragments of several lost Gospels; but even apart from these, Oxyrhynchus would still have been famous for its extraordinary richness in Greek texts, including a great manuscript of Plato's *Symposium*, the *Hellenica*, which is a copy of an historical work by an unknown Greek historian of the first rank, manuscripts of the poems of Bacchylides, and of the *Paeans* of Pindar, fragments of Sappho, Alcman, and Callimachus, and many other treasures. The visitor who seeks Oxyrhynchus in search of notable ruins will be sadly disappointed, for there is nothing more dreary and featureless than the array of rubbish-heaps which is the universal characteristic of a great papyrus site, and Oxyrhynchus is no better, if no worse, in this respect than Tebtunis, Arsinoë, or Antinoë; but a site from which such treasures have emerged for the enrichment of the world can scarcely be without its own peculiar interest, even to those to

whom one papyrus scarcely differs from another, save in its degree of raggedness and shabbiness.

A little to the east and south of Oxyrhynchus, on the eastern side of the Bahr Yûsif, lies the small town of El-Qeis. Here stood the ancient capital of the XVIIth nome, which was called the Jackal nome, as its local deity was the jackal-headed Anubis, the leader of the souls of the dead. As the jackal or the dog was therefore sacred, the Greeks called the town Cynopolis (Dog-town). Between Dog-town and Fish-town (as Oxyrhynchus may be called), there was no love lost, as is not unusual between local rivals, even without the additional incitement to strife caused by diversity in worship; and Plutarch tells a story of how the inhabitants of each town showed their contempt for the deity of their neighbour town by dining in the one case off a dog, in the other off the sacred fish. One must admit that the inhabitants of Dog-town would seem to have come off with the better bargain, though Egyptian taste in meat was not ours, and a race which fattened hyenas as a delicacy may well have found a dog a tasty morsel.

About twenty miles farther south the massive rocky promontory of Gebel el-Teir rises on the eastern bank of the Nile. A little south of it is the village of Tihna el-Gebel, near to which are some rock-tombs of the Old Kingdom which were re-used in the Greek period. Mr. G. Fraser, who excavated them in 1893, found the names of Mycerinus of the IVth Dynasty, and Userkaf of the Vth. They are of no particular interest, nor is the small temple of the place, which is of late date.

At a distance of 153 miles from Cairo (157 by river) the important town of El Minya is reached on the west bank. Opposite it, on the east bank, lies the village of Zâwyet el-Amwât, a little to the south of which lies one of the innumerable 'Red Mounds' of Egypt (El-Kôm el-Ahmar). It marks the site of the ancient city of *Hebenu*, the capital of the Oryx nome, which lay between the Jackal nome to the north and the Hare nome to the south. It was famous in Middle Kingdom days as the principality ruled by the great local princes whose tombs we shall see shortly at Beni Hasan, and who succeeded, by matrimonial alliances and other means, in obtaining also at times the lordship of the Jackal and Hare nomes. The narrow strip of land between the eastern cliffs and the river was sometimes detached from the Oryx nome and treated as a separate principality, known as the

Horizon of Khufu, or more often as *Menat-Khufu*, or 'Nurse of Cheops', from its chief town, where the builder of the Great Pyramid was born, or at least brought up. Menat-Khufu was usually held, during the Middle Kingdom, by the powerful princes of Beni Hasan as one of their lordships. Beyond El-Kôm el-Ahmar there are some of the rock-tombs of the magnates of Hebenu, but they are buried in rubbish, and the only one which is accessible is not one of the time of the glory of the Oryx nome, but one of the New Empire—that of Nefersekhru, a mere superintendent of storehouses.

Opposite to the village of Abu Qirqâs, which lies on the west bank some miles south of El-Minya, are the famous rock-tombs of Beni Hasan, and the rock-temple of the cat-headed goddess Pasht, whom the Greeks for some obscure reason identified with Artemis, for which reason they called her temple *Speos Artemidos*, the Grotto of Artemis. Beni Hasan is best reached from El-Minya, either by motor-car or motor-bus, and ferry across the Nile.

We shall first visit the *Speos Artemidos*. The goddess Pasht, to whom the grotto was dedicated, was another variant of the cat-headed goddess Ubastet, and was also akin to Sekhmet, the lion-headed goddess who typified the destroying heat of the sun. Pasht, however, seems to have represented the milder influence of the solar heat. In the long inscription of Queen Hatshepsut, which is cut high up on the front of the *Speos*, Hatshepsut describes her as 'Pasht the great, who traverses the valleys in the midst of the eastland, whose ways are storm-beaten'. The *Speos*, according to Garstang, must have been originally a quarry, but it was adapted to its religious purpose by Queen Hatshepsut, and Tuthmosis III; while Seti I afterwards did some work here also. The building seems never to have been finished; it had once a portico whose roof was supported by a double row of columns, four in each row. The chamber within is about 21 feet square, and a recess in the end-wall of the inner chamber was probably intended to hold a statue of Pasht.

Only three of the original eight pillars of the portico now survive; they are inscribed with the names of Tuthmosis III and Seti I, the latter being inserted in the blank from which Tuthmosis had chiselled out the name of Queen Hatshepsut. The reliefs in the interior are entirely due to Seti I, and representing that king worshipping Amûn and Pasht. In the corridor is a long inscription of Seti I. But the chief importance of *Speos Artemidos* lies

in the inscription of Hatshepsut, which is carved on the façade of the grotto. In it the great queen makes a reference to the devastation wrought by the Hyksos, which is of the greatest historical value, as being the nearest approach to a contemporary record which we possess. It runs as follows: 'I have restored that which was ruins, I have raised up that which was unfinished since the Asiatics were in the midst of Avaris of the northland, and the barbarians were in the midst of them, overthrowing that which was made, while they ruled in ignorance of Rê.' A second grotto lies to the west of the Speos Artemidos. It bears the cartouche of Alexander II, the short-lived son of Alexander the Great and Roxana.

The rock-tombs of Beni Hasan, to which we must next pay attention, are a long series extending for several miles along the face of the cliffs on the eastern bank of the Nile, from just opposite the village of Sharâra to opposite the village of Itlidim. The most northerly and the most southerly groups are the oldest; the northerly series belonging to the IInd and IIIrd Dynasties, while the most southerly group belongs to the Vth Dynasty. This latter group lies immediately south of the valley in which the Speos Artemidos is situated, and immediately north of the same valley there is a necropolis of the late period, with tombs dating from the XXth to the XXXth Dynasty. But the group of tombs which is supremely important and attractive is the series of XIIth Dynasty tombs of the nomarchs of the Oryx nome, which lies in the middle of the long line, almost exactly opposite Abu Qirqâs. A great necropolis of the courtiers and officials of the princes of the Oryx nome lies just below the cliff-face which holds the statelier tombs of their feudal superiors; this was explored in 1902-3 and 1903-4 by Professor Garstang, with interesting and valuable results, but need not concern us at present.

The great series of Middle Kingdom tombs of the nomarchs is one of the most remarkable survivals of that most interesting period of Egyptian history. They are thirty-nine in number; in twelve cases inscriptions give the names of those for whom they were made; of these eight were great chieftains and nomarchs, two were princes, one was a prince's son, and one was a royal scribe; so that we are moving among the great ones of the local society of Middle Egypt in visiting them. The earliest in point of date are found towards the southern end of the line, which extends along the cliff-face for about a quarter of a mile. These

earlier tombs are of the XIth Dynasty, and are mostly simple rectangular chambers, with a shaft for the interment, and with the roof of the chapel sometimes supported by columns hewn out of the living rock. As we pass along the row towards the north we find the tombs of the XIIth Dynasty grandees becoming gradually larger and more elaborate; more of them have porticoes, and the interior arrangements are more complete; the decoration is also, generally speaking, more elaborate and in better preservation, though in some cases it has suffered since being exposed, not only to the assaults of time but to those of tourists.

The tombs are all hewn into the same stratum of limestone, about half-way up the cliff. The method adopted was as follows: an open heading was driven into the cliff-face until the vertical face was high enough, in the architect's opinion, to leave sufficient thickness of solid rock above the ridge of the roof arches. In one case his judgment has been at fault in this respect, and the roof of No. 29 has in consequence fallen in. Evidence was forthcoming that a good deal of the work was done with copper tools; but flint was also used largely, as is shown by the remains of worn-out tools. The vertical face being attained, the next step was to rough-hew the columns of the portico, and to cut the main door; thereafter the excavation of the interior was proceeded with, the workmen taking out the stone in blocks of about 60 inches by 20 inches by 22 inches, from the roof downwards. Several of the tombs are unfinished, thus enabling us to obtain an idea of the methods of working employed; a good example is No. 4, the tomb of Khnemhotpe IV. The dressing of the rocks to give a perpendicular face resulted in the conversion of what had been a natural terrace in the cliff into a broad pathway, on which the various doors opened. This gave room for the final work of completing the façade, with its portico and doorway, which were naturally left only rough-hewn until the interior work, with its consequent risks of damage to the doorway and portico, was completed. The pathway along the face is more or less interrupted at a point between the northern and the southern group. At several points (e.g., opposite tombs 2, 3, 15, 29, 32, and 33) pathways run up from the valley below to the doorways of the tombs.

Altogether these tombs form a most imposing memorial of the civilization of the Middle Kingdom as they line the cliff for a

quarter of a mile. 'The entrances to the greater tombs . . . are visible from any point of view in the fertile plains that lie away from the cliff-foot—an object of wonder and admiration. The nature of the view to be obtained from the height must also have lent its attractions to the place. For nearly forty miles the Nile may be seen gleaming in the sunlight as it winds its way through the green valley from El-Rôda, until in the north, beyond the white cliffs of El-Kôm el-Ahmar, the distant minarets of El-Minya may just be seen where the river makes its final turn and passes out of sight' (Garstang, *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, p. 16).

Imposing in the mass, some of the tombs, at least, are equally attractive in detail. The façades of the tombs of Amenemhêt (Ameni), and of Khnemhotpe II, with their octagonal and sixteen-sided columns respectively, are exceedingly dignified in their simplicity; and the interior chamber of the first-named tomb, with its sixteen-sided columns, its arched and diapered roof, and its western recess where once stood the statue of Amenemhêt, is almost unsurpassable in its kind. And the painted decoration of the chapels, with its groups of wrestlers and dancers, and its girls playing at ball, while unequal in merit, as was to be expected, is always fresh and interesting, in spite of the damage it has suffered and the natural change and fading due to time. 'The tomb of Ameni at Beni Hasan', said Dr. H. R. Hall, 'is a revelation to those whose knowledge of Egyptian art is derived chiefly from the gigantic abominations of Karnak or Abu Simbel. Nothing so fine as the perfectly-proportioned tomb-hall of Ameni, with its beautiful pillars, was ever excavated in an Egyptian cliff in later days. And the naturalism of the multitudinous groups of wrestling men which are painted on the walls around the entrance to the inner chamber is paralleled only by that of the Greek vase-paintings of the best period: the decoration of this wall, with its contending painted figures, where in later days only stiff and formal rows of hieroglyphics would have been permitted, and with its stately frame-design, reminds us of nothing so much as of the decoration of a Clazomenian sarcophagus. Nor are other tombs of this period far behind it in beauty' (*Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 163; cf. also *Cambridge Anc. Hist.*, vol. I of Plates, p. 88).

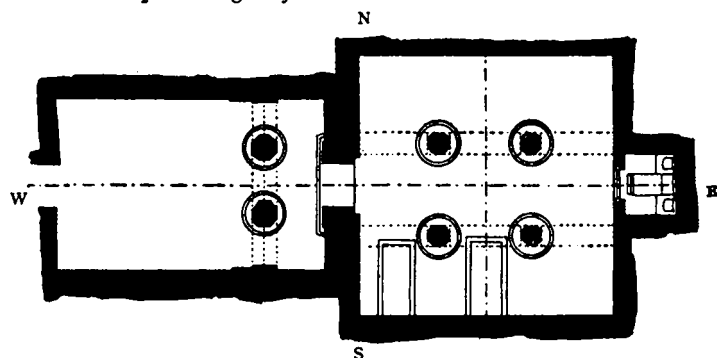
This praise of the Beni Hasan work may seem to depreciate overmuch the later work of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties,

for, after all, there are beautiful things at Karnak, and Abu Simbel is at least imposing ; but apart from comparisons, there is no question that it is well deserved.

The origin of the great family which ruled the Oryx nome with such credit to the individual governors (if their inscriptions may be believed) is a little difficult to trace. The family only rose to its full dignity in the person of Khnemhotpe I, whose tomb is No. 14 of the series ; but before his rise, which dates from the time of the founder of the XIIth Dynasty, Amenemhêt I, there were at least four other members of the line who attained to positions of importance, though not to the full dignities of its later members. These were three chiefs bearing the name of Baqet, and one Khety. The succession may have run something like this : Baqet I, Baqet II, Remushenti, Baqet III, Khety, Khnemhotpe I. Khnemhotpe I was succeeded by his two sons, Nakht and Amenemhêt (Ameni), of whom Nakht was made chief of the principality of Menat-Khufu, and Amenemhêt chief of the Oryx nome. Khnemhotpe I had also a daughter Baqet, who married another local magnate Nehri, prince of the Hare nome. Of this marriage was born Khnemhotpe II, whose uncle, Nakht, died in convenient time to leave to him the lordship of Menat-Khufu in the nineteenth year of Amenemhêt II. Khnemhotpe II seems to have possessed the family talent for marrying where money or influence was, for his bride was Khety, the eldest daughter of the prince of the Jackal nome. Khnemhotpe II's eldest son, Nakht, was therefore appointed in due course to the principedom of the Jackal nome, while his second son, Khnemhotpe III, was appointed to his father's lordship of Menat-Khufu. So that altogether the family seems to have controlled the three nomes of the Jackal, the Oryx, and the Hare, as well as the countship of Menat-Khufu. They lasted from the XIth Dynasty well into the middle of the XIIth, when the line apparently fades out. It is an interesting record of local history, and apparently the Khnemhotpe line proved as great a support to the Pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom as did the Khetys of Asyût to the Heracleopolitan Pharaohs of the IXth Dynasty, or the Ahmôse of El-Kâb to the XVIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties (see Newberry, ' Beni Hasan ', in the *Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, vol. II, pp. 5 sq.).

The two most important tombs of the series are both in the northern section, and are those of Amenemhêt (Ameni) and

Khnemhotpe II, Nos. 2 and 3. They are approached by an ancient causeway, which leads straight up to the portico of No. 2. No. 1, to the left, is quite unfinished, merely a rough-hewn portico with neither inscriptions nor shaft. No. 2, however, is perhaps the finest specimen of the whole series. The architrave of its portico is supported by two columns, octagonal in shape, though possibly it was intended to make them sixteen-sided, like the columns within the chapel, as the work on the portico has never been quite finished. Behind the columns the roof of the vestibule is arched, and has a height of 23 feet. The great doorway in the centre is 16½ feet high by a little over 6 feet broad. The main



TOMB OF AMENEMHÊT (AMENÎ), BENI HASAN, NO 2

(For description, see text)

chamber, or chapel, is almost square, and measures almost exactly 38 feet on each side. It is divided into a nave and two side-aisles by a double row of sixteen-sided columns, two in each row. Of these, the column nearest the shrine in the eastern wall has been broken, leaving a fragment hanging from the architrave. The columns are finished with shallow flutings, the depth of which varies from almost a half to a little over a quarter of an inch. Two of the sixteen sides, however—those facing the east and west lines of the tomb—have been left unfluted, probably that they might receive an inscription, which has never been carved. The roofs of the nave and aisles are shaped to a flat-arch in each case, the height to the crown of the arch being 21 feet. The roof is covered with a diapered pattern. In the centre of the eastern wall, a doorway, 10 feet 9 inches high, admits to the shrine, or

rather to the false door, in front of which sat the *Ka*-statue of Amenemhêt, which has been destroyed, but appears, from fragments found in the course of excavation, to have been two and a half times life-size. This shrine was closed by a double-leaved door. There are two sepulchral shafts in the main chapel, on the southern side. Altogether, this tomb-chapel is so finely proportioned and executed as to make an impression quite independent of its mere size. Egyptian architecture has few things to show which can rival it.

The painted decoration (the work is not in relief, as at Saqqâra) is of great interest, especially with regard to the freedom of design and execution which characterizes it. Those who are in the habit of regarding all Egyptian art as stiff and conventional should study the groups of wrestlers, here and in the tomb of Khnemhotpe II, and the figures of the girls playing ball in Baqet tomb, No. 15, and they may find reason for revising their opinion. 'The groups of wrestlers with which the walls of the outer hall of the tomb of Ameni are painted are especially remarkable for their truth and freedom, having quite a "Greek feeling"'. The wall-painting of this tomb and that of Khnemhotpe are the best Middle Kingdom examples of the Egyptian art of painting in distemper, as opposed to the Cretan manner of painting in true fresco. A thing to be noted is the remarkable range of the Egyptian painter's palette at this time (2000 B.C.): he already disposes of most of the colours of the rainbow, whereas the Babylonian painter does not seem to have developed much sense of colour till later times. The marvellous accuracy with which the finer of these tomb-paintings were executed in the darkness of Egyptian tombs is a matter for wonder and speculation' (H. R. Hall, *Cambridge Anc. Hist.*, vol. I, p. 575).

The arrangement of the scenes is as follows :

West (entrance) Wall, North Side

- Row 1. Manufacturers of flint knives. Sandal-makers.
- Row 2. Carpentering, bowyers, coopers, arrow-makers, chair-makers, box-makers.
- Row 3. Goldsmiths.
- Row 4. Potters.
- Row 5. Flax-growing and linen manufacture.
- Row 6. Harvesting.
- Row 7. Ploughing and sowing.

The lower rows on the south side of the west wall are interrupted by Amenemhêt's false door, which has the usual funerary prayer (much mutilated), naming Osiris and Anubis, on behalf of Amenemhêt and his wife Hotpet. The scenes are as follows :

Rows 1 and 2. The vintage.

Rows 3 and 4. Fishing and fowling.

Row 5. House management. Fruits and herbs ; meats ; bread ; beer.

Row 6. Attendants of Hotpet, with toilet utensils. Bakers.

Row 7. Musicians. Confectioners.

Row 8. Musicians. Oxen fording water.

North Wall (left on entering)

Rows 1 and 2. Hunting with nets in the desert.

Row 3. Procession of shrine with statue of Ameni, priests, dancers and acrobats.

Rows 4 to 7. Procession of officers and servants of Ameni's household, with offerings.

East Wall

This is also interrupted ; in this case by the door of the shrine in which the statue of Ameni was placed.

Rows 1, 2, and 3. Wrestlers.

Rows 4 and 5. Soldiers attacking a fortress ; battle scenes.

Row 6. Pilgrimages to the two chief shrines of Osiris : (a) barge with mummy of Ameni towed by two ships in full sail, ' voyaging upstream to obtain the benefits of Abydos for the prince Amenemhêt ' ; (b) harem-boat towed by two ships with masts lowered, ' voyaging downstream to obtain the benefits of Dadu (Busiris), for the prince Amenemhêt '.

South Wall

This wall is divided by a line into two sections of which the larger (to the left) shows priests and servants bringing offerings to the seated figure of Amenemhêt ; while that to the right shows similar offerings being made to his wife Hotpet.

BENI HASAN : TOMB OF KHNEMHOTPE II 227

The decoration of the shrine in the east wall is much mutilated. The colossal statue of Ameni is destroyed. Flanking it, or rather its remains, on the right-hand side, is a figure of his wife Hotpet, also much mutilated, and on the left-hand side a similar figure of his mother Henu. The walls contain offerings, inscriptions, and prayers.

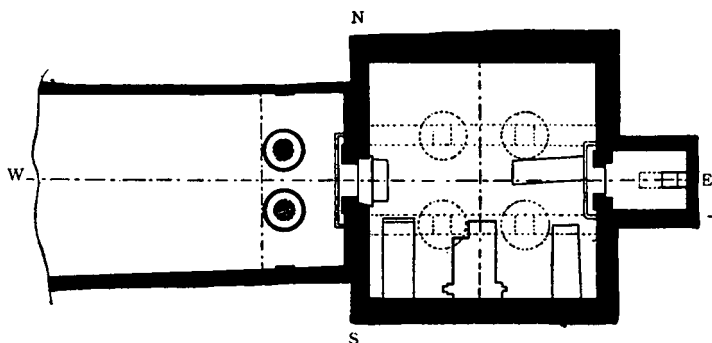
Next to Tomb No. 2 is No. 3, which belonged to Khnemhotpe II, who, as already mentioned, was the son of Baqet, the daughter of Khnemhotpe I, and was therefore the nephew of Ameni, whose tomb lies next to his. Originally the tomb of Khnemhotpe II must have been very similar in appearance to the tomb of Ameni ; but its interior columns have been destroyed, and its character thereby lost. It is, however, still of great interest and importance because of the quality of its painted scenes, including the famous one of the presentation of the Asiatics, which used to be accepted as a picture of the coming of Jacob and his sons and their families. This idea, of course, is long since exploded ; nevertheless the picture remains of value for its presentation of the appearance, dress, and standard of civilization of the Semites of Syria at this date (c. 2000 B.C.).

The portico of the tomb is adorned with two sixteen-sided columns, a little the worse for wear. Behind them, the roof of the vestibule is arched, as in Ameni's tomb.

The chapel is almost square. The roof of it, as in the case of tomb No. 2, was supported by four columns, of which only a single fragment, found at the bottom of the shaft, now remains. It shows that the columns were sixteen-sided and had shallow flutings. At the eastern end of the chamber opened the shrine, exactly as in No. 2. In the south aisle are two mummy-shafts. In fact, the tomb is essentially a duplicate of No. 2, save for differences in minor detail. Of these the most important is that a dado $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high runs round the whole chamber beneath the painted scenes. This dado was painted dull rosy red, and then splashed with black, dark red, and green to imitate granite. On this surface the great inscription, giving the life-story of Khnemhotpe was then cut and painted in hieroglyphics of green. It consists of 222 vertical lines, and is described by Breasted as ' our fullest and most important source for a study of the relations between the powerful nomarchs, the local counts or barons of the XIIth Dynasty, and their contemporary kings, (*Ancient Records*, I, § 619). It is also our source for the family history of the

chiefs of the Oryx nome, and the matrimonial alliances by means of which they managed to acquire power over three nomes and a count's fief.

The paintings are in the main similar to those already detailed in the tomb of Ameni.



TOMB OF KHNEMHOTPE, BENI HASAN, NO. 3

(For description, see text)

West Wall (interrupted by entrance door), South Side

- Row 1. Carpenters ; pullers.
- Row 2. Boat-builders ; potters.
- Row 3. The children and harem of Khnemhotpe voyaging to Abydos.
- Row 4. Weavers ; bakers.
- Row 5. Sculptors (mutilated).

West Wall, North Side

- Row 1. Storing and registering of grain.
- Row 2. Harvesting and thrashing.
- Row 3. Ploughing.
- Row 4. The voyage of Khnemhotpe's mummy to Abydos.
- Row 5. Orchard, vineyard and garden scene.
- Row 6. Oxen fording water, and fishing scene.

North Wall

At the top, Khnemhotpe hunts in the desert on the left-hand side of the wall. At the right-hand side, and beneath an inscription, stands Khnemhotpe, accompanied by one of his sons, an attendant and three dogs. He is inspecting various activities in his province, and in the third row from the top of the wall the thirty-seven Asiatics (represented only by a selection of them) are being presented to him by his scribe, Neferhotpe. The descriptive inscription runs : ' Year VI under the Majesty of the Horus, the Guide of the Two Lands, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Senusret II, number of Amu brought by the son of the *hat*-a prince Khnemhotpe, on account of the eye-paint, Amu of Shu, number amounting to 37.' Note especially at the left-hand end of the second row from the foot of the wall the figure of the servant who is trying to force the oryx to lie down to be fed. It shows a freedom of drawing seldom found elsewhere in Egyptian art, the backward swing of the arms, and consequent protrusion of the chest, being admirably rendered. In the row depicting the coming of the Amu, the Semitic characteristics of the visitors, and their gaily decorated garb, are faithfully given. The leader of the band is ' Absha ', the Biblical Abishai.

East Wall (interrupted by shrine)

Khnemhotpe fowling, with boomerang, snaring birds with clap-net, and fishing with leister.

South Wall

Five rows of servants with offerings, before Khnemhotpe, who sits before an offering-table.

The shrine has the remains of the statue of the prince, decorated, as in the case of Ameni, by figures of his wife Khety, and his mother Baqet. The north wall of the shrine shows his three daughters, Baqet, Thent, and Meres, approaching the statue. The south wall has five of the sons, Nakht, Khnemhopte, Neheri, Neternakht, and another Khnemhotpe, coming to a table of offerings before the statue.

The great inscription of Khnemhotpe is unfortunately too long to be quoted in full ; but a short extract will give an idea of the smug self-satisfaction of a typical Egyptian nomarch :

' The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nubkewrê (Amenemhêt II), who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Rê, for ever, brought me, being the son of a count, into the inheritance of the rule of my mother's father, because he so greatly loved justice. He is Atûm himself, Nubkewrê, who is given life, stability, satisfaction, gladness of his heart, like Rê, for ever. He appointed me to be count in the year 19 in Menat-Khufu. Then I adorned it, and its treasure grew in all things. I perpetuated the name of my father ; I adorned the houses of the *kas*, and the dwellings thereof ; I followed my statues to the temple ; I devoted to them their offerings, the bread, beer, water, wine, incense, and joints of beef credited to the mortuary priest. . . . Greater was my praise at the court than that of any Sole Companion. He [Pharaoh] exalted me before his nobles ; I was placed before those who had been before me. Never happened the like to servants. He knew the manner of my tongue, the moderation of my character. I was an honoured one with the king ; my praise was with his court, my popularity before his Companions. The hereditary prince, count, son of Nehri, Khnemhotpe, justified.

' Another honour accorded me was : my eldest son, Nakht, born of Khety, was appointed to the rule of the Jackal nome, to the inheritance of his mother's father ; made Sole Companion ; appointed to be Forefront of Middle Egypt. There were given to him all ranks of nobility by the Majesty of Senusret II, who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Rê, for ever. . . . Another prince is Counsellor, Sole Companion, Great among the Sole Companions. . . . There is not one possessed of his virtues ; to whom the officers hearken, the unique mouth, closing other mouths, bringing advantage to its possessor, Keeper of the Door of the Highlands, Khnemhotpe son of Khnemhotpe, son of Nehri, who was born of the matron Khety.'

Enough has been quoted to show that in Khnemhotpe's opinion, he and his family, from one generation to another, were the salt of the earth in Egypt. He shared this opinion of course, with every single one of the innumerable host of Egyptian bureaucrats, who one and all believed themselves to be the indispensable

source of all their country's prosperity. 'What a dust I do raise,' said the fly on the axle of the chariot.

Tomb No. 4 is that of Khnemhotpe III (or IV if the royal scribe Khnemhotpe is reckoned in the line). It is unfinished, with a two-columned portico (one column destroyed), and a main chapel only begun. The inscription on the lintel of the door gives its owner's name and titles: 'The hereditary prince Khnemhotpe, born of the lady of the house Djat.'

No. 5. Unfinished. Portico with two sixteen-sided columns. Main chapel unfinished, designed to have three aisles with arched roofs. No paintings.

No. 6. A small square chamber. No paintings.

No. 7. Unfinished. One mummy-pit. No paintings.

No. 8. Small square chamber, unfinished. Two mummy-pits.

No. 9. Small open court with mummy-pit, rectangular chapel (one mummy-pit), and small shrine.

No. 10. Unfinished. Rectangular chamber. One mummy-pit.

No. 11. Unfinished. Portico with two octagonal columns and curved roof. Chapel never executed. No paintings or inscriptions.

No. 12. Unfinished. No paintings.

No. 13. Tomb of the royal scribe Khnemhotpe. Small rectangular chamber, with one mummy-pit. Three incised inscriptions, but no paintings.

No. 14. Tomb of Khnemhotpe I. Plain doorway of great size, without portico. Chapel nearly square, with two lotus-bud columns (broken) and flat-arched roof. Two mummy-pits. The paintings are much faded; but the scenes on the east wall, with wrestlers, soldiers attacking a fortress, and a group of Libyans who are led by an Egyptian secretary, are worthy of notice. The Libyan women carry their children in hampers on their backs; the men are distinguished by the usual Libyan emblem of a feather in the hair.

No. 15. Tomb of Baqet III, father of Khety. Large plain doorway, without portico. Chapel rectangular, east end divided off by two quatrefoil columns of lotus-bud type (broken). Rock ceiling slightly cambered. In the south-east corner of the chapel is excavated a small shrine. Seven mummy-pits.

Paintings—West Wall: much mutilated. North Wall: Hunting, shaving, linen manufacture, spinning; female acrobats and

women playing at ball ; herdsmen and tax-gathering ; flint-knife making ; musicians, goldsmiths, painters, and sculptors ; men fishing ; at west end of wall two large standing figures, one of Baqet, the other of his daughter, Nefer-heput-Hathor ; the figures of the girls playing ball are especially worthy of notice. East Wall : wrestling ; 220 groups showing as many attitudes ; the wrestlers are Egyptians ; one painted a clear red, the other a red-brown, to distinguish the limbs ; battle scene, with attack on fortress and skirmish in open field. South Wall : vintage, baking, confectionery, offerings ; procession of Baqet's statue ; stock-taking ; field-work ; potters and metal-workers ; exercises and games.

No. 16. Architecturally of same type as No. 15, but smaller, and with seven mummy-pits. No paintings or inscriptions.

No. 17. This is the tomb of the Great Chief of the Oryx Nome, Khety. Large plain doorway, without portico. Chapel rectangular ; the eastern end crossed by two rows of quatrefoil lotus-bud columns, of which two are still intact. Their architraves run transversely to the axis of the tomb. The rock ceiling is cambered. The columns were elaborately painted in a scheme of eight bands of colour encircling the shaft, while the capitals are picked out in blue, red, and white. Two mummy-pits. The paintings are still in fairly good condition, but are coarsely executed and badly drawn. The groups of wrestlers, acrobats, girls playing ball, etc., compare unfavourably with those in No. 15. The scenes are pretty much the usual lot.

No. 18 was intended to be an elaborate example, but is unfinished. Plain doorway, without portico. The chapel has an extension on the south side. The eastern end is divided transversely by three rows of columns (lotus-bud), while a single column supports the roof along the original line of the south wall as far as the first of the transverse architraves. Five of the columns still stand. No paintings or inscriptions.

Nos. 19 and 20 are both unfinished small chambers, without inscriptions or paintings.

No. 21 is that of Nakht, the uncle of Khnemhotpe II. It is of the same architectural type as No. 15, but smaller. Its columns are destroyed and there are only slight remains of painting.

No. 22. Unfinished, rectangular chapel, with two false doors, which still show traces of colour.

No. 23 is that of Neternakht, Administrator of the Eastern

Desert. Plain doorway. Chapel nearly square, east end divided off by two columns, now destroyed. Ceiling and east wall only painted, and the wall much damaged.

Nos. 24, 25, 26 are all unfinished, and call for no notice.

No. 27 is that of Remushenti, Great Chief of the Oryx Nome. No architectural features worthy of notice. Painted figure of Remushenti on the east wall, with inscriptions. Painted inscriptions, and much-defaced figures on south wall.

No. 28. Architecturally of same type as No. 15, but smaller. Two columns remaining. Was used at one time by Copts as a church.

No. 29. That of the Great Chief of the Oryx Nome Baqet I. Much defaced by Copts. Usual types of scenes, but in very bad state of preservation.

No. 30. Small square chapel, with vaulted ceiling. At east end a small shrine, with a mutilated figure sculptured on east wall.

No. 31. Unfinished and plan uncertain.

No. 32. Façade consists of a portico with two columns, now almost entirely broken away. Vestibule has arched roof. Chapel has two columns, which divide it into three aisles, with barrel roofs. Walls quite plain.

No. 33 is that of the Great Chief of the Oryx Nome Baqet II. Plain doorway, chapel nearly square, with slightly cambered roof. On south half of west wall a false door, with hieroglyphic inscriptions. Scenes very poorly preserved.

Nos. 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39 are all unfinished, and are all, with the exception of No. 35, of which only the portico has been begun, small, square chambers, without paintings or inscriptions.

By far the most important and interesting of this extraordinary group of tombs are Nos. 2 and 3, belonging to Ameni and Khnem-hotpe II. After these come Nos. 15 and 17, of which two No. 15 has decidedly the better drawing and painting.

On the slope below the terrace of the nomarchs' tombs lies the necropolis of the officials and servants of the great lords. In his excavations, 1902-4, Garstang examined no fewer than 888 tombs in this cemetery, with very interesting results. Models of boats, servants, etc., were abundant, but comparatively little in the way of jewellery was found, save for necklaces and collars of coloured beads. The old story of tomb-robbery was told here as everywhere else in Egypt; and the pilfering had been done at

the earliest possible time, leaving only objects of no intrinsic value to reward the second-comers and the scientific investigator of 4,000 years later. 'It is doubtful,' says Professor Garstang, 'whether even those who thus laboriously gained an entrance to the tomb-chambers by boring through the rock, found much within to repay their labour. Their quest was jewellery and valuables; which, so far as our observations go, would be rarely found by these later plunderers, as they hardly escaped from the pilferings of those who performed the actual interment. In several instances in which we opened the doors of the tomb-chamber for the first time, we found that the lid of the coffin had been hastily prised open. In other cases, where the lid itself had resisted, small holes had been made in the side of the coffin, through which the contents had been rifled. In two instances at least there seems to have been collusion between the robbers and the makers of the coffins; for an opening had been constructed in the side of the coffins near the head; this had been filled up with a piece of wood painted uniformly with the coffin to avoid detection, and fastened only with flimsy pegs which would readily yield to pressure' (Garstang, *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, p. 48).

Middle Kingdom morality in respect of tomb-property was evidently on the same level as that of the Pyramid Age.

Almost exactly opposite the town of El-Rôda (177 miles from Cairo) there lie on the eastern bank, and near to the village of El-Sheikh 'Ibâda, the ruins of Antinoë, or Antinoopolis, a town of the Roman period, erected in A.D. 130 by the Emperor Hadrian in memory of Antinous, the favourite of the emperor, who is said to have drowned himself here in order to take the edge off the disaster which, as an oracle had predicted, was about to fall upon his master. Antinoë, by date, really falls outside our scheme; but it is mentioned on account of its contribution to the world's stock of Egyptian papyri. Mr. J. de M. Johnson, who excavated the site, was not fortunate compared with some others, whose luck it was to deal with more productive sites; but one item of his discoveries is of curious interest. We often, in modern times, complain of shoes with soles made of paper, instead of leather; but Mr. Johnson found that the regular practice of the shoemakers of Antinoë, in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century A.D., was to make their sandal soles of papyrus. Unfortunately it has proved impossible to

find out the quality of the literature upon which the Antinöites trampled daily, as the heat of the foot has in every case effaced the writing on the papyrus.

On the west side of the Nile, between the Ibrahimîya canal and the Bahr Yûsif, and about four miles west of El-Rôda, are the ruins of a much more famous town, the Ancient Egyptian Khemennu or Khmunu, which was known to the Greeks as Hermopolis. It was sacred to Thoth, the god of wisdom and the patron of scribes, whom the Greeks identified with their own Hermes, whence the later name for the city. Hermopolis has proved a very fruitful source of papyri, perhaps only second to Oxyrhynchus in that respect. In ancient days it was the capital of the Hare nome, whose princes are buried at El-Barsha, where we shall directly see their tombs. Near the town is an ibis cemetery, where great numbers of the sacred bird of Thoth were buried; and somewhat farther to the west, and beyond the Bahr Yûsif, are two of the ancient rock-steles which were carved by Akhenaten to mark the limits of the holy domain of his new capital Akhetaten. They lie to the south of Tûna el-Gebel.

From Mallawi, which lies on the west bank of the Nile, and beyond the Ibrahimîya canal, and which is a district capital, a visit may be paid to the remarkable tomb of Petosiris, which lies at the base of the Libyan hills, beyond the Bahr Yûsif. The journey may be made by motor-car as far as the Bahr Yûsif, thence by ferry across to the village of Dirwa, from which point a donkey-ride of an hour brings one to the tomb, which lies in the ancient cemetery of Hermopolis (donkeys should be arranged for beforehand by one of the local officials at Mallawi).

Petosiris was high-priest of Hermopolis, and his tomb, which probably dates from about the middle to the end of the fourth century B.C., is a family concern, which he shares with his father, Seshu, and his brother Djed-thut-ef-onkh. The inscriptions in the tomb refer to no fewer than eight high-priests of Hermopolis, Djed-thut-ef-onkh I, Seshu, Pef-nef-neit, Djed-thut-ef-onkh II, Petosiris, Tachos, Thut-rekh, and Petu-kem. The tomb is approached by a paved causeway 65 feet in length by 13 feet in breadth.

In what must have been a forecourt, an altar, with triangular corner-pieces or horns, stands on the left side of the causeway. The altar, which is 8 feet high, is believed to show Asiatic influence. Behind this forecourt the façade of the tomb shows columns

with elaborate palm-leaf and floral capitals, connected by screen-walls, which are adorned with scenes of offering, with Petosiris praying, above a dado of Nile figures offering. The actual chambers are two in number, a vestibule or pronaos, which is decorated for Petosiris himself, and a chapel which is dedicated by Petosiris for his father, Seshu, and his brother, Djed-thut-ef-onkh II. The sculptures show an extraordinary mixture of ancient motives with Greek influence. The scenes portrayed are the old familiar Egyptian scenes, but the clothing is copied from the current fashion of the time, with curious, rather than beautiful, results.

In the vestibule the entrance-wall (north) shows on the back of the screen-walls, between the columns (left to right), metal-workers, coppersmiths, gilders, and the weighing of gold, with the packing of the finished articles; then perfumers, carpenters, and basket-workers. On the east wall are three rows showing scenes of agriculture, ploughing, the harvesting of flax and corn, and the thrashing of corn. On the west wall are scenes of cattle, the vintage, and the winepress. The rear wall (south) has a great scene of Petosiris and his wife receiving offerings from their sons and daughters, with sacrificial scenes. The Greek element is prominent.

We pass next into the chapel, which is approximately square, and has its roof supported by four pillars, which surround a tomb-shaft 26 feet deep, leading to many chambers in the rock below, which were filled with broken fragments of rock and pieces of sarcophagi. Among these was the magnificent lid of one of the three body-coffins of Petosiris, adorned with long columns of inscription, entirely wrought in coloured glass hieroglyphics, inlaid in the wood, one of the most brilliant examples of this type of Egyptian craftsmanship extant. The subject is the 41st chapter of the *Book of the Dead*. This splendid specimen of Late Egyptian work is now in the Museum at Cairo (No. 6036, U 21, centre). On the entrance-wall (north), right-hand side, are scenes of the goddess Nût providing drink for the father and mother of Petosiris: of Petosiris praying to his father, and of cattle being driven through a marsh in the old familiar way. The left-hand section of the wall shows Djed-thut-ef-onkh before a table of offerings, and Petosiris in company with his brother. The east wall shows the funeral procession with the coffin, men and women mourners, and offering-bearers, the

mummy at the tomb purified with holy water by a priest, etc. The west wall has scenes of Djed-thut-ef-onkh with nine cynocephali, with twelve uraei, with the bulls of Amûn and Osiris, and being conducted to Osiris. In the lower register, Petosiris informs his brother about the beauty of the tomb; then comes a row of twenty-five servants, with offerings, and twenty-eight more, alternately men and women, the latter sometimes carrying babies. Greek influence is conspicuous in some instances.

The south wall (rear) is divided into three sections by pilasters. In the left section, Seshu, with nine gods, prays to the sun; Djed-thut-ef-onkh and his children pray to Seshu. In the centre section Seshu and Djed-thut-ef-onkh pray to Osiris and Isis; various other divinities are represented. Right section Djed-thut-ef-onkh prays to nine gods; Petosiris appears in company with his brother; below is a marsh scene, with hippopotami and a crocodile. Altogether the tomb is a most remarkable example of the design and workmanship of its late period, when Greek influence was beginning to break down the old Egyptian style of representation.

CHAPTER XII

EL-BARSHA AND EL-'AMÂRNA

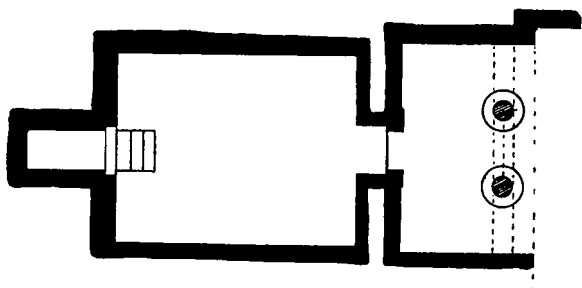
ABOUT five miles south of Antinoë, and seven miles in a direct line across the river from the capital of their nome, the 'Great Chiefs of the Hare Nome' chose the site for their tombs in the north side of a rocky valley in the hills behind the modern Deir el-Nakhla (Wâdi el-Nakhla, or Wâdi Deir el-Barsha). The group of Middle Kingdom tombs which they excavated there was first introduced to the modern world in 1817 by two naval officers, Captain Mangles and Lieutenant Irby, to whom we owe also the first modern entrance, with Belzoni, into the rock-temple of Abu Simbel. They first saw and described the famous scene of the colossus on a sledge, from the tomb of Thut-hotpe, which ever since has been the magnet to draw visitors to the place. Of the tombs here the only one which need be visited is this tomb of Thut-hotpe, which is well worth attention even now, and must have been much more so before the closing years of the nineteenth century, in which it suffered sadly at the hands of curio-seekers and mere wanton destroyers—the great inscription behind the colossus being cut away and many other parts of the tomb being mutilated.

Thut-hotpe, the maker of the tomb, held, among his many other offices, that of Great Chief of the Hare Nome. Some of his other titles are merely those which every magnate claimed for himself; but there are two of his religious titles which are interesting. He was 'Great of Five in the Temple of Thoth', and he was 'Regulator of the Two Thrones'. These are the titles of the high-priest of the god Thoth at Hermopolis. He tells us that he was the son of Kay, who was prince of the *Kha* pyramid-city of Senusret II, and that his grandfather's name was Nehri, who was Great Chief of the Hare Nome, like himself.

His tomb has suffered sadly by an earthquake, as well as at the hands of human destroyers. Its portico, which must have been a particularly fine one, has been completely ruined. The massive architrave was supported by two columns of circular

section, with palm-leaf capitals. Behind the columns, the portico was nearly 10 feet deep, so that it virtually amounts to an outer chamber. Its ceiling is flat. The doorway into the chapel is $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet high by 4 feet wide, with a raised threshold 6 inches high. The chapel is rectangular, and measures 20 feet broad by nearly 26 feet deep, with a flat ceiling. In the middle of the back wall of the chapel a flight of three steps gives entrance to a small shrine, $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep and high by about 4 feet broad.

The decoration of the tomb consists of paintings and work in very low relief, while in some parts painting and relief are combined. The jambs and lintel of the façade and the columns and architrave were originally coloured pink, and marbled with pale green, so as to imitate granite—a curious custom, to our minds,



TOMB OF THUT-HOTPE, EL-BARSHA

(For description, see text)

in which the Egyptian decorator not infrequently indulged. The hieroglyphic inscriptions on the façade were incised and painted green. The ceilings of the portico and chapel were elaborately decorated with a conventional pattern in yellow and blue.

On the right-hand wall of the portico, Thut-hotpe, wrapped in a long robe, watches the netting of gazelles. Three of his sons figure among the huntsmen. The left-hand wall apparently had wrestling and fighting scenes, but the work has been completely destroyed. The back wall gives two boating scenes, in one of which Thut-hotpe, armed with a throw-stick, is fowling in a canoe among papyrus thickets, while in the other he is fishing with a leister from a canoe. In what remains of the scenes on

the back of the outer wall of the chapel Thut-hotpe is being purified, his sons acting as his attendants. On the left-hand wall of the chapel occurs the scene of supreme interest, that of the transport of the colossus.

Thut-hotpe follows his statue on foot, his three sons and other attendants accompanying him. Then comes, or rather used to come, before its destruction, a long inscription, describing the incident of the moving of the great statue. It described the colossus as being of 13 cubits (about 21 feet) in height, and as being of 'stone of Hatnub', i.e. alabaster. Then comes the colossus, which is all white excepting the head-dress and the artificial beard, which were coloured blue. The figure sits on a throne, and is secured on the sledge, by means of which it is being transported, by twisted ropes, which are kept from chafing the stone by pads of ox-skin. On the knees of the statue stands a figure who gives the time for the men in front of him to pull all together by clapping his hands. Another figure, standing on the front of the sledge, pours water on the ground, possibly to keep the sledge from catching fire by friction. In front of the statue is a priest holding a censer, and censuring the figure. Then come four rows of workmen, forty-three men in each, hauling upon four cables, which are fixed to the front of the sledge. Various other groups of workmen and officials accompany the great statue; while at the top of the scene people with branches in their hands advance to meet the procession. The whole scene is one of great interest, and should be compared with the famous scene from Sennacherib's palace of the transport of a colossal winged human-headed bull. It must be admitted that the Assyrian scene has more vivacity in the action of the haulers; both, however, give evidence of the extreme simplicity of the means by which such feats of transport were accomplished. Again it may be noted that the supposed anonymity of Egyptian art receives no sanction from this tomb. The 'Director of the Work' on the tomb of Thut-hotpe was 'Ab-kew's son Sop', and the artist who decorated it, and who figures in the scene of the colossus, was the 'Lector, Mummy-painter of the House of the King, Decorator of this Tomb . . . Ameni-ankhu'

The remaining scenes in the chapel are of familiar incidents—the capture of birds and fishes, the stocktaking of the herds, a procession of boats on the river, with Thut-hotpe's own barge being towed by a sixteen-oared galley, agricultural and

gardening subjects, potters, and domestic industries, etc. On the walls of the shrine, are figures delicately incised and coloured. Thut-hotpe and his father Kay face one another on the back wall, while the side-walls have scenes of offerings before the seated figures of Thut-hotpe and Kay. Of the other nine Middle Kingdom tombs, that of Thut-nakht was excavated in 1915 by the Harvard-Boston Expedition, and yielded two finely painted wooden coffins, and a variety of wooden funerary models.

A little south from El-Barsha, on the same bank, is the hill of El-Sheikh Sa'id, where the earlier nomarchs of the Hare nome, under the VIth Dynasty had their tombs. The line of Thut-hotpe regarded these ancient rulers as their ancestors, and took a pride in recording that they had repaired their fallen tombs; thus the following inscription occurs four times at El-Sheikh Sa'id: 'He made it as his monument for his fathers who are in the necropolis, the lords of this mountain; restoring what was found in ruin, and renewing what was found decayed, the ancestors who were before, not having done it. By the Count, Marshal of the Two Thrones, Superior Prophet, Overseer of the King's House, Governor of the South, Great Chief of the Hare Nome, Great in his Office, Great in his Rank, of Advanced Position in the King's House, Thut-nakht, born of Teti.'

We are now within the sacred territory of Akhenaten's holy city, Akhetaten, better known to most people as El-'Amârna. The present appearance of this once great and famous city is not imposing. It originally extended along the east bank of the Nile for about five miles; but its maximum breadth was only about 1,100 yards, and it must have appeared as a long, straggling town situated between the fertile land by the river-bank and the barren desert behind, which extends to the base of the hills, in which were the rock-tombs of its great men. At present it is represented by Beni 'Imrân, El-Hâgg Qandil, El-'Amârna, and El-Hawata, and by the scanty ruins which lie along the line of the ancient city and the tombs behind. It is, nevertheless, one of the most interesting spots in Egypt; the scene of the great adventure in which a Pharaoh, the son of the most magnificent monarch of the XVIIIth Dynasty, pitted his will against the religious inertia of the whole nation and the fanaticism and jealousy of its priests in an effort to accomplish what he deemed to be a reformation in religious belief; and perished in the prime of his days amid the ruin of his plans.

This is not the place for a discussion of the significance of Atenism, the new religion which Akhenaten strove to introduce in place of Amûnism and the other faiths of Egypt, nor the question of whether it was or was not a spiritual monotheism and an advance upon previous Egyptian beliefs. It is sufficient for our purpose to say that when once Amenophis IV (Akhenaten) had broken with Amûnism he found it necessary to abandon the ancient capital Thebes, the stronghold of Amûnism, and to build for himself a new and holy city in which his new faith might strike root, unhindered and undefiled by any taint of ancient superstitions. Choosing this area immediately south of Gebel El-Sheikh Sa'id, where the hills recede from the river-bank for some miles, he marked out the limits of a sacred domain, with a corresponding area on the western bank, and delimited it by means of fourteen inscriptions chiselled on rock-steles, binding himself by a solemn oath not to overstep the boundaries of the domain for ever. The oath is as follows: ' My oath of truth, which it is my desire to pronounce, and of which I will not say " It is false " eternally for ever: The southern tablet, which is on the eastern mountain of Akhetaten. It is the tablet of Akhetaten, namely this one by which I have made halt: I will not pass beyond it southwards, eternally, for ever. Make the south-west tablet opposite it on the western mountain of Akhetaten exactly '—and so on for each eastern tablet, with its counterpart on the west bank.

Whether the oath meant, as some believe that Akhenaten meant to bind himself to a hermit existence, and never to move beyond the limits of his holy domain, or whether he meant merely to indicate that the domain was not to be extended beyond these limits by encroachments on the rights of the magnates of the vicinity, is another matter which it is perhaps impossible to decide. At all events, the absolute power of the young Pharaoh ensured for his new city rapid growth and prosperity for so long as his life or his control of the resources of his nation lasted. The city of Akhetaten (The Horizon of Aten) grew up with more than the rapidity of a mushroom town of the West. It had at least three palaces, one of which was a summer palace of somewhat fantastic design, and several temples, of which the great Aten temple was of imposing size and splendour. The courtiers, whether from genuine conviction or from mere desire to be in the fashion and to make themselves acceptable to their monarch, followed his example and built themselves mansions in the new

city. The arts and crafts which ministered to the taste and luxury of the court speedily established themselves, and Akhetaten became a busy centre of several industries, especially of the manufacture of coloured glazes and of glass itself. Art, too, established itself in the city, exhibiting that spirit of freedom which had been growing for some time in Egypt, and along with it that tendency to what seems almost caricature, which is the besetting sin of the Amârna Art. Nevertheless, some of the finer pieces discovered in the ruins of Akhetaten by the German Expedition rank among the very foremost products of the Egyptian school of sculpture.

All this came to a comparatively sudden end when Atenism fell from power with the death of the Pharaoh who had maintained it in being. It had never had any grip on the national mind, and from first to last had been a purely court religion, dependent for its life upon the championship of the king. When that was withdrawn by death, and when Akhenaten was succeeded by two young lads, Smenkhkerê and Tutankhamûn, the older faith of Amûn, which had possibly been regaining some of its influence even before the death of the heretic Pharaoh, had no difficulty in re-establishing itself. The withdrawal of the court sealed the doom of Akhenaten's holy city, and though its decay may have been a somewhat longer business than was once supposed, the whole story of its prosperity and magnificence falls within the limits of a single generation.

Successive expeditions have done much to reveal the character of this short-lived capital. Petrie visited it in 1891-2, and his investigations disclosed much of the great possibilities of the site. His work did much to reveal the splendour of the great palace of Akhenaten, and particularly its treasures of painting and its rich decoration of glazes and gilding. Two fine painted pavements of stucco were discovered by him and placed under cover and guard, only to be destroyed in 1912 by the spite of a dismissed guardian. The portions which were rescued from the wreck may be seen in the Museum at Cairo (627, G 28, centre). To the east of the palace lay the chamber in which the records of the Egyptian Foreign Office of Akhenaten's time were stored ; and here, in 1887, a woman *sebâkh*-digger found the famous tablets since so widely known as The Amârna Tablets. Such of them as survived rough handling and official incredulity are now scattered in the British Museum, the Berlin Museum, and

the Cairo Museum. It is said that the original discoverer disposed of her interest in the find for about two shillings! The tablets of course have proved to be of the utmost value, as giving a first-hand picture of the views and desires of the various kings of Babylonia, Mitanni, Hatti, and Assyria, who wrote some of them to the king of Egypt; while the tablets written by Egypt's vassal princes and governors in Syria, particularly those of Ribaddi of Byblos, Abi-Milki of Tyre, and Abdi-khipa of Jerusalem, are of even greater interest and value, since in them we can trace the process of the downfall of the Egyptian Empire in Asia.

Akhenaten's great palace and temple lay side by side to the south of the village of El-Tell. To the north of the village was a second palace, excavated in 1923-5 by the Egypt Exploration Society's Expedition. The ruins of the city itself, though not imposing, are instructive, and enable the lay-out of Akhetaten to be grasped with more or less clearness. The city was traversed from north to south by three main streets, which were crossed at right angles by other streets running east and west. There was no attempt, however, to secure uniformity in the blocks of houses, which vary considerably in size, and sometimes even in alinement. Neither, apparently, was there any effort to keep the residential quarters and the industrial separate. Houses seem to be set down without any suggestion of an attempt to secure suitable grouping and consistency in arrangement. 'High-priest rubs shoulders with leather-worker, and vizier with glass-maker' (see *The City of Akhenaten*, by Peet and Woolley, chapter I).

The mansions of the grandees were fine spacious houses, with great reception-halls, tastefully decorated, plenty of bedroom accommodation, and good provision of lavatories and bathrooms. The average size of the better type of house is about 65 to 70 feet square. The house of the Vizier Nakht, which is one of the finest examples of the domestic architecture of Akhetaten, measures about 95 feet by 85 feet. The workmen's houses are, on the whole, not disproportionately small, and even the poorest has the indispensable front hall, a living-room, a bedroom, and perhaps a kitchen. All the houses, from the mansion of the vizier down to the smallest workman's cottage, are, of course, built of crude brick, which was covered with white stucco or whitewash.

Besides the great temple there were various shrines which were dedicated to the famous ancestors of Akhenaten, such as Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV. There were also several minor temples, 'The House of putting the Aten to Rest', over which Queen Nefertiti herself presided, the 'House of Rejoicing of the Aten', which was in the island of 'Aten-distinguished-in-Jubilees', with a temple for the queen-mother, Ti, and other sacred buildings. Far to the south, and near to the modern village of El-Hawata, lay another royal palace, or rather a kind of royal paradise or pleasure. This was called Maru-Aten, and possessed a small lake for pleasure-boating, reception-halls, a kind of water-garden, and two semi-sacred kiosks, as well as a small portico-temple and a temple on an island. The cellars of this summer-palace had been well stocked with wine, as the sealings showed, so that Akhenaten's religious strictness did not involve teetotalism.

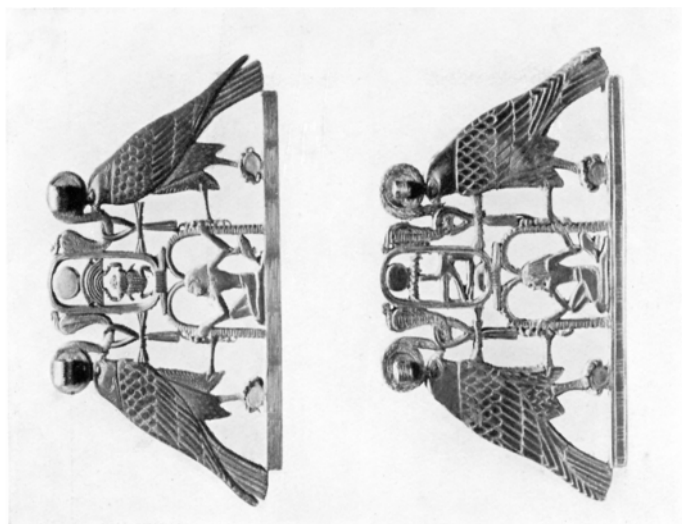
Perhaps the most striking of the separate finds was that of the studio of the sculptor Thutmose, which was made by the German Expedition which worked at El-'Amârna just before the war. The results of this find are well-known to the world, and include such fine pieces as the painted limestone bust of Queen Nefertiti, the brown sandstone head of the same lady, several heads and masks of Akhenaten himself, and a number of other interesting portrait studies. Other famous sculptors of this reign are Bek and Auta, who worked for the royal household; so that we are fairly well acquainted with the men who must be supposed to have been the main creators of the Amârna School of Art.

The school is well exemplified in the decorations of the two great groups of rock-tombs which lie in the hills behind the city. The northern group of tombs lies on either side of a bold gap in the line of hills through which a mountain-track across the ridge from El-Sheikh Sa'id enters the plain of El-'Amârna. It includes some of the best and most important tombs, such as those of Huy, Merire (I and II), Ahmose, Penhesi, and Penthu. The southern group lies also at the mouth of a similar valley, through which the track enters the hills again. The northern group is hewn in the face of the cliff, which here reaches a height of about 280 feet above the plain of El-'Amârna. For the upper half of this height the rock offers a steep face; for the lower it is more of the nature of a steep slope; the tombs are situated at the meeting-point of the two divisions, say roughly about 150 feet

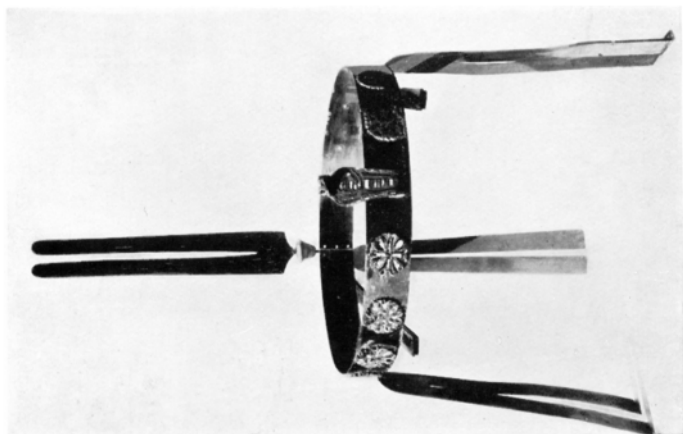
above the plain. In the case of the southern group, it is curious that it was not the bold cliffs that were chosen as the site of the tombs, but a low bank which is the beginning of the rise from the plain to the hills behind. In neither case is the rock good, or really suitable for delicate work. The northern rock is much interrupted by great boulders of harder stone, and the southern is of still worse quality. This accounts for much of the destruction of the work of the Amârna artists; but vandalism and robbery has accounted for a great deal more.

We visit first the northern group. Generally speaking, the type of tomb is the same as that found at Thebes, though there are, of course, individual variations. There is a forecourt, a hall, usually columned in the case of the more important tombs, and a second chamber, sometimes with a recess or shrine for the statue, with a shaft or stairway leading to the actual burial-chamber. 'The method of decoration employed in the tombs', says Davies (*Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, I, 18) 'is peculiar. The rock in which they are hewn is far from having the uniform good quality which would invite bas-reliefs of the usual kind. Nor was Akhenaten willing, it appears, to employ the flat painting on plastered walls, which was much in vogue and which the artists of Akhetaten also employed at times with good effect. The idea of modelling in plaster was conceived or adopted; and, since figures in plaster-relief would have been liable to easy injury, the outline was sunk so far below the general surface as to bring the parts in highest relief just to its level (relief *en creux*). Nor was this the only measure taken to ensure durability. The whole design was first cut roughly in sunk-relief in the stone itself. Then a fine plaster was spread over it, covering all the inequalities and yet having the support at all points of a solid stone core. While the plaster was still soft, it was moulded with a blunt tool into the form and features which the artist desired. Finally, the whole was painted, all the outlines being additionally marked out in red, frequently with such deviations as to leave the copyist in dilemma between the painted and the moulded lines.'

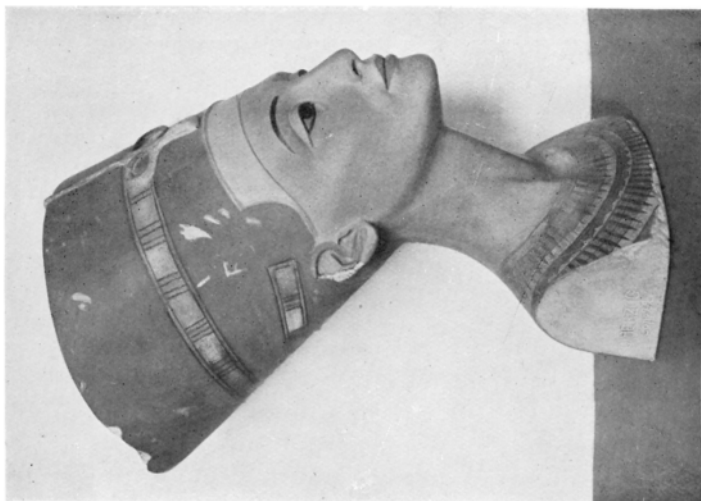
The subject-matter of the scenes depicted is also a new departure, no less than the method employed. The subjects which we have seen in the Old Kingdom mastabas and the Middle Kingdom tombs are no longer to be seen; nor have we anything like the varied pictures of life which the Theban tombs of the New Empire



TWO PECTORALS
PART OF THE TREASURE OF EL-LAHÛN



CORONET OF PRINCESS SIT-HATHOR



BUST OF QUEEN NEFERTITI



HEAD OF STATUE OF AKHENATEN, LATELY
DISCOVERED AT KARNAK

THE HERO AND HEROINE OF EL-AMARNA

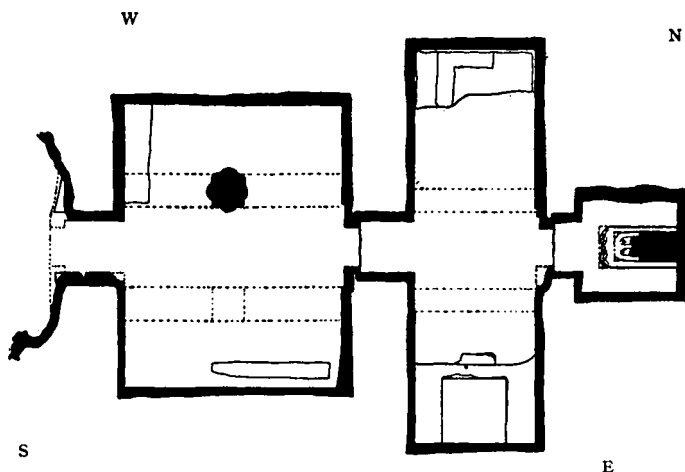
had already displayed, and were again to display in the future. 'The scenes in the tombs of El-'Amârna, though abundant and detailed, yield us very limited information concerning men and things in Akhetaten. Taken together, they only reveal one personality, one family, one home, one career, and one mode of worship. This is the figure, family, palace, and occupations of the king, and the worship of the sun—which also was his, and perhaps, in strictness, of no one else. Into whatever tomb we enter, as soon as the threshold is past we might fancy ourselves in the royal sepulchre. The king's figure, family, and retinue dominate everything. It is his wife and children, his family affection, his house and treasures which are here portrayed in detail, and it is with difficulty sometimes that we discover among the crowd of courtiers the official whose tomb it is, distinguished by a little hieroglyphic label' (Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 19).

Such a change of outlook the visitor must be prepared for; and it cannot be denied that it deprives the Amârna tombs of a good deal of the interest which we feel in connexion with other tomb relief work, and conveys an impression of monotony. On the other hand, much of the work here is exceedingly valuable; as illustrating the life of the court in that strange break with ancient custom and belief which we call the Amârna Age. Especially some of the incidents and scenes of the life of the royal household help us to visualize for ourselves the relations of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, of Tiye and the young princesses, with a clearness which would be otherwise impossible to us.

The tombs are numbered from 1 to 25, beginning at the north. The No. 1 of the list is the tomb of Huya, who, according to the inscriptions in it, was Superintendent of the Royal Harem, Superintendent of the Treasury, and Superintendent of the House—all the offices being held in connexion with the household, not of the Pharaoh, but of his mother Queen Tiye. The façade of the tomb is very much weathered; but the tomb itself has the distinction of being the only one in the whole necropolis which has been completely finished. The hall had originally two columns of clustered type, which supported a gable roof of low pitch. One column has been almost completely destroyed; the other, on the left hand as one enters, is still standing, but has lost its base. The ceiling was once brilliantly painted, and some traces of the colours still remain. The second chamber has no columns; in its east end the mouth of the burial-shaft opens.

The doorway to the shrine is fully decorated, and inscribed with blue hieroglyphics on a wine-coloured ground. The shrine contains a sitting statue of Huya, but it is much mutilated, and the face has been entirely cut away.

The spaces of the wall-thicknesses between the chambers are occupied by figures of Huya, coming out to pray in four instances, entering his private room in two. The south wall of the hall is occupied (east side) by a scene of great interest and importance. It represents Akhenaten and his queen, Nefertiti, sitting at table



TOMB OF HUYA, EL-'AMÂRNA, NO. I

(For description, see text)

with the queen-mother Tiy facing them. Provision for their bodily needs is ample, and is being done full justice to by the royal couple, of whom Akhenaten attacks and gnaws a broiled bone as long as his arm, while Nefertiti deals firmly with a duck. Tiy is more restrained in her indulgence of appetite. The usual Aten symbol of the sun, with extended rays ending in hands holding the *ankh* shines above them, and Tiy is described as 'Mother of a King [Akhenaten] and Great Wife of a King [Amenophis III], Tiy, living for ever and ever'. At Tiy's side sits her youngest daughter Beketaten, while two of Nefertiti's daughters, Meritaten and possibly Nefer-nefru-aten, sit beside

their mother. Huya himself, as Tiyy's major-domo, is serving on what was evidently regarded, and in fact was, a great and momentous occasion. Bands of musicians, attendants, and officials are shown in the lower registers.

The west side of the south wall is occupied with a similar scene, in which drinking takes the place of eating. Nefertiti is described as 'The Heiress, great of favour, Lady of Grace, charming in loving-kindness, Mistress of South and North, the Great Wife of the King whom he loves, the Lady of the Two Lands, living for ever and ever'. Flaming lamp-stands indicate that this is an evening function.

East wall: The scene represents Akhenaten conducting his mother on a visit to the Aten Temple. It is described in the inscription as 'Conducting the great Queen and Queen-mother Toy, to let her see her Sun-shade'. Akhenaten leads his mother by the hand up to the door of a temple which appears behind in Egyptian ideas of perspective. The subsidiary scenes of the main picture are artfully used by Huya's artist as opportunities of magnifying his patron and his patron's offices. Huya could not figure in the main scene; but he leaves it in no doubt that he is really running 'the show'. The picture of the temple is of great value and interest, though somewhat difficult, from our point of view, of comprehension.

West wall: The scene is dated and described: 'Year 12, the second month of winter, the eighth day—Life to the Father, the Double Ruler, Ra-Aten, who gives life for ever and ever. The King of South and North, Nefer-khepru-rê, and the Queen Nefertiti, living for ever and ever, made a public appearance on the great palanquin of gold, to receive the tribute of Syria [Kharu] and Ethiopia [Kush], the West and the East; all the countries collected at one time, and the islands in the heart of the sea, bringing offerings to the King on the great throne of Akhetaten for receiving the imposts of every land, granting to them the breath of life.' It is safe to conclude that the extent of the dominion which is here attributed to Akhenaten is rather that which was considered proper than that which actually existed; for by his twelfth year matters in Syria, at all events, must have been getting into a pretty bad condition.

The king and queen are carried on their great state palanquin, sitting side by side, Nefertiti with her arm round her husband's waist. Officials, troops, attendants are ranged around. A priest

burns incense before the palanquin, and a ceremonial dance is executed. The tribute of the north is borne in procession, and includes two chariots, with a variety of elaborate vases. That of the south includes negro slaves in fetters, tusks, bags of gold-dust, monkeys, leopards, and antelopes. Huya manages to extract some credit for himself out of this incident also, and is congratulated by his household on his return with his honours from the ceremony.

The north wall is occupied with scenes depicting Huya's appointment to office, and his duties and rewards. It is here that there occurs the picture of the studio of Auta, the sculptor to Queen Tiy, with the master busily at work in it on a statue of Beketaten, the daughter of the queen-mother. The lintel of the doorway leading to the inner room is occupied by two royal groups, depicting Amenophis III and Queen Tiy, and Akhenaten and Nefertiti. In the shrine are depicted the funeral-rites, the funeral-procession, and the burial-furniture of the worthy Superintendent of the Harem.

Tomb No. 2 is that the Merirê II, who should be distinguished from his namesake Merirê I, who was a very much bigger man, being ' High-priest of the Aten in Akhetaten, and Bearer of the Fan in the right hand of the King '. His tomb is No. 4 on the other side of the ravine in the northern group. Our Merirê II is merely a Royal Scribe and Superintendent of the Royal Harem. His tomb is the only one of the northern group which has kept its clustered columns (two in number) intact. The hall was never finished, the west wall being quite blank of sculpture or design. The north wall is also blank, save for a fragmentary design of Merirê being rewarded by the king and queen. The shrine is only partially hewn out, and the statue is scarcely indicated.

The south wall of the hall has on its left side a scene of Akhenaten sitting under a light pavilion. Nefertiti is pouring out wine for him, and two of his daughters, Meritaten and possibly Maketaten, are also ministering to his needs. On the east side is a scene of a type which is repeated in almost all the tombs—that of the owner of the tomb being rewarded by the king with gifts of collars of gold and other costly gifts. The king and queen lean out from a balcony of the palace, and hand over the gifts to Merirê II, who stands below, already bedizened with collars. Behind the royal couple, princesses hand to their mother fresh supplies of necklaces to pass along to their father ; while around

are troops, chariots, fan-bearers, and a group of foreigners, among whom are several Semites and one or two Libyans. Below, Merirê is acclaimed by the servants of his household.

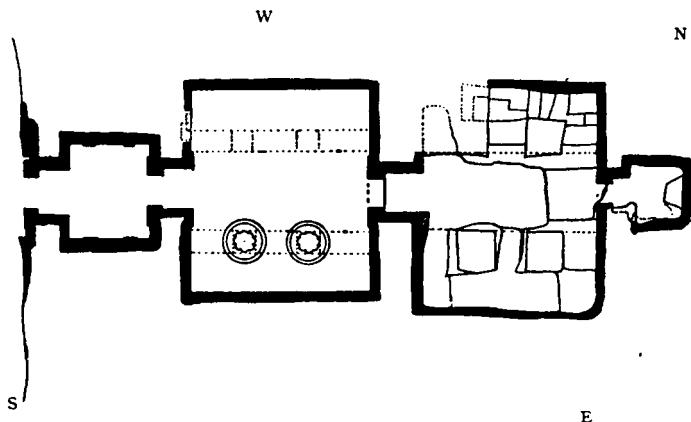
The east wall has a scene of the tribute of the nations, in which the king and his family occupy a canopied pavilion, before which representatives of the nations bow themselves. There are six princesses in the picture, the greatest number represented in any of the tombs. The scene already mentioned as the only one on the north wall is of special interest, because the cartouches of Akhenaten and Nefertiti have been replaced by those of Smen-khkerê and Meritaten, so that this tomb must still have been under construction when the change of sovereign took place.

We now cross the mouth of the valley which here divides the northern group into two, and proceed south-eastwards along the cliffs to the Tomb No. 3, which is that of Ahmôse, who was Veritable Scribe of the King, Fan-bearer on the right hand of the King, Superintendent of the Court-house, and Steward of the House of Akhenaten, a very important and confidential servant of the Pharaoh indeed, and closely attached to his person. In spite of his position, however, his tomb lay unfinished through half the reign. The hall has the form of a long corridor, of which the ceiling is strongly arched at the south end, but becomes almost flat at the other. The second chamber is also of corridor form, transverse to the hall. The shrine contains the seated statue of Ahmôse, which has been badly mutilated. The tomb has been laid out with considerable accuracy, but its scenes have only been very partially completed.

On the west wall, upper half, is an interesting sketch of a royal visit to the temple, with a picture of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, with their daughter Meritaten, driving in their chariot, and apparently chatting face to face with complete disregard to their safety in driving. The soldiers in attendance are carefully executed, and among them are Libyan and negro mercenaries. The royal chariot is only sketched in red. The lower scene on this wall represents the royal family seated at meat in the hall of the palace. On the west wall thickness is the beautiful prayer which is now so well known, in which Ahmôse prays for Akhenaten that the Aten will 'give to him very many jubilees, with years of peace. Give him of that which thine heart desireth, to the extent that there is sand on the shore, that fishes in the stream have scales, and cattle have hair. Let him sojourn here until

the swan turneth black, until the raven turneth white, until the hills arise to depart, until water floweth upstream, while I continue in attendance on the Good God [Pharaoh], until he assigneth me the burial that he granteth ' (Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, trans. Blackman, p. 292).

Close to the tomb of Ahmôse lies that of Merirê I, which is one of the largest, and perhaps the most important of the whole series. Merirê I was one of the great figures in the life of the holy city, being high-priest of the Aten in the house of Aten in Akhetaten, Fan-bearer on the right hand of the King, Royal



TOMB OF MERIRÊ I, EL-'AMÂRNA

Chancellor, Sole Companion, Hereditary Prince, and Friend of the King. He is the only high-priest of the Aten who is known to us, and he still held his office in the sixteenth year of the reign so that it seems likely that he continued in his high position till the death of Akhenaten. The fact that his burial-chamber is unfinished and never used shows, however, that he must have shared in the downfall of the faith which he served; though there is no extant indication of what part he played in the *débâcle* of Atenism.

The façade of the high-priest's tomb has a length of nearly 100 feet, and the rock-slope out of which it is hewn had to be

cut back about 20 feet to get the elevation which was wished for it. Its doorway is crowned with the cavetto cornice. The cutting back of the rock has formed a level court 20 feet wide in front of the door, and the fact of this being a part of the tomb is emphasized by the fact that the architect has left a low enclosure wall of rock on the outer margin of the court.

This tomb differs from all its fellows at El-'Amârna in having an antechamber to the main hall. On the thickness of the entrance doorway are two figures of Merirê in strong relief, accompanied with his prayers. The antechamber is a small square chamber with a slightly arched roof and a cavetto cornice running round the walls under the ceiling. On the right and left walls are door-shaped outlines, somewhat roughly cut, with large bouquets of flowers. On the two sides of the south wall are figures of Merirê praying, with prayers in solid blue hieroglyphics. A solid partition wall of rock divides the antechamber from the hall, and the thickness of the doorway is occupied by figures of Merirê and his wife 'a great favourite of the Lady of the Two Lands' (i.e. the queen). Her name is Tenre.

The hall is a room of spacious proportions and dignity. The loss of two of its original four clustered columns has spoiled its symmetry to some extent, but it is still imposing. The papyrus-bud columns are, as usual at El-'Amârna, rather squat. The ceiling in the aisles is flat, but in the nave slightly arched, and at a higher level. The cavetto cornice again runs round the room under the ceiling, except above the doorways. It was originally painted in red, blue, and green. The partition-wall between the hall and the third chamber is even thicker than those through which we have already passed. This third room was intended to be another columned hall, like the second; but it has scarcely been more than roughly delimited, and the only part where the rock has been entirely removed is the nave. The shrine beyond the third chamber is in a still more unfinished state. Structurally, the addition of the antechamber may have added dignity to the tomb, but it has undoubtedly made it more difficult to make out the reliefs; but, of course, the place was not meant for the edification of tourists, but for a tomb, and the reliefs were designed for the use and profit of the dead, not for the instruction of the living.

The south wall, west side of the hall, has a scene of Merirê being invested with the office of high-priest of the Aten. The

royal couple lean out from a richly decorated balcony, and are accompanied by the little Princess Meritaten. Merirê is being carried shoulder-high by his friends and servants below. He is also represented as kneeling beneath the royal balcony, considerations of time and space not having any weight in comparison with the importance of getting the whole business depicted. The new high-priest is decorated with golden collars, and four scribes are busily taking down a report of the proceedings. Servants, ushers, and fan-bearers are in attendance, and Merirê's chariot waits for him below. The little speech which Akhenaten is making to his servant is as follows: 'The King who lives by truth, Lord of the Two Lands, Nefer-khepru-rê-ua-en-rê [Akhenaten], says to the High Priest [literally, 'Great-of-visions', which was the ancient title of the high-priest of Rê at Heliopolis]. 'Behold, I make thee high-priest of the Aten to me in the temple of Aten in Akhetaten, doing it for love of thee, saying, "O my servant who hearkenest to the Teaching, my heart is satisfied with every business that thou art about." I give to thee the office, saying, "Thou shalt eat the provisions of Pharaoh [life, prosperity, health!] thy Lord, in the temple of the Aten."' To which Merirê replies: 'Abundant are the rewards which the Aten knows to give, pleasing his heart' (Davies, *Rock Tombs El Amarna*, I, pp. 21, 22).

On the west wall and the west side of the north wall is depicted a royal visit to the temple, with the king and queen driving in separate chariots. They start from the palace, which is represented with the usual and somewhat puzzling Egyptian perspective, and at the other end of the scene the temple, also elaborately depicted, awaits them. A train of chariots follows the royal pair, and there are the usual supernumeraries, attendants, troops, fan-bearers, priests, and bullocks for sacrifice.

The south wall, east side, has a scene of the royal family making offerings to the Aten. The king and queen are sprinkling incense upon the burning offering, while their daughters, Meritaten and Maketaten, shake their sistrums behind them. On the east wall and adjoining part of the north wall is a scene of the royal family worshipping in the temple, with a most elaborate delineation of this great building; while the lower register of this scene depicts the rewarding of Merirê by the king for his services in connexion with the worship of the Aten. The Pharaoh's speech on this occasion is as follows: 'Let the Superintendent of the Treasury

of Golden Rings take the high-priest of the Aten in Akhetaten, Merirê, and put gold on his neck to the top of it, and gold on his feet, because of his obedience to the doctrine of Pharaoh [Life, Prosperity, Health !], doing all that was said regarding these splendid places, which Pharaoh [Life, Prosperity, Health !] made in the House of the Benben in the temple of Aten, for the Aten in Akhetaten, filled with all things good, and with barley and wheat in abundance, " The Offering Table of Aten ", for the Aten ' (Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 36).

One of the most interesting scenes in the whole tomb is the choir of blind singers with their blind harpist, who figure in the scene of the making of offerings to the Aten. There are seven singers, with a harper who plays on a harp of seven strings, while his companions beat time with their hands and sing. The faces and expressions of the men are admirably rendered, and there is no better piece of work in the whole necropolis of El-'Amarna than this.

Tomb No. 5 is that of Penthu, who was ' Royal Scribe, Intimate of the King, Chief Servitor of Aten in the temple of Aten in Akhetaten, Chief Physician and Privy Councillor '. It has a façade 70 feet long by 15 feet high, with the usual decorated doorway. The interior is practically an exact copy of the tomb of Ahmôse, consisting of a long corridor with a cross-corridor, making it T-shaped. The wall thicknesses have figures of Penthu, —as usual, much damaged. The plaster with which the modelling was carried out over the outlines incised in the rock has mostly fallen away, leaving the scenes only imperfectly indicated in the backing. The sculptured scenes include a royal visit to the sanctuary, the reward of Penthu, Penthu being honoured in the palace, and a picture of the king and queen at meat.

The last of the important tombs of the northern group is No. 6, that of Penehsi. Its architectural features must have been almost exactly like those of Merirê I, consisting of a large hall, a second hall (both columned), and a shrine ; but the first hall has been grievously injured through having been used as a church by the Copts, who have removed two of its four columns and substituted a kind of apse for the false door on the one side of the north wall. The papyrus-bud columns were less in height and greater in girth than those of the hall of Merirê, and so have a very squat appearance. The two survivors have been much mutilated and defaced.

The inner hall is of the same shape, and almost of the same size as the outer. The ceiling is supported by four papyrus-bud columns, which, however, have never been completed in detail. A stairway descends along the east wall of the chamber, and, turning to the left at a landing, returns upon itself in a sharp curve, and reaches, in forty-three steps a burial-chamber which is merely a level length of the passage. The shrine, opening out of the inner hall, is inscribed, and once held a sitting statue of Penehsi, which has completely perished. The inner hall has no inscriptions.

The entrance portal of the tomb has, instead of columns of prayers, scenes of worship by the royal family. The thickness of the wall in the doorway, instead of having figures of Penehsi at prayer, has figures of the king and queen at worship, poor Penehsi having to content himself with figuring on his knees in the lower part of the wall.

In the hall the scene on the south wall, west side, represents Penehsi being rewarded by the king—pretty much the usual scene, with only minor modifications. On the south wall, east side, the royal family make offerings to the Aten, prominence being given to the offerings of flowers and fruit, in place of the usual meat-offerings.

On the east wall the king and queen drive out, in separate chariots, no doubt on a visit to the Aten temple, though, as the scene is not finished, this is not certain. The usual attendants and chariots accompany the royal pair. The scene of the king and queen worshipping the Aten, on the north wall, west side, has been defaced by Coptic religious symbols being scribbled over it when the tomb was used as a church.

On the west wall there is a scene of a royal visit to the temple of the Aten, in which the temple is the prominent object, and the king and queen stand side by side at an altar, scattering incense on the burning offerings. The detail of the temple is given with great minuteness, and this scene must always be valuable as affording material for our reconstructions of the housing and forms of Aten worship.

If time can be spared for it a visit should be made from this point to the nearest of the boundary steles, by means of which, as we have already seen, Akhenaten delimited the sacred domain of his holy city. It is on the face of a cliff about a mile and a half eastwards from the tomb of Penehsi.

We now move southwards towards the southern group of tombs. On our way we notice, about the centre of the arc formed by the high desert behind the city, a long and narrow promontory jutting out from the high ground, and enclosing at its broader western point a small hollow. On the slopes of this promontory, and in the bottom of its valley, the expedition of the Egypt Exploration Society noticed brickwork, and excavation speedily revealed that the traces of brickwork on the slopes were the remains of a series of tomb-chapels belonging to middle-class citizens of Akhetaten, and were of a somewhat later date than that of the city's flourishing period under Akhenaten, probably coinciding with the later stages under Smenkhkêrê and Tutankhamûn, when the Amûn faith was recovering the prestige and power which it had lost under Akhenaten. The tomb-shafts belonging to these chapels are not in their enclosures, but on the slopes above them. The brickwork in the hollow proved to be the remains of a workman's village, and is probably to be regarded as a special home provided for the workmen who executed the great rock-tombs in the cliffs above. It is surrounded by the remains of an encircling wall, with very limited means of exit. Patrol-roads encircled it on three sides, and guard-houses were placed on the main road from it to Akhetaten. The wall cannot have been for defence. It was not designed to keep enemies out, but to keep workmen in. The solution is probably to be found in the notorious character for riot and violence which the tomb-workers in general held, and of which documentary evidence exists with regard, at least, to the necropolis of Thebes. 'Perhaps because their profession bore something of the stigma which we know attached to the embalmers, perhaps because tomb-workers in general shared the ill-repute earned by their obstreperous mates at Thebes, they were removed as far as might be from the neighbourhood of the city' (Peet and Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten*, p. 52), and, it may be added, kept as closely as possible to their compound except when on duty.

The southern group of tombs (7 to 25) lies, as already mentioned, on a low bank near to the point at which the hill-road makes its exit from the Amârna plain. 'The architecture, at least,' says de Garis Davies, 'is in the highest degree imposing, especially in the Southern Group, where the larger tombs almost reach the dignity of rock-temples. There is no other necropolis like this in Egypt. Beside the solid masonry of Saqqâra, the magnificent

simplicity of Beni-Hasan, the rich colouring of Thebes, must be set the graceful architecture of the tombs of El-Hâgg-Qandil' (*Rock Tombs*, vol. IV, p. 8).

Tomb No. 8 is that of Tutu, who may be the Dudu who figures somewhat suspiciously in Aziru's correspondence in the Amârna Tablets, and lies under grave suspicion of having been at least rather less than loyal in his dealings with his royal master. The hall of Tutu's tomb originally had its roof supported by twelve columns, of which eight are still standing. The most important scene is one in which Tutu is receiving the usual rewards of gold from the king and queen, who are represented, as usual, in the act of leaning from their balcony in the palace to bestow their gifts on their (doubtfully) faithful servant. The tomb is unfinished, and is on the whole of less interest than others which we must mention; but it may be worth while to look at the memorial of the man who is suspected of having been the traitor in the camp of Akhenaten.

Tomb No. 9 belongs to Mahu or Meh, who was Akhenaten's chief of police. Davies has suggested that it was because the head of the New Scotland Yard at Akhetaten knew better than any one else 'the risk, or rather the certainty, that his tomb would be plundered after his death' that he chose its location in such an inconspicuous position. Be that as it may, he was more successful than most men in securing immunity for his resting-place. 'The little tomb remained immune, not only during the religious reaction that soon occurred, but from the assaults of modern thieves.' It is now perhaps the most attractive of the southern group, owing largely to the better condition in which it has survived.

The tomb is of the cross-corridor type, the first hall being set transverse to the general axis, and the inner chamber, which in this case forms the leg of the T, being a little askew, as well as roughly hewn. The shrine at the back of it remains unfinished. From this chamber a winding flight of forty-seven steps leads down to the burial-chamber. The thicknesses of the walls in the entrance-passage are occupied by a scene of the king, queen, and a princess (Meritaten) in presence of the sun, towards whom the queen and princess shake their sistra; Mahu kneels below. On the other side (right hand) Mahu again kneels in prayer. On the front wall, north half, and on the back wall, north half, in the hall, Mahu receives from the king rewards for his faithful service. In

one case the rewarding takes place before the palace, as usual ; in the other it is before the temple, as if to show that the chief of police was responsible for the safety of the Crown and the Church. The palace scene is only a fragment sketched in ink. The temple scene, though also only sketched in ink, is better preserved, and shows the fine draughtsmanship of the Egyptian artist. The only advance on the ink-sketch is the figure of Mahu himself, as he kneels, which is modelled in plaster as to the head. The chief of police is followed by fifteen constables, ' the Mazoi of Akhetaten ', led by a standard-bearer. As was to be expected, they all raise their arms in praise of ' The good ruler who makes monuments to the Father ! He does it again and again, for ever and ever. The good master ! ' In the row above, Mahu is seen again at the head of a larger squad of his police, ranged in six ranks of five abreast. The inscription says : ' The police of Akhetaten sing and shout in these terms, " He promotes in masses in masses. So long as Aten dawns he will endure eternally." '

The scene on the back wall of the hall, south end, is of great interest, as it does not occur in any other tomb in El-'Amârna, and was obviously specially designed for the chief of police. First the king and queen, in the same chariot, with their daughter the Princess Meritaten, are seen leaving a temple. Akhenaten's driving must be seriously interfered with by Nefertiti, who is insisting on talking to him (or perhaps kissing him), so that his head is turned anywhere but where it ought to be. Meritaten takes advantage of the opportunity to poke the fiery horses with a stick. The royal party are on a visit of inspection to the defences, represented by a little block-house. Mahu and his fifteen policemen have to run before the chariot ; but, even worse, the vizier and his second in authority, no longer so slim as they once were, have also to keep up with the royal horses, which they do with evident difficulty. Next the royal chariot appears again, Nefertiti still interfering, even more conspicuously than before with her husband's driving. Mahu's ubiquity and tireless activity is suggested in the quaintest of manners. He remains behind the royal chariot to shout a loyal farewell ; nevertheless, he kneels in front of the squad which is to run before the chariot, and, wonderful to relate, he manages to be the first to welcome the royal couple when they reach their destination. A model chief of police ! It is noticeable that the constables are unarmed.

The front wall, south end, bears a curious set of scenes which

seem to represent the activities of the police during their daily routine—the revictualling and inspection of the local police stations, watched by the invaluable chief of police, who is endeared to us by the fact that he takes his pet dog with him, the arrest of prisoners by the constables, who are no longer unarmed, finally their presentation before the vizier, with the words: ‘Examine ye, O princes, these men whom the foreigners have instigated.’ Mahu has his chariot to enable him to get about his area quickly; but our own police force, when they imagine that they are over-worked, might take notice of the fact that the police of Akhetaten went about their duties at the double! Altogether the scenes in Mahu’s tomb are worth notice, and are an oasis in the desert of representations of the royal family in all conceivable acts of worship and official duty.

Tomb No. 10 belongs to Ipy, who was ‘Royal Scribe and Steward’, not quite so big a man as some of his fellows. It is ‘small, simple, and rude’, and only its door and entrance have been decorated. The narrow cross-corridor was destined to be enlarged into a hall, with four columns and two pilasters down the centre line; but these features are only indicated. The scene of the king and queen, with three princesses, worshipping the Aten, is well executed. It has been painted, and the blue still remains. As elsewhere, the name of the queen is caressed with pretty phrases; she is ‘the hereditary princess, great in favour, lady of grace, dowered with gladness; the Aten rises to shed favour on her, and sets to multiply her love; the great and beloved wife of the King, Mistress of South and North, Lady of the Two Lands, Nefertiti, who lives always and for ever’.

No. 11 belongs to Ramôse, who may possibly, but not probably, have been the same as the famous vizier, Ramôse, ‘whose great tomb at El-Qurna shows the transformation of Amenophis IV into Akhenaten’. It seems unlikely that a man so great as the Theban Ramôse would have been content with a tomb so small as this; besides which the titles of the Amârna Ramôse, ‘Royal Scribe, Commandant of the Soldiery of the Lord of the Two Lands’, by no means correspond with those of his Theban namesake, who must have been the most powerful civil official of Akhenaten. The scenes are unimportant and, save for the portrait of Ramôse, badly preserved.

Tomb 12 and 13 belong to Nekht-pa-Aten and Nefer-khepru-hir-sekheper. No. 12 only had its entrance and façade completed,

with a small area of floor. Parts of three columns have been hewn out, and remain as square pillars of rock. Yet Nekht-pa-Aten was a man of the highest rank, Hereditary Prince, Chancellor and Vizier. No. 13 is further advanced, and 'even in its half-finished state is one of the most pleasing examples of rock-architecture in Egypt'. The hall is divided down the centre-line by a row of six papyrus-bud columns, with a pilaster at either end of the row. The columns are, like all those in the southern group, much more graceful than those in the northern necropolis. As the hall is only partly completed, it offers a curious appearance: the upper part is completely finished in every detail, save inscriptions and colour; but the lower is still untouched, 'so that the slim columns seem to be emerging slowly and without injury from a subsiding bank of rock'.

Tomb 14 is that of May, who was Hereditary Prince, Royal Chancellor, Sole Companion, Royal Scribe, and Overseer of the Soldiery. May tells us in his inscription: 'I was a man of low origin, both on my father's and on my mother's side, but the Prince established me.' Apparently, however, the 'establishment' did not continue, for the man's name has everywhere been carefully obliterated, though sufficient traces of it have been picked out to make sure that it has been correctly read. Evidently May fell from favour, or at least had a deadly enemy who tried to rob him of immortality. The hall was ambitiously planned out, with twelve columns in two rows of six; but it was left largely unfinished, and seems to have suffered from the action of fire. There is, nevertheless something in the simple pride with which May avows his rise and favour with the king which enlists our sympathy on the side of the man who, after rising so high, apparently experienced such a reverse of fortune. 'He [Pharaoh] gave to me provisions and rations every day,' says May, 'I who had been one that begged bread.' The sketches in black for scenes of the river-front of Akhetaten, with quays and river-boats, are of interest.

Tomb No. 15 is that of Suti I, who may be distinguished by a numeral from Suti, or Sutaui, who was Overseer of the Treasury, and whose tomb is No. 19. Suti I was only 'Standard-bearer of the Guild of Nefer-khepru-rê', which does not sound an important office, though Huy, Queen Ti's major-domo, was content to hold a similar position. The work was of the usual cross-corridor type, with the head of the T coming first, and the columned hall

forming the leg behind. The hall was to have been square, with two rows of four columns each ; but it was scarcely more than begun.

Tomb 16, had it been completed, would have been one of the most splendid rock-tombs in Egypt. The only part of it which is even approximately complete is part of the central aisle and the south side of one of the cross-aisles of the great hall. The hall is of imposing proportions, 53 feet long, 29 feet wide, 15 feet high. Its roof was to be supported on twelve columns, which are comparatively slim and amply spaced. Only a few of them, however, have been carried far. It is not known for whom this splendid burial-place was being made.

Tomb 17 is a little tomb with no interesting features.

Tomb 18, also without a name, is of the direct corridor type, with hall and shrine in a straight line. It has an inscription ; but the name of the owner of the tomb is lost.

No. 19 is the tomb of Suti II, or Satau, who was Overseer of the Treasury. It has one or two designs in ink, which have almost disappeared.

Tombs 20, 21, and 22 are all unfinished. Nos. 20 and 22 have fragments of design. No. 21, which is uninscribed, is of unusual design architecturally.

No. 23 is the tomb of Eny, who was a Royal Scribe, Master of Works, and Steward of Amenhotpe II, so that he must have been a very old man when he came to Akhetaten. The design of the tomb is unusual and original, though it was never fully carried out. A long flight of steps led up to the entrance, which was meant to be furnished with a small exterior colonnade. The corridor, which is entered from the portico, is well-proportioned and finished, and its colouring, with cornice of blue, green, blue, red, is bright and fresh. The statue in the shrine is the best preserved of any in the necropolis. The painted scenes have been hastily and simply carried out in somewhat crude colours.

Tomb No. 24 belonged to Pa-aten-em-hab, who was Royal Scribe, Overseer of the Soldiery, Steward of the Lord of the Two Lands, and, curiously, ' Overseer of Porters in Akhetaten '. The last title, however, may be a misreading for ' Overseer of Works '. The tomb has progressed no farther than the entrance.

No. 25 is important, not for its condition, for it is unfinished, but for its owner, who was that Ay (Eye) who, after serving Akhenaten in the king's youth, and being a supporter of his

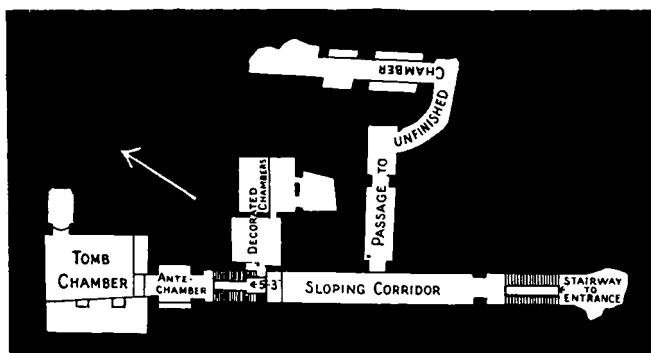
religious policy all through, finally succeeded to the throne after the death of Tutankhamûn, and has his actual burial-place in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes, where it is No. 23, known as ' The Tomb of the Apes '. The hall of his Amârna tomb was meant to have had no fewer than twenty-four papyrus-bud columns ; but only fifteen have been hewn out, and only four are actually finished. The scenes are the usual ones of the owner of the tomb receiving rewards from the king and queen.

Following the valley which leads eastwards from the middle of the Amârna plain, between the north and south groups of tombs, we reach, at a distance of six and a half miles from the city, Tomb No. 26, which is the royal family's tomb, though Akhenaten himself was only temporarily buried there, if at all, and was subsequently removed to the Valley of the Kings at Thebes. The only permanent interment in it seems to have been that of the king's daughter, the Princess Maketaten, who died young. The tomb is of more elaborate design than the rest of the Amârna tombs, as was to be expected, and it follows more the idea of the Theban royal tombs, though with differences.

A flight of twenty steps, with a central inclined plane for the sledge on which the sarcophagus rested, leads to the door and a sloping passage. From the middle of this corridor, on the right hand as we descend, branches off another sloping passage, which in the end bends round to an unfinished chamber. The main corridor continues to a second flight of steps, at the right hand of which lie three rooms, two of which are decorated with reliefs and inscriptions. These rooms are probably the tomb of Princess Maketaten. Beyond the steps the passage continues into an ante-room, which in turn leads into the tomb-chamber. It was originally columned ; but all the columns save one have disappeared. The scenes, which were carved and modelled in stucco above rock outline, as already described, have suffered a good deal. They are of the regular Amârna type, showing the king and queen adoring the Aten, etc. The scenes in the first room of the princess's suite are interesting, with their representations of Maketaten's actual funeral. The same subject is also continued in the third room.

Ten miles back from the river, in the desert hills to the east of Akhetaten, lay the famous alabaster quarries of Hatnub. These were first discovered in modern times by Professor Newberry, who was taken to them by natives in 1891. The inscriptions in these

renowned quarries begin in the IVth Dynasty, and come down through the reign of Pepi I of the VIth Dynasty. Uni tells us that he was sent to Hatnub in Merenrê's reign (same dynasty); Thut-hotpe of El-Barsha got his colossal statue thence. Ineni, the architect of Amenophis I, worked there in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and Queen Hatshepsut got material there for her building works, and Thûti, the architect, tells us that the stairs of



TOMB OF ROYAL FAMILY, EL-'AMÂRNA

the ebony shrine at El-Deir el-Bahari were of 'pure alabaster of Hatnub'; and Tuthmosis III also used the great quarries. The inscriptions in the quarries begin in the IVth Dynasty, and occur in the VIth, VIIth, VIIIth, XIIth, XIXth, and XXth Dynasties, so that they must have been worked practically throughout all the great historical periods, as even in the absence of quarry inscriptions other records show the continuance of work, as in XVIIIth Dynasty above.

CHAPTER XIII

EL-'AMÂRNA TO EL-BALYANA (MEIR, EL-GABRÂWI, ASYÛT, EL-BADÂRI, AKHMÎM)

TWO hundred and three miles south of Cairo, and thirty miles north of Asyût, lies the station of Nazâli Ganûb. West of the railway, and across the Ibrahimiya canal is El-Qusiya, which is the modern representative of the ancient Egyptian city *Kes*, the capital of the XIVth nome, which was known to the Greeks as *Cusae*. No remains of the ancient city are visible now, nor have been within modern memory; even the members of Napoleon's expedition noticed nothing of importance. The city, according to Aelian, was devoted to the worship of a goddess whom he calls Aphrodite Urania, and a cow. This, of course, means Hathor, the Egyptian goddess of love, who was constantly symbolized by a cow. Aelian's statement is borne out by the titles of two of the local officials named Thetu and Khuenukh, of whom Thetu calls himself 'Cattle-keeper of the Sacred Cows', and Khuenukh 'Overseer of the Thentet Cows' (the sacred cows of Hathor). The ruins of the old city are apparently entirely covered by the modern town, save for some low mounds which are occupied by a Moslem graveyard.

Two hours' ride west of Cusae lies the village of Meir, and west of Meir, on the edge of the desert and the rocky slope which terminates in the plateau of the high desert, lies the necropolis of the ancient nome capital. The tomb-chapels of the nomarchs of the XIVth nome are hewn half-way up this rocky slope; while the burial-pits of their retainers honeycomb the lower part of the slope, and the graves of the common citizens are on the sandy desert below. Seventeen tomb-chapels belonging to nomarchs of Cusae and their officials have been discovered and cleared, of which fifteen are at Meir and two at Quseir el-'Amârna, on the east bank of the Nile, opposite Nazâli Ganûb. The latter two, with nine of the Meir tombs, belong to the VIth Dynasty, the remaining six at Meir being of the Middle Kingdom. Dr. Blackman, who has cleared and described the tombs for the

Archaeological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Society, has divided them into five groups, A, B, C, D, and E, beginning at the north.

The VIth Dynasty tombs are those of Ni-ankh-Pepi (Meir A, No. 1), a large pillared room, and a smaller undecorated one. The frescoes in the pillared hall have been almost entirely destroyed by bats.

Meir A No. 2, is that of Pepi-onkh which has five rooms three adorned with reliefs. In two of the rooms are seated statues in recesses.

Meir A No. 4, is that of Ni-ankh-Pepi the Black. A small ante-room is succeeded by a large hall with four pillars of square section. The hall give access to an inner room, with a rough uninscribed false door in the west wall. All much defiled by bats.

Meir D, No. 1, tomb of Pepi. One small chamber, with very rough reliefs on three of its walls.

Meir D, No. 2, Pepi-onkh the Middle. Pillared forecourt and hall admitting to a small undecorated room. A long biographical inscription on west wall of forecourt. The walls of the outer hall are adorned with reliefs in plaster, colouring well-preserved in places, but the style poor.

Meir E, No. 1, tomb of Menia—a single chamber cut in the top of the west wall of a pit.

Meir E, No. 2, tomb of Nenki. Single chamber, almost entirely quarried away.

Meir E, No. 3, tomb of Pepi-onkh. Single chamber, largely quarried away.

Meir E, No. 4, tomb of Thetu. A small roughly-hewn chamber. This is the Thetu who was Cattle Keeper of the Sacred Cows of Hathor.

Quseir el-'Amârna, No. 1, tomb of Pepi-onkh the Eldest. Unfinished. A large, pillared room admits to a smaller one, on whose west wall there is an inscribed false door. There are figures of the nomarch and his son.

Quseir el-'Amârna, No. 2, tomb of Khuenukh. One room with frescoes, and two seated statuettes, a standing statue, and a false door.

The tomb-chapels of the Middle Kingdom nomarchs have long been famous, owing mainly to an approach to what might almost be called caricature in certain of the figures portrayed in one of them, which at once caught the fancy of early visitors. ' In one

of the tombs of Meir,' says Maspero (*Art in Egypt*, Ars Una series, p. 61), 'there are persons evidently suffering from famine; reduced to positive physiological distress, their bones are coming through their skin; this is the procession of the lean. Another artist near by has reserved his wall for fat and well-looking, both of man and beast; it shows a kind of carnival of the obese.' In point of fact, the case is not so extreme in either type. The lean Beja herdsmen who figure in the scenes in the chapels of Senbi, son of Ukh-hotpe, and Ukh-hotpe, son of Senbi, and the plump old gentleman who lays his hand upon the prow of the boat which the workmen are building in the latter tomb, evidently touched the Egyptian artist's sense of humour, so that he drew them, in either case, as he saw them—perhaps with a little exaggeration of the leanness in the case of the Beja herdsmen; but to talk of a 'procession of the lean' and a 'carnival of the obese' is to exaggerate.

The two tombs mentioned above are the most important among the Middle Kingdom remains. The list of these is as follows:

Meir A, No. 3, tomb of Ukh-hotpe son of Iam. One small room, with an inscribed recess for a statue in the north wall.

Meir B, No. 1, tomb of Senbi, son of Ukh-hotpe. One room, roofless, adorned with fine painted reliefs.

Meir B, No. 2, tomb of Ukh-hotpe, son of Senbi. A pillared room, roofless, with equally fine painted reliefs. A statue recess in the west wall.

Meir B, No. 3, tomb of Senbi, son of Ukh-hotpe, son of Senbi. Unfinished. A pillared room, much destroyed, admitting to an inner room with a statue-recess in west wall. Inscriptions on lintel and jambs of doorway between the two rooms.

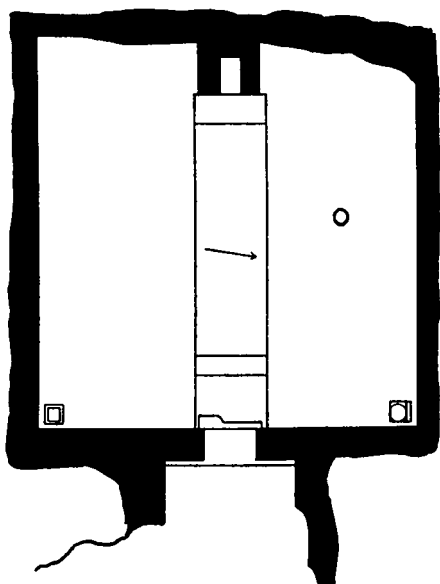
Meir B, No. 4, tomb of Ukh-hotpe, son of Ukh-hotpe and Mersi. Two rooms, terribly damaged. The decorations are in plaster relief, brilliantly coloured. An elaborate statue-recess in the west wall of the outer room, with cartouches of the Pharaoh Amenemhêt II.

Meir C, No. 1, Ukh-hotpe, son of Ukh-hotpe and Heni the Middle. One room, partly roofless, with brilliant but decadent frescoes.

The family preference in the Middle Kingdom for the name of Ukh-hotpe is somewhat muddling; but as we have only to deal with Senbi and his son Ukh-hotpe II, it matters the less. Since 1910 excavations have been conducted at intervals by Saiyid

Khashaba Pasha, of Asyût, and have resulted in the discovery of a number of valuable antiquities, some of which may be seen in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, and some in the excavator's own museum at Asyût.

The two finest examples of the art of Cusae in the Middle Kingdom are the tombs named, whose reliefs are marked by a striking naturalism in the treatment of life, human, animal, and vegetable.



TOMB OF SENBI, MEIR (B), NO. 1
(For description, see text)

In the latest of the Middle Kingdom chapels, Meir C, No. 1, the work is not in relief, but in fresco only, and is extraordinarily brilliant, but also highly mannered and affected.

Senbi, whose chapel is B, No. 1 of the Meir series, was Baron, Nomarch, Superintendent of the Priests, Treasurer, Confidential Friend, and Chief Lector. His father was Ukh-hotpe I, his wife was Per-hemut-meres, and his son was Ukh-hotpe II. His tomb

is the most northerly of the decorated chapels of the XIIth Dynasty nomarchs. It consists of a single chamber, almost square, measuring about 25 feet long and a little less in breadth. Its height must have been somewhere about 7 feet. The entrance is quite plain.

The north wall has four registers, of which the upper two are devoted to festive and religious scenes and representations of funerary furniture, while Nos. 3 and 4 are concerned with Senbi's sport and the work of his farm-servants. The little inscriptions in the scenes have slightly more variety than is usual in such representations.

The east wall, north of the entrance, has been terribly mutilated, but had originally scenes of craftsmen at work. South of the entrance are hunting scenes, in which the naturalism of the artist is well exemplified. Notice particularly the scene where Senbi is shooting, and putting his whole soul into the shot, rising on his tiptoes in his eagerness. The animals are also admirable.

The south wall is occupied with scenes of the nomarch's cattle and herdsmen, among whom figure some of the lean Beja herdsmen who are known as 'the lean men of Meir'. A fine scene is that of the bull being lassoed and thrown. The animal's action is full of life.

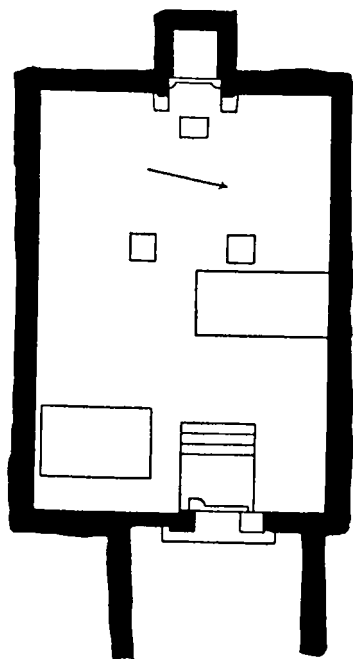
The statue-niche is painted to represent rose-granite, and is inscribed with blue incised hieroglyphics.

Ukh-hotpe II, who was son of Senbi, and whose tomb is B, No. 2, held several of the same positions as his father, being Baron, Nomarch, Treasurer, Confidential Friend, Superintendent of the Priests, and Chief Lector. He had also half a dozen other titles, including that of Gold Stick in Waiting, and evidently kept up the credit of the family. His wife's name was Thut-hotpe, and his son's was Senbi, for the family showed a deplorable lack of inventiveness in the matter of names. His tomb-chapel was larger than that of his father, being about 35 feet long by about 25 feet broad. The entrance, as in No. 1 is quite plain.

The north wall, west end, has reliefs of Ukh-hotpe and his wife, with wrestlers and servants with offerings. On the centre and east end of the wall are scenes of Ukh-hotpe viewing his cattle and the occupations of his peasants in the swamps and fields. Beja herdsmen occur again. The stout old gentleman in the boat-building scene is the typical 'fat man of Meir', as the herdsmen were types of the lean. 'Pot-bellied, bearded, garrulous, and

somewhat decrepit, he is the aged fellow to the life, the platitude-uttering "father of the hamlet", whose endless suggestions everyone agrees to, and no one acts upon' (Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, II, p. 14).

The east wall, north of entrance, which has been partly



TOMB OF UKH-HOTPE II, MEIR (B), NO. 2
(For description, see text)

destroyed, shows a much-spoiled figure of Ukh-hotpe and his wife, with attendants. South of the entrance the scenes are only at the beginning of being sketched in. The south wall has hunting scenes and herdsmen with groups of domestic animals. The work here, though clever enough, has evidently been done in haste. The west wall, north of statue-recess, has been left unfinished, its two upper registers being only beautiful ink-drawings, while the

third has been hastily and clumsily carved by the sculptor. The statue-recess is carved and painted.

Opposite the district capital of Manfalût (215½ miles from Cairo by rail) there lie on the east bank of the Nile the three villages of El-Ma'âbda, Arab el-Atyât, and Deir el-Gabrâwi. Behind the last of the three lies the Gebel Marâg. Midway between El-Gabrâwi and El-Atyât, at a point where the mountain wall is lower, lies the northern group of the tombs which are known as the Tombs of Deir el-Gabrâwi. At this point the mountain slope is broken by a terrace, from which a cliff-face rises almost perpendicularly; and the tombs, hewn in the wall of white rock, are visible from far. There are 104 tombs in this group (Baedeker gives only 80) and of these only a few (7 or 8 according to Davies, 4 according to Baedeker) have even slight traces of inscription.

The southern group lies a little to the east of the village of Deir el-Gabrâwi, at a point where there is a level bit of ground, backed by a low rock-face, almost at the top of the cliffs. Here the tombs number 52 (Baedeker 40), and of these 9 are inscribed (Davies, Baedeker gives 12). According to Davies, the tombs of the southern group are later in date than those of the northern; Baedeker reverses the order. From the point of view of interest the discordance matters little, as the only tombs of importance to the visitor are in the southern group, where the tombs of Ibi (Aba) and Zau (Djaw) are large and fully decorated. At Deir el-Gabrâwi, sculpture, as in some cases at Meir, has almost disappeared, and fresco painting has succeeded it for the time.

The view from the cliff over the country south towards Asyût is magnificent; but in other respects the site was ill-suited for its purpose, as the rock is of bad quality, and much interrupted by hard boulders. It is not worth while to give a list of the whole fifty-two tombs (see Davies, *Deir-el-Gabrâwi*, vol. I, pp. 4-7). The tombs of real interest are those of Ibi and the double tomb of the Zaus, father and son.

Ibi's tomb, which is No. 8, has a curious interest of its own, owing to the fact that in the Saite period, about the seventh century B.C., a certain prince of Thebes, who was also named Ibi, bethought himself, when he was giving instructions for the making of his splendid tomb at Thebes of the fact that at Deir el-Gabrâwi, in the nome of the Serpent Mountain, there had been another prince Ibi who had made for himself a finely painted chapel there. Accordingly he sent an artist there, and caused several

scenes from the tomb of the northern prince to be copied on the walls of his own 'eternal habitation'. This conscious archaizing is, of course, a feature of the art of the Saite period; but it is not often shown so remarkably as in the tomb of the Theban Ibi.

Ibi (Aba) of Deir el-Gabrâwi was in all probability the son of that prince Zau of Abydos, who was brother-in-law twice over to King Pepi I of the VIth Dynasty, his two sisters, who were both named Merirê-Ankhnes, being married, either in succession or simultaneously, to that vigorous Pharaoh. Merirê-Ankhnes I, became the mother of the Pharaoh Merenrê; Merirê-Ankhnes II of the Pharaoh Pepi II, to whom Prince Zau of Abydos was vizier and chief justice. The Zau-Ibi family therefore was a very important one during the latter part of the VIth Dynasty. It is not surprising that, though King Merenrê appointed him Great Chief of the Nome of the Serpent Mountain, apparently because he had married the Lady Rahenem who had rights in it, Ibi preferred to call himself Great Chief of the Thinite Nome, as being the more important title, and only names his nomarchy of the Serpent Mountain near the end of his amazing list of titles. His son, Zau-Shemai, succeeded him in both nomarchies, and refers to them in the same order; but he seems to have died early, and his son, Zau III, had apparently to petition the Pharaoh that his offices might be continued to himself. With Zau III this powerful family seems to have come to an end.

Ibi's tomb is simply a large oblong chamber, only roughly rectangular, with a deep recess in the back wall, which served as a shrine. The burial-vault is reached by a long passage which extends northwards from the back of the shrine. Originally the chapel had two square pillars; but these have disappeared, together with the architrave which they carried, and a dwarf wall which seemingly once connected them below.

The arrangement of the scenes is as follows:

South wall, east half: Spearing fish, and fishing with the drag-net. West half: fowling in the marshes, and bringing in the product of the marshlands.

West wall: Ibi sits to attend to the management of his estates and to receive reports. He is carried in state in a litter, with dancers preceding him. His funeral procession by land and water is represented. The scene of tax-paying and the punishment of the defaulter is interesting.

North wall, west side : Field scenes of hunting and the registration of the estate cattle, small and great. Scenes of agriculture. The registration and the agriculture are watched by Ibi and his wife.

North wall, east side : Workers in stone and precious metals, carpenters, sculptors, shipwrights, scribes. Notice in particular the method of drilling out the interior of the stone vessels in the making of which the Egyptian workman was so great a master. The last register on this wall is occupied by Ibi's wife and seven sons, who can only boast four names among them, a state of things not uncommon in Ancient Egypt, where it does not seem to have caused the endless muddle which such a thing would cause with us.

East wall : The scenes here are of little interest and are poorly executed. Here, however, is Ibi's inscription, which is important for the family history. The shrine has a painted false door and a table of offerings.

The chief interest of the other important tomb at Deir El-Gabrâwi lies in the fact that it is the tomb of both Zau-Shemai and his son Zau. It is of much the same type as we have seen in the case of Ibi's tomb—an irregular oblong, with a shrine-recess at the back ; but it never had any pillars, and its burial-chamber was at the bottom of a deep shaft, instead of at the end of a sloping gallery. The scenes are of much the same character as those in the tomb of Ibi ; but their effect is much more pleasing, as the artist has substituted a light buff ground-colour for the dark blue of the other tomb, so that his work shows up much better. There is no need to particularize the different scenes, which are becoming tolerably familiar by now. The really interesting thing is Zau's inscription, which is on the east wall of the shrine, and is a curious mixture of genuine affection and snobbery. Zau evidently loved his father Zau-Shemai so dearly that he wished to be buried beside him, so that father and son might hold communion in the tomb just as Na-nefer-ka-Ptah and his wife Ahura and son Meryeb all keep company with one another in the tomb in the story of Setne-Khaemwaset and the Magic Roll. But it would never do to let the neighbours think that he shared his father's tomb for reasons of economy ; such a possibility would make the good man turn in his grave. Accordingly, he causes this little piece of snobbery, which is so simple as to be its own excuse, to be inserted in his inscription : ' Moreover I caused myself to be buried in the

same tomb with this Zau (Shemai) in the desire that I might be with him in one place ; not in the least, however, because I could not afford to make a second tomb ; but I did this in the desire that I might see this Zau daily, wishing to be with him in one place ' (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, § 383). If it is any consolation to this good son to know that his explanation has gone to the utmost ends of the earth instead of merely to the neighbours, he has that joy. Surely filial piety and small-mindedness have not often been so quaintly mingled as here ; but, after all, the filial piety is the bigger thing.

We now reach Asyût (233 miles from Cairo by rail, 250 by river), the largest town in Upper Egypt, and the capital of a province. Our concern, however, is not with its modern prosperity, but with the remains of its ancient splendour, when, as *Siôwt*, it was the capital of the XIIIth nome and the chief seat of the god Wepwawet (Upuat), who was the Guide of the Dead, and, as such, closely related to Anubis. Wepwawet was represented as a wolf, and from this arose the name which the Greeks gave to Asyût *Lycopolis*, or Wolf-town. In the town of Asyût itself the museum of Saiyid Khashaba Pasha, already mentioned in connexion with tombs of Meir, is worth visiting, as it contains a number of interesting antiquities from Meir and Asyût.

But the chief interest of Asyût lies in the series of rock-tombs, some of them dating from the First Intermediate Period, and the weak rule of the Heracleopolitan Pharaohs, and one very important one from the XIIth Dynasty. Leaving the town by the south-west road, we cross the Sohâgiya canal, and follow the path to the foot of the hill. A steep path leads us up to the great tomb of Hepzefa (Hepdjefî), nomarch of Asyût, and governor of Ethiopia in the reign of Senusret I of the XIIth Dynasty. We shall return to it directly ; but meanwhile we go higher up still, to reach the three tombs of Tefyeb and the two Khety, who were the bulwarks of the tottering throne of King Merikerê of the Heracleopolitan line of Pharaohs in his struggle against the rising power of the Intefs of Thebes.

The northernmost of the three tombs, which has been terribly destroyed by quarrying, is that of that Khety who is usually known as Khety II, though it is probable that he was really earlier than either the other Khety or Tefyeb. His inscription, which was on the false door on the back wall of the tomb, and on the inner half of the south wall, tells us that he was ' Hereditary

Prince, Count, Wearer of the Royal Seal, Sole Companion, Superior Prophet of Wepwawet, Lord of Asyût'. Otherwise it is of no historical importance, merely ascribing to its writer the usual virtues which every nomarch claimed for himself.

It is different, however, with the other two tombs, and both give us information of the utmost value for the history of the confused period before the rise of the XIth and XIIth Dynasties, though, unfortunately, they do not mention any names of the Theban princes against whom they fought for their amiable but unlucky king, Merikerê. Tefyeb's tomb, which is the southernmost of the three, tells us of two victorious struggles against the rebels of the southern nomes (i.e. the Intefs of Thebes). What he does not tell us is that the southern rebels conquered in the end. The struggle was apparently for the possession of Thinis and Abydos, which Tefyeb calls 'the port of the south', and the prince of Asyût says that he drove the enemy as far as this point, and apparently forced its cession. An inscription of Intef Uahankh of Thebes states that he 'captured the entire Thinite nome, and made her the Door of the North', so that between Asyût and Thebes we have the outlines of a long struggle, ending at last in the triumph of Thebes.

The tomb of Khety I, which lies between that of Tefyeb and Khety II, is familiar to every one who has ever opened an illustrated book about Egypt, from the time of Wilkinson onwards, for its representation of heavily-armed soldiers, carrying enormous shields and spears. From this feature it has been called 'The Soldiers' Tomb'. The representation enables us to picture for ourselves the kind of troops with which Khety defended his monarch against the rebels of the southern nomes, who were doubtless very similarly armed. Khety maintained the reputation of his house for loyalty. The unfortunate Merikerê was evidently in greater trouble than ever at this time, for Middle Egypt was in rebellion as well as the southern nomes. Khety raised an army and a big river-fleet, and escorted his king on an expedition which resulted in the re-establishment of order. 'The land trembled,' he says, 'Middle Egypt feared, all the people were in terror, the villages in panic, fear entered into their limbs. . . . The land burned in its flame.'

Khety was particularly proud of the size of his river-flotilla. Unfortunately a bit of the inscription is defective at the point which would have told us the other end of the long line which it

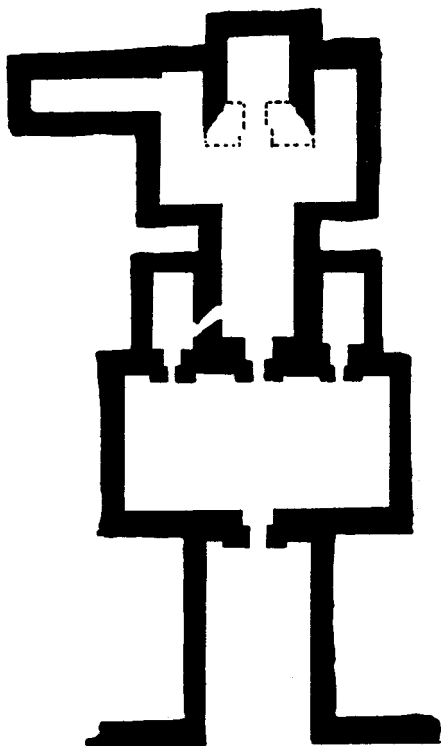
covered ; but he tells us with great pride : ' Never was the van of a fleet brought into Shes-hotep [the Greek *Hypselis*, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Asyût] while its rear was still at——'. Khety ended his days in peace, according to his inscription—the loyal son of a loyal father, worthy of a stronger Pharaoh than the well-meaning waverer Merikerê.

Before leaving the older tombs, notice should be given to the magnificent view which is commanded from their position. Whether it were by choice, or by the mere chance of the occurrence of rock suitable for their purposes, the Middle Kingdom nomarchs, both here and elsewhere, as at Beni Hasan and Deir el-Gabrâwi, managed to secure the most splendid outlooks that can be imagined for the delight of their spirits when they took their walks abroad.

We now return to the tomb of Hepzefa, which we passed on our way to the upper tombs. Hepzefa (Hepdjefi) was nomarch of Asyût in the reign of Senusret I of the XIIth Dynasty (c. 2100 B.C.). He was also governor of Ethiopia, and in that distant province he died, and was buried at Kerma, near the Third Cataract, where a colossal slaying was made at his interment. His Kerma tomb was excavated by Dr. G. A. Reisner, who discovered not only the remains of the great slaughter, but also the statues of Hepzefa and his wife, Senuwy. The inscription of Hepzefa's statue was as follows : ' Having honour with Wepwawet (Upuat), lord of Asyût, the hereditary prince and toparch, greatest of the great . . . great chief of the South, sole friend, overseer of the estate of the king, the toparch Hepzefa, born of Idi-ô.' The Hepzefa of the cliff-tomb at Asyût was married to Senuwy and born of Idi-ô, and describes himself in his tomb-inscription in his native town as ' Overseer of Upper Egypt, all of it', so that there can be no question of the identity of Hepzefa of Kerma and Hepzefa of Asyût.

The Asyût tomb, therefore, was never used for its owner's burial, and indeed was never finished. Even as it is, however, it is the largest known rock-tomb of the Middle Kingdom, having a total length of about 145 feet and possessing no fewer than seven rooms, as against the usual three—forecourt, chapel, and shrine—of the typical Middle Kingdom tomb. It is arranged with perfect symmetry (save for the unfinished burial-shaft which leads southwards out of the southern wing of the sixth room). It consists of a forecourt, with arched roof, a great hall

with two shrines in the west wall, an arched inner passage, which connects on its southern side with the two shrines of the great hall, a wide corridor, with two wings, and an inner shrine between the wings. The only part of the tomb which has been sculptured



TOMB OF HEPZEFA AT ASYÛT

is the inner shrine, which has on the back wall a figure of Hepzefa with three women bearing lotus-flowers before him. On the side-walls he is shown seated at table, while offerings are brought to him. The colour, if it was ever laid on to these figures, has completely disappeared. The corridor before the shrine bears traces

of plaster and colour, as does also the arched inner passage. The great hall has a decorated painted ceiling, with a line of inscription down the middle. The walls on all four sides were originally covered with plaster and painted with scenes and inscriptions; but the jambs of the door in the west wall have been incised with hieroglyphics, painted green, and the east wall has been redecorated with two painted scenes, and a long inscription in 105 vertical lines, incised and painted green. The sides of the doorway between the arched entrance-passage and the great hall and the door-jamb bear incised inscriptions; while the roof of the entrance-passage was painted with stars, and its walls were redecorated with a painted figure of Hepzefa and a long and now almost illegible inscription. The redecoration, which also involved some alterations in the hieroglyphic texts in the tomb, seems to have been done after word of Hepzefa's death and burial of Kerma reached Asyût; and Dr. Reisner has shown reason for believing that this was done at the instance of the priest who was charged with the observance of the funerary rites for the dead man.

The reason for this is a curious one, which adds considerably to the interest of the tomb. Before departing for the Sudan, Hepzefa had made ten contracts with the priests of the temples of Wepwawet and Anubis at Asyût for the rendering at his tomb of the funerary offerings, and had so amply arranged these that there was not a single day in the year when the nomarch's funerary welfare was not provided for, while the special festivals had special provision made for them. These contracts, of course, would be written on papyrus, sealed, and kept *in retentis*. But, on his departure for the Sudan, Hepzefa, dreading lest his absence and possible death in absence might give the priests an excuse for neglecting their duties, wrote a letter to his own *Ka*-priest, warning him to see that they were kept up to the mark—a letter which breathes distrust of the priesthood in every line. Hepzefa, being a priest himself, as well as a nomarch, knew his men. On the arrival of word of his master's death, the *Ka*-priest seemingly determined to secure the interests of the dead man (and his own) so far as writings could secure them. Accordingly he caused part of the tomb to be redecorated, and on the east wall of the great hall he caused summaries of the whole ten contracts to be inscribed, with the letter of his dead master, as a precaution against fraud by the priests of Wepwawet and Anubis in coming

time. Whether the precaution served its purpose or not is another story. Probably it did not, any more than other contracts have bound the living, after the departure of the man who made them.

I give the letter of Hepzefa to his *Ka*-priest, and the first and simplest of the ten contracts, as an illustration of this curious legal and ecclesiastical incident :

'The hereditary prince, the nomarch, the chief priest Hepzefa, he says to his *Ka*-priest : See, all these things, for which I have contracted with these *wē'b*-priests are under thy oversight ; for it is the *Ka*-priest of a man who causes his property and his offerings to flourish. See, I have brought to your knowledge these things which I have given to these *wē'b*-priests in return for the things which they have given to me. Guard lest any of them be revoked. Thou shalt speak concerning the things of mine which I have given them, and thou shalt cause thy son and heir to hear them, he who shall act for me as *ka*-priest [after the present *ka*-priest's death]. See, I have endowed thee with land, with people, with cattle, with gardens, and with everything, like an exalted man of Asyût, in order that thou mayest carry out my service with a willing heart, and mayest stand over all my affairs which I have given into thy hand. See, they are before thee in writing. These things shall belong to thy son whom thou wishest to act as my *ka*-priest from among thy children, without permitting that he divide it among his children, according to these instructions which I have given thee.'

Here is the first of the ten contracts :

'Contract which the nomarch, the chief priest Hepzefa, deceased made with the hour-priests of the temple of Wepwawet, Lord of Asyût.

'(1) For the gift to him of one roll of white bread by each individual *wē'b*-priest for his statue which is in the temple of Anubis, Lord of Rekreret, on the first intercalary day, when Wepwawet, Lord of Asyût, proceeds to this temple.

'(2) That which he gave to them in return was his share of the bull offered to Wepwawet, Lord of Asyût, in this temple when he proceeds thither, as his meat-offering which is due to the nomarch.

'(3) And he spoke to them, saying : See, I have given to you

this meat-offering which is due to me in the temple, in order to endow this white bread which ye are to give to me. Then they gave to him a portion of the bull for his statue in charge of his *ka*-priest out of what he had given to them of this meat-offering.

'(4) And they were satisfied therewith' (G. A. Reisner, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. V, pp. 79 seq.).

The remaining nine contracts are similar in tenor, but mostly of more complicated arrangement: the net result being, as we have already seen, that 'there was therefore not a day in the year when Hepzefa failed to receive the food and drink necessary for his maintenance'. That is, in theory; one suspects that after a certain time had elapsed, the practice differed considerably from the theory, as it has always done with funerary endowments in Egypt and elsewhere.

The reader who wishes to realize the immediate effect of Hepzefa's elaborate provision for the good of his soul is advised to consult Breasted's admirable *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 259 sq, where he will find an extraordinarily vivid reconstruction of the funeral-rites at Hepzefa's grave at Asyût on the New Year festivities and other feasts.

About six miles south of Asyût lies Deir Rifa, where the rock-tombs of the grandees of Shes-hotep, the capital of the XIth nome, lie on a terrace of the western cliffs. There are seven large and finely-wrought tombs of the Middle Kingdom and New Empire, besides a number of smaller ones. The inscriptions on these have been published in hieroglyphic copy by F. L. Griffith, along with those from Asyût. Below the cliff in the plain, lay, as at Beni Hasan and elsewhere, the cemeteries of the lesser officials and commoners. These were explored, in 1906, by the British School of Archaeology, and revealed burials ranging from the VIIth Dynasty onwards, but mainly of the XIth, XIIth, and XVIIIth Dynasties. A feature of the results was the number (about 150) of 'Soul-Houses', modelled in clay, which were found, not in, but upon, the graves. These were presumably placed there as alternative dwellings for the soul of the tenant of the grave; and their value is in the illustrations which they afford of the structure of Egyptian houses between the VIth Dynasty and the XIIth, when the series dies out.

On the railway line, and about seven miles east from Rifa, lies the village of Shotb, the modern representative of Shes-hotep.

This town, which was later known to the Greeks as Hypselis, will be remembered as being the place to which the van of Khety's enormous fleet had reached, while its rear was still at some place whose name has been lost. Shes-hotep was consecrated to the worship of Khnûm, one of the Egyptian creator-gods, who is represented as a ram-headed man.

Two hundred and forty-eight miles from Cairo (264½ by river) is Abu Tig, a local capital, with a busy little river-harbour. Six miles south of it lies Sidfa, and opposite Sidfa, on the eastern bank, is El-Badâri, which is also a district capital, but has recently sprung into quite another kind of prominence, world-wide, instead of local, owing to the fact that excavation has discovered here between 1924 and 1928, several settlements which antedate by a considerable time anything as yet discovered of the prehistoric age in Egypt.

The graves of the 'Badarians' reveal 'the oldest agriculturists certainly disclosed to our gaze by archaeology in the Nile valley or anywhere else' (Gordon Childe, *The Most Ancient East*, p. 51). This short, slender, small-skulled race lived in regular villages, cultivated barley and emmer wheat, and raised domesticated animals, in addition to hunting and fishing. They wore garments of woven linen or goatskin, were skilled in fashioning and polishing hard stone, in weaving, basket-making, and carving: and in particular they made fine pottery with 'a perfection of ceramic technique never excelled in the Nile valley'. Their finer ware was an extremely thin, black-topped red, and they also produced a fine black ware, incised with geometrical patterns in white: all this at a date whose remoteness it is impossible to estimate, but which may possibly be somewhere a little before 5000 B.C. The Badarians appear to be of a similar stock to those early settlers in the Faiyûm district whose existence has been discovered by Miss Caton Thompson.

The modern village of 'Itmaniya, which has taken the place of the village which used to be known as Qâw el-Kebîr, lies on the east side of the Nile, opposite to Qâw el-Gharb. The older Qâw el-Kebîr, which existed up till the time of Napoleon's Expedition and later, has since been entirely washed away by the river, in its changes of bed, and with it the Ptolemaic temple of Antaeus, the legendary wrestler whom Hercules is said to have overthrown and slain, and with whom the Greeks had identified the otherwise almost unknown local god Anti, whose name is only known from

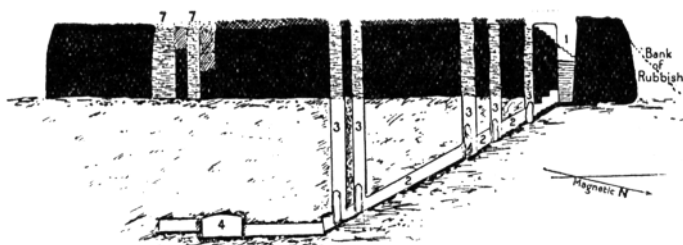
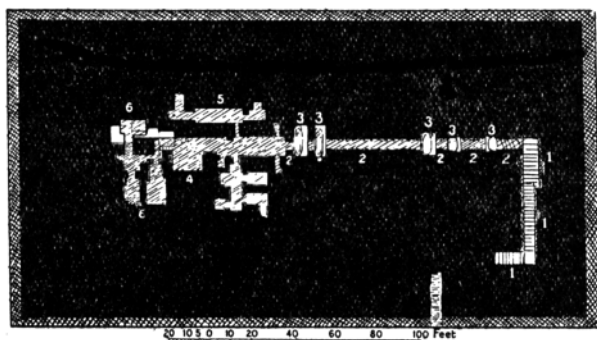
two obscure fragments of inscription found by the Expedition of the British School in 1923. The three rock-tombs of Vth Dynasty officials, to the south-east, were visited by the Expeditions of Schiaparelli in 1906, and Steindorff in 1914. The cemeteries of Antaeopolis yielded to the Expedition of the British School in 1923 interments of all periods from the proto-dynastic up to the XIth Dynasty.

At a distance by river of 321 miles from Cairo and 139 from Luxor we reach Akhmim, which represents the Ancient Egyptian city of *Apu*, or Khenti-Min, called by the Greeks Khemmis, or Panopolis. *Apu* was the capital of the IXth nome, and was the city of Min, the god of the eastern desert and *Lord of Foreign Lands*, who was also worshipped specially at Coptos, a hundred miles, by river, farther south, where the road to the Hammamât quarries and the caravan-routes through the eastern desert to the Red Sea branched off. Min is ithyphallic, and is represented with tall plumes, like those of Amûn, and brandishing a scourge. About *Apu* or Chemmis, as he calls it, Herodotus has a curious story, in which he states that the priests of the place assured him that their temple was really dedicated to Perseus, the son of Danaus, that they had a statue of the hero in it, that he frequently appeared to them, and sometimes left his sandal, which was two cubits in length (quite a heroic size), behind him; and that when he thus dropped his sandal all Egypt was sure to flourish. They further stated that Perseus was really one of their own, as Danaus and Lynceus were both citizens of Khemmis before they went into Greece. Last of all, they asserted that Perseus had ordered them to set up gymnastic games, like those of the Greeks, in his honour. What the element of likeness behind this curious identification may be is another matter; but, as Min is the god of the reproductive element in nature, perhaps some reason can be seen for the idea that the leaving behind of his sandal meant prosperity to Egypt. Scarcely anything is now left of the ruins of what were still, in the Middle Ages, the important temples of *Apu*. Its necropolis lay to the north-east of the town.

Three hundred and twelve miles from Cairo by rail (343 by river), and 117 from Luxor, is Girga, a district capital, and one of the three claimants to be the original site of This, or Thinis, the ancient city from which sprang the Ist Egyptian Dynasty. The other local claimant is the village of El-Birba, three and a half miles north-west of Girga, and the third is Abydos, which

has perhaps more to show for its claim than either of the other two.

Three and a half miles west of Girga lies Beit Khallâf. Here in 1901 Professor Garstang excavated two great mastabas of



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|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Descending stairways | 5. Gallery stored with grain in sacks |
| 2. Passages descending underground | 6. Chambers for offerings |
| 3. Plug-blocks and shafts | 7. Wells for offerings |
| 4. Large walled chamber | |

MASTABA OF NETERKHET, BEIT KHALLÂF

the IIIrd Dynasty. Access was gained to the first by a stairway which was piled with alabaster vases of cylindrical shape in astonishing quantities, nearly 800 being found in the stairway alone. Turning at right angles under an arch (plan 1, 2), a

sloping passage descended steeply beneath the desert ; it was blocked by massive stones weighing from 8 to 13 tons. The shaft by which the last and deepest of these was dropped into position (3) was sunk for 87 feet through the desert gravel ; and the stone which closed the chamber door and was let down by this shaft was 17 feet in height. Beyond this block a short passage still descended to the chambers (4, 5, 6), which lay 91 feet below the surface of the ground. There were eighteen chambers leading out from the central passage. Their arrangement will be easily gathered from the plan. The burial-chamber had been the large stone-walled room in the centre.

Of course the tomb had been plundered, and so skilful had been these ancient robbers, that Garstang's Arab workmen declared that the hole by which they had forced an entrance was that of a jackal and not of a robber.

The sealings in this great tomb revealed the fact that it was that of Neterkhet, who is the same as Zoser, the great king of the IIIrd Dynasty who built the Step Pyramid at Saqqâra. For some time it seemed doubtful if the Beit Khallâf mastaba might not be his real tomb, and the pyramid that of his *Ka* ; but Mr. Firth's excavations render it extremely improbable that so remarkable a tomb as the Step Pyramid should be merely a secondary tomb, and the probability seems to be that the Beit Khallâf mastaba is the secondary one.

A little to the north of Zoser's mastaba another large building of the same type was excavated, and was found to belong to Zoser's brother and successor, Sa-nakht. The skeleton of Sa-nakht, or a considerable portion of it, was found within the tomb, and the king proved to have been an unusually tall man, especially in view of the fact that the early Egyptian type is usually short and small-boned.

South of Beit Khallâf, lies El-Mahâsna, where cemeteries of predynastic and early dynastic age have been excavated in 1900-1, and 1908-9 by Messrs. Garstang, Ayrton, and Loat.

Opposite Girga, on the east bank of the river, is Nag' el-Deir, Here in 1899-1903 Dr. G. A. Reisner carried out a series of excavations of early dynastic cemeteries which led him to the conclusion that from about 1,000 years before the IIInd Dynasty on through the period of the early dynasties covered by his excavations, while there was constant development in the mechanical invention and power of the Egyptian race, there was no change ' in

any visible essential in its conception of life after death or the customs and practices due to the dead'. 'It is,' he concludes, 'I believe, impossible to escape the conclusion that the inhabitants of Egypt from the earliest predynastic period down to the end of the protodynastic period, form one continuous race and that we are here witnesses of the steps by which they conquered the stubborn materials of the earth and earned that civilization which we call Egyptian.'

Dr. Reisner's other conclusion, as to the date of the earliest predynastic graves, 'In fact, it is extremely doubtful if the earliest known grave is earlier than 4000 B.C.', has of course to be modified in view of the discoveries at El-Badâri and in the Faiyûm. As we have seen, it is impossible to date these with anything like precision; but an addition of another 1,000 years to Dr. Reisner's date seems not improbable.

It ought to be noticed, in order to prevent possible disappointment, that since we left Hepzefa's tomb at Asyût (some would say even before that point) we have met with nothing that offers anything imposing or beautiful to the eye. Sites which have yielded results of the highest importance for our knowledge of the history and the life of Ancient Egypt we have seen, some of them perhaps more important than nine out of ten of the more imposing sites; but predynastic and early dynastic cemeteries offer little to attract the casual visitor even during excavation, still less after it. We are now, however, approaching the neighbourhood from which antiquities which are both interesting and imposing continue with more or less regularity and abundance until the limits of Ancient Egypt proper, at Aswân, are reached.

CHAPTER XIV

ABYDOS

EL-BALYANA (Baliana), 321½ miles from Cairo by rail, 354 by river, is the starting-point for the visit to Abydos, which is one of the most interesting of Ancient Egyptian sites, both because of its great traditions, religious and historical, and because of the admirable artistic work of the early XIXth Dynasty, which is still to be seen in the two great temples of Seti I and Ramses II, especially in the former of these. The tourist steamers stop at El-Balyana sufficiently long to allow of a visit being paid to these two temples ; it must be remembered, however, that the time allowed is quite insufficient for anything more than a rapid survey of the ruins, and that the other and much more important claim which Abydos makes upon the student of Egyptian history—its possession of the royal tombs of the earliest dynasties—as it makes no appeal to the eye, gets no attention in the tourist programme. It will be well, all the same, for the visitor to realize that the artistic importance of Abydos, great though it may be, is entirely secondary to the importance of the place as the resting-place of the great Pharaohs of the earliest dynastic period, and the chief ' holy city ' of Egypt during a considerable period of her history. The royal tombs of Abydos are so entirely inconspicuous as to be dismissed by Baedeker in six lines ; it should be remembered that the discoveries made in them have done more for the reconstruction of early dynastic history than any other work in Egypt.

El-Balyana is taken by the tourist steamers on the return journey from Aswân. It is also conveniently reached from Luxor by train. Carriages, motor-cars, and donkeys are available for the journey to Abydos, which occupies an hour and a half by donkey.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON ABYDOS

The kings of the first two Egyptian dynasties, according to Manetho, belonged to the city of This or Thinis, a city which has

been identified with the village of El-Birba near Girga, but which in all probability lay quite close to the site of Abydos, with which it was in close connexion—Thinis, remaining the more important town from the secular point of view, while Abydos gradually assumed supreme importance from religious considerations. The earliest kings of Egypt of whom we have anything like a real history to relate had their capital not at Abydos, but at Hieraconpolis, and later, at Memphis, they were buried at the old family burying-place at Abydos or Thinis, and this practice of royal interment at Abydos continued throughout the 1st and 2nd Dynasties, only dying out when the practice of pyramid-building came into fashion with the Pharaohs of the 3rd Dynasty and grew to its height with the 4th.

Thus there grew up, in a country so reverential of the past and the great men of the past, a general feeling of reverence towards the sacred spot where were the tombs of the earliest historic Pharaohs of the land; and this feeling was gradually increased manifold by the development of a great religious tradition, to which we shall have to refer shortly.

The site of the double city of Thinis and Abydos lies close to the village of El-'Arâba el-Madfûna. Farthest away from the village to the north-west lie the ruins of Thinis, and of the *temenos* of Osiris, surrounded by high walls of crude brick, and with the Sacred Lake lying to the east. Behind these remains, towards the desert, lies the Middle Kingdom portion of the great necropolis of Abydos, with the still imposing remains of a great fortress of the earliest dynastic period, now known as 'Shûnet el-Zebib', a modern name which means 'The Raisin Magazine'. The walls of this most ancient fortress still stand to a height of over 40 feet, while it measures about 400 feet by 200. Not far from it lies another early fortress, which is now used as a Coptic monastery. Next in order, as we approach El-'Arâba el-Madfûna, comes an Old Kingdom portion of the necropolis, with the temple of Ramses II beyond it. South of this again lies the ruin which gives the place its reputation with the tourist, the great temple of Seti I, with a New Empire cemetery in its vicinity.

But the really important part of the ancient necropolis lies to the south-west of Seti's temple, and between it and the desert cliffs. Here are two low mounds of a reddish colour, mainly composed of the broken fragments of votive pots placed upon the tombs of the early kings of Egypt by pious devotees of later

generations, for the purpose of associating themselves, by a personal offering, with the worship of Osiris, the god of the dead and of the resurrection, whom they believed to have been buried here. This is the famous necropolis of the earliest dynastic Pharaohs of Egypt, historically perhaps the most important site in Egypt. 'The situation', says Petrie, 'is wild and silent; close round it the hills rise high on two sides, a ravine running up into the plateau from the corner where the lines meet. Far away, and below us, stretches the long green valley of the Nile, beyond which for dozens of miles the eastern cliffs recede into the dim distance' (*Royal Tombs I*, page 4.).

Here, in 1897, the Mission Amélineau began the excavations which resulted in the discovery of the royal tombs of the Ist and IInd Dynasties. M. Amélineau's belief that in the tomb of King Zer, one of the earliest of the Pharaohs, he had found the actual tomb of Osiris, met with general disbelief, though an attempt has been made recently to revive the idea. Finally he gave up the excavations, which had been conducted in a somewhat slap-dash and confused fashion; though it should not be forgotten that he had really accomplished an important piece of work in introducing the royal tombs to general notice. His work was carried on by Sir Flinders Petrie, with results of the highest importance as regards our knowledge of the earliest dynastic culture of Egypt. The necropolis of Abydos has since been the subject of excavations conducted by Dr. Naville and Professor T. E. Peet.

While the results of excavation on this site have thus been so considerable in themselves, and so significant in their bearing upon the ancient civilization of Egypt, it must be admitted that the site offers no attractions, save to those whose imagination can re-people its barren desolation with the figures of an almost incredibly ancient past. Um el-Qa'âb (Um el-Ga'ab), 'Mother of Pots', as it is called from its extraordinary accumulation of broken pottery, is, from the ordinary tourist's point of view, 'not worth visiting'. The most interesting royal tombs were those of Narmer, of Aha, of Zer (to which we shall have to refer in another connexion), of Khasti, with its floor of granite, and of Khasekhemui, whose central stone chamber is one of the very oldest stone structures in the world; but of all these nothing is now visible, as they are all once more covered with debris.

From the early royal associations of Abydos we now turn to

its associations with early divinity, though it may possibly be that the two were one in the beginning. So far as is known, the primitive deity of Thinis and Abydos was the ancient jackal-god Wepwawet, or Upuat, who derived his title of 'The Opener of the Ways', and his function as the guide of the dead, from the jackal's nightly habit of prowling around the cemeteries on the edge of the desert. Wepwawet had a primitive temple of mud-brick on the site later known as the *emenos* of Osiris; but he was destined to comparatively early supersession by more important divinities.

With the rise of the IIIrd Dynasty, and its gradual development of different ideas, the vogue of Abydos as the royal burying-place passed away; but the existence of a royal tradition of burial, so great and so ancient, secured the place, all the same, in public favour as the chief seat of the cult of the gods of the dead. The place of Wepwawet was now gradually taken by another god of the god, Khenti-Amentiu, 'The First of the Westerners', who had a temple built for him at Abydos, with which Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid, must have been associated, as an ivory statuette of him was found here. Khenti-Amentiu's supremacy, however, was not destined to last long, for he was quickly superseded by a cult which was destined to prove itself one of the two most important in Egyptian history, and which continued to maintain itself throughout the whole Pharaonic period as the most characteristic Egyptian worship.

This was the cult of Osiris, which originally was associated with the Delta, and especially with the city of Tet, or Dadu, the Busiris of the Greek nomenclature. Originally a dreaded god, ruling over a dreaded realm, he gradually sloughed off this sinister reputation, and became the subject of the famous tradition which represented him as the first king of Egypt, the instructor of his people in all the useful arts. It should seem natural that the first king of Egypt should be associated with the place where the kings of the two earliest dynasties were buried; and thus the cult of Osiris came to have a place at Abydos; and as it grew in popularity he was soon identified with Khenti-Amentiu, and, in the end, completely absorbed the older god of the dead. Even as early as the time of the Pyramid Texts he has taken over the title of 'First of the Westerners'.

Now, the Osiris myth declared that the beneficent king had been murdered and dismembered, and various cities in Egypt

laid claim to the honour of having been the places where parts of the dead god's body had been buried. Abydos was not behind-hand, and finally claimed to be the burial-place of the head of Osiris. By what process the tomb of King Zer, one of the 1st Dynasty Pharaohs, was selected as the burial-place of this sacred relic is not known; but at least as early as the Vth Dynasty the claim was generally acknowledged, and Thinis became universally known as Abôdu, 'The Mound of the Osiris-Head Emblem', thus affording to the Greeks a natural equivalent for their own familiar name of Abydos. By the time of the VIth Dynasty it was becoming the wish of every devout Egyptian to be buried at Abydos as close as possible to the tomb of the great god of the resurrection. If this was impossible, or if a tomb had already been prepared for him, he endeavoured to secure that at least his body should make the pilgrimage to Abydos after his death, so as to claim the sanctity which such a visit to the abode of Osiris conferred. If even this was denied to him by circumstances, the next best thing was to cause a memorial stele to be set up in the necropolis of Abydos, so that the name of the dead should be kept always near to the god. Finally, if none of these devices was available, it was always possible to add another votive pot to the enormous mass which was steadily accumulating on and about the royal tombs in the necropolis.

The Pharaohs themselves, though they no longer regarded Abydos as the royal burying-place, gave their countenance to the popular vogue which was rapidly making Abydos the most sacred spot in Egypt. Excavation has shown that many of the Old Kingdom monarchs had a share in the development of the great temple complex within the *temenos* of Osiris. Nefer-irkerê, of the Vth Dynasty, decreed that the priests of the place should be exempt from the *corvée*; and several kings of the VIth Dynasty added buildings or adornments to the fabric already existing (Pepi I, Merenrê, and Pepi II).

The height of sanctity to which Abydos had attained is witnessed to by one of the most curious documents which have survived to us concerning the troubled period between the Old and the Middle Kingdom, known as the First Intermediate Period. The testament of King Khety III, of the IXth, or Heracleopolitan, Dynasty, known as *The Instruction for King Merikerê*, though only extant in a papyrus of the XVIIIth Dynasty (Petersburg, 1116 A), is plainly authentic. Among

other matters it mentions a strife which had arisen between the Heracleopolitan Pharaoh and the Prince of Thebes, Wah-ankh Intef-o, about the possession of This or Thinis. In the course of the squabble the royal tombs in the necropolis had been violated by the soldiers of Heracleopolis, and though Khety III was guiltless, as he only heard of the impious deed after it had happened, the pious Pharaoh takes all the guilt to himself, and his concern and contrition are unbounded. He evidently regards all the misfortunes which had befallen him as a judgment of God upon him for his unwitting transgression. 'Behold,' he says, 'a calamity happened in my time: the regions of Thinis were violated. It happened in sooth through that which I did, and I [only] knew it after it was done. Take heed concerning it. A blow is rewarded with the like thereof.' Later, referring to the same sacrilege, he says: 'A generation hath passed among men, and God, who discerneth characters, hath hidden himself' (Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, trans. Blackman, pp. 75 seq.). Stronger testimony to the impression of sacredness which Abydos had made upon the Egyptian mind could scarcely be given.

Intef of Thebes, who remained in possession of the city as a result of the struggle between himself and the Heracleopolitan line, carried out large extensions of the temple, and also dedicated another shrine to Anhûret, the local god, and his example was imitated by the Mentuhotpes of the XIth Dynasty, who followed him. A period of great prosperity dawned upon Abydos with the rise of the XIIth Dynasty. We have already seen (e.g., in the tomb of Ameni at Beni Hasan) that in this period a voyage to Abydos was looked upon as a necessary finish to the life of a great local magnate. (Ameni made sure work by seeing to it that his mummy made the pilgrimage both to Abydos, and to Dadu [Busiris], the earlier Delta seat of the worship of Osiris.) Senusret I built extensively within the Osiris *temenos*, with corresponding destruction of the work of his predecessors; and we have an inscription of his vizier and master of works, Mentuhotpe, who says: 'I conducted the work in the temple, built his house, and dug the [sacred] lake; I masoned the well, by command of the Majesty of Horus.' He also mentions that he built in the temple 'with fine stone of Ayan', and that he built a sacred barque for Osiris, and made offering-tables of lapis lazuli, bronze, electrum (gold-silver alloy), and silver, and, in short,

furnished Osiris and his temple with ' the choicest of everything, which is given to a god at his processions, by virtue of my office of master of secret things '.

In the reign of Amenemhêt II, we meet with the inscription of an official named Khentemsemeti, who was sent to inspect the temples of the country, and managed to combine duty with attention to his eternal interests by making a special visit to Abydos. ' I drove in' the mooring-stake at Abydos ', he says. ' I fixed my name at the place where is the god Osiris, First of the Westerners, lord of Eternity, ruler of the West, to which all that is flees, for the sake of the benefit therein, in the midst of the followers of the Lord of Life, that I might eat his loaf, and come forth by day.'

Senusret III, the most famous soldier of the Middle Kingdom, had his pyramid at Dahshûr ; but he resolved also to make a cenotaph for himself at Abydos, where he hewed a great rock-tomb in which it is probable that his body lay for a time before being interred in its pyramid. The two officials whom he sent to Abydos to superintend the work, and also to adorn the temple of Osiris with the gold which Senusret had captured in his Nubian campaign, and with a new statue of the god, were Ikhernofret and Sisâtet, who have fortunately left us records of their proceedings. They travelled in company, but each has described his own work independently. Sisâtet confines himself to the simple statement : ' I came to Abydos, together with the chief treasurer Ikhernofret, to carve a statue of Osiris, Lord of Abydos.' Ikhernofret, however, is much more expansive. He was commissioned, he tells us, to go up-river to Abydos, ' to make monuments for my [Senusret's] father, Osiris, First of the Westerners, to adorn his secret place with the gold which he caused My Majesty to bring from Upper Nubia in victory and triumph ', and he recounts with great gusto how he carried out his duties, and ' acted as " Son-whom-he-loves " for Osiris, First of the Westerners ', and generally taught their business to the priests of Abydos, who must have thought him an unmitigated nuisance. The great event of his visit, however, was the performance of the local passion-play, which depicted the conflict of the god with his enemies, and his final triumph. In this play, which included a mock battle between the champions of the god and those of his foes, Ikhernofret took part with unbounded enthusiasm, being mightily uplifted, doubtless, by the thought that he was actually

representing 'The Good God' [Pharaoh], at one of the supreme religious functions of one of the greatest of 'The Great Gods'. His description of the various incidents of the passion-play is one of the most valuable documents for the study of Osirianism. The remaining kings of the XIIth Dynasty continued to favour Abydos.

During the confusion and strife of the Second Intermediate Period, however, the holy city must have fallen upon evil times, for we find that the usurping Pharaoh Neferhotpe was obliged to make a complete restoration of statues, ceremonies, and all the details of the worship of Osiris, which he did with all the zeal of one who was himself the son of a priest. He was extremely conservative in his restorations, and did nothing without having warrant for it in 'the rolls of the House of Osiris, First of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos'. The Pharaoh honoured Abydos by coming himself to the city and taking part personally in the Osiris passion-play. How ineffectual his measures had been to hinder the decay which was affecting everything in Egypt we learn from a document of the reign of another usurping Pharaoh, Khenzer, in which the priest Ameni-sonb tells us how he was entrusted with the duty of cleaning up and restoring things at Abydos, and was rewarded for his work with the hind-quarters of an ox and the permanent post of inspector of the temple.

Abydos naturally shared in the prosperity which came to the land with the expulsion of the Hyksos and the subsequent expansion of Egypt. Almost every Pharaoh of the XVIIIth Dynasty has left evidence at the place of his interest in the shrine of the god whose cult was now one of the two great faiths of the country. Amen-Rê, of course, was getting the lion's share of the good things, as being the city god of Thebes; but Osiris continued to attract a considerable amount of attention and devotion to his shrine. Tuthmosis III, in particular, did a great amount, both of new work and of restoration at the place, and Tuthmosis IV endowed the temple with large estates, and arranged for a regular supply of sacrificial animals and birds for its altars.

But it was with the rise of the XIXth Dynasty that Abydos reached its apogee in respect of power and wealth. Ramses I, Seti I and Ramses II all devoted themselves diligently to the honour of Osiris in his great sanctuary, and we shall see directly

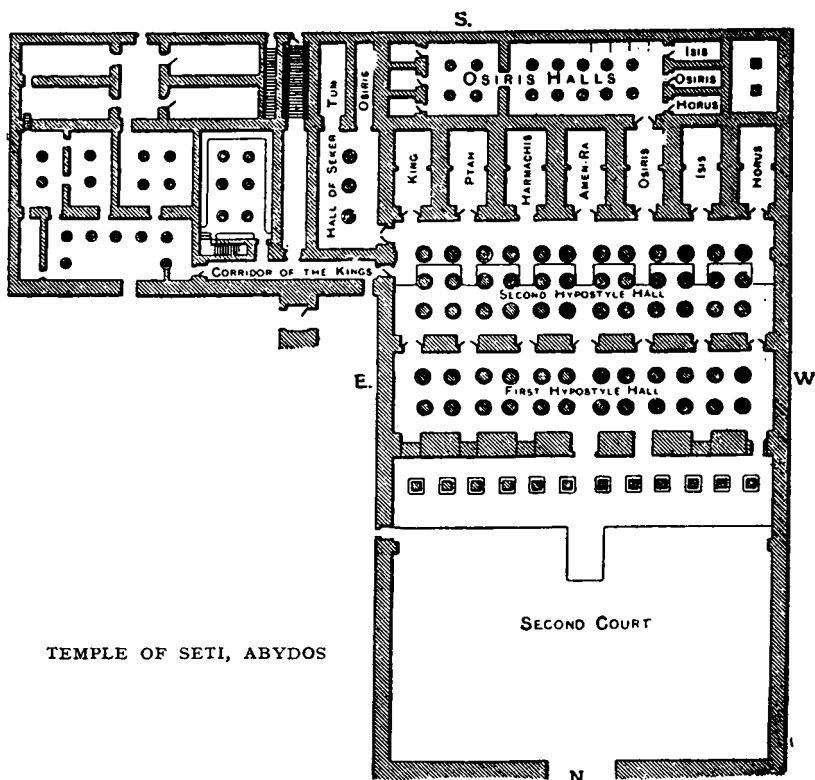
how splendid were the contributions which Seti and his son Ramses II, in particular, made to the glories of the holy city. In fact, from this time onwards one aspect of Egyptian religion is completely dominated by the Osiris tradition, and that aspect is the one which has appealed to the world in general as being the most characteristically Egyptian thing in the whole body of Egyptian doctrine. Wepwawet and Khenti-Amentiu, Unnofre, and all other gods of the dead and of the underworld have now become either identified with Osiris or are his humble dependants. And from this time to the end of Egyptian religion as a living faith the god's supremacy is so unquestioned that it has become the custom to identify every dead person with him, and to talk of 'The Osiris Blank', just as we would talk of 'The late So-and-So'.

The decline of Egypt naturally brought decline to the scale of the royal gifts to the temple of Osiris, as to all other temples in the land, though Ramses III did a good deal for the place. In the reign of Ahmôse II of the XXVIth Dynasty the local court had evidently been embezzling the property of the temple, and the Pharaoh sent up his own chief physician (who would also be a priest) to put things straight. The worthy doctor, whose name is Pefnefdineit, has told us in the inscription on his statue, now in the Louvre, how he carried out his commission, and confiscated the property of the offending local baron, 'for Osiris desired that his city should be equipped'. Pefnefdineit wound up his proceedings by taking part in the passion-play as Ikhnofret had done thirteen centuries before him.

With the record of Pefnefdineit the glory of Abydos may almost be said to fade completely, though the Pharaohs Nectanebis I and II did some building there. The worship of Osiris sought other seats, and was established under the Ptolemys and the Romans at Philae. Decay and ruin fell upon the once splendid sanctuaries of the most sacred city of the land, and the sacrilegious hand of the tomb-robber was no longer held back even from the unspeakably sacred royal tombs in their lonely nook of the hills. Finally in Roman days the once supreme god fell to the humiliating position of being merely the husband of Isis, whose popularity had completely submerged his; and his last transformation was but a repetition of his first appearance in Egyptian religion. Having begun there as a dangerous and dreaded god, he ended as a hostile demon.

THE TEMPLE OF SETI I

The chief feature of interest remaining at Abydos is the magnificent temple which was erected here by Seti I, and completed by his son Ramses II. The temple of Abydos is the first temple



TEMPLE OF SETI, ABYDOS

even approaching to completeness with which we have met in Egypt, those of Lower Egypt having been so thoroughly ruined and wasted as to leave, in most cases, little more than the outline of their ground-plan. We should therefore note at the outset that Abydos, while one of the most beautiful of Egyptian temples,

by no means conforms to the ordinary arrangement of an Egyptian temple. It is perhaps scarcely possible to speak of the normal Egyptian temple, for in most cases the original design has been so much added to and altered that the result is not a building which conforms to any single type, but rather one which is an aggregate of sacred structures pieced together without much regard to unity of design or architectural symmetry. This is one of the great defects of Egyptian architecture, which remains from first to last in the dynastic period rather like the architecture of a child building with a box of bricks. Yet there lies at the heart of the Egyptian conception of a temple a certain type, clearly defined and answering to certain requirements, which may be discerned beneath all the confusion of different periods and styles even in the greater dynastic temples, such as Karnak or Luxor, though it can only be seen in absolute clearness in temples of the Ptolemaic age and later, such as Edfu and Dendera, or in such minor dynastic buildings as the temples of Khonsu and Ramses III at Thebes.

This normal type of Egyptian temple, if we may call it so, consists of the Pylon, with its two towers and the great gateway between them; a forecourt which is surrounded by a colonnade, and which is therefore usually called the Peristyle Court; a second columned court, in which the columns are spaced with a central nave and side aisles, and which is called the Hypostyle Court; and a sanctuary, which may have a single shrine or several shrines, and which is generally flanked on either side by chambers devoted to the storage of ritual vessels and accessories. The arrangement of those successive courts is along a single axis in a straight line.

At Abydos, however, this arrangement is departed from in an unusual fashion. Instead of a single sanctuary, or a triple one, for a divine triad, there are no fewer than seven sanctuaries. The central shrine is that of Amen-Rê; on its western side are the shrines of the Osirian triad, Osiris, Isis, and Horus; on its eastern side those of Harakhte (Harmachis), Ptah, and the Pharaoh Seti I himself. The spacing of the columns and the partition-walls in the two hypostyle halls which precede the sanctuaries is so arranged as to give direct access to each shrine from the exterior. There are no chambers flanking the sanctuary, as in other cases; but behind the sanctuary lies another group of halls dedicated to Osiris, with a second set of shrines for Osiris, Isis, and Horus.

Here, however, comes in the notable divergence from normal Egyptian practice. It would have been natural to have continued the building farther back still, on the line of its main axis. This has not been done, but, instead, Seti's architects have turned the remainder of their work at right-angles to the original line, and have added a hall of the funerary god Sokar, with shrines to Nefertûm and Sokar, and sundry other courts and corridors. The reason for this change of axis is obscure. Mr. Weigall has attributed it to the lack of a sound and stable foundation ; but the existence of the elaborate cenotaph of Seti, which had only been lately discovered and partially excavated when he wrote, seems to indicate that it was not shifting foundations which determined the change, but some more urgent reason connected with religious beliefs. The cenotaph may not be, as Dr. Naville believed, the Osireion ; but it is evident that it occupied a place regarded as being of extreme sanctity, possibly connected with the sacred spring which Strabo mentions in his description of Abydos, and it may well be that it was this reason, and not any question of unstable foundations, which determined the decision of Seti's architects to turn the axis of the temple, and so to leave the site behind its sanctuaries clear for the massive underground work of the royal cenotaph. The temple was not completed by Seti, and Ramses II, in finishing it, followed his usual practice of deriving as much glory as possible for himself from the work of better men.

The approach to the temple is from the north-east. The pylon is destroyed, and the first court has been almost completely ruined. Its south-eastern wall had reliefs of Ramses II, showing his wars and triumphs. At the back of this court an incline led to a single line of pillars, which stood in front of the pylon, with three openings, which gave access to the second court. The reliefs of Ramses are continued on the back of this pylon. The second court is also badly ruined, though not so completely as the first. The remains of its walls have reliefs and inscriptions of Ramses II. At the back of the court another gentle incline leads to a terrace corresponding to that of the first court, and adorned with twelve square pillars, whose limestone stumps stand on sandstone bases. The reliefs on these pillars show Ramses II being embraced by various gods. The wall behind these pillars was once pierced by seven openings, corresponding to the seven sanctuaries at the back of the temple ; but Ramses II walled up six of these,

leaving the central one alone as the main entrance to the inner chambers of the temple. On the immediate left hand of the main entrance Ramses makes offering of the Feather of Truth to Osiris, Isis, and Seti I. On the right hand, or west side, Ramses appears in several scenes of communion with the gods ; while on the west wall of the terrace he is seen slaughtering the Asiatic captives before Amûn.

Between the figure of Ramses, on the left side of the entrance, and the east wall of the terrace is a lengthy inscription (ninety-five vertical lines), in which Ramses grandiloquently describes his own piety in restoring his father's temple and the wretched condition in which he found it. A sample describing the unfinished state of the temple may be given : ' Lo, the house of Men-maet-rê [Seti I], its front and rear were in process of construction, when he entered into heaven. Its monuments were not finished, its columns were not set up on its platform, its statue was upon the ground, it was not fashioned after the regulations of the gold-house for it. Its divine offerings had ceased, the lay priesthood likewise. That which was brought from its fields was taken away, their boundaries were not fixed in the land.' One may question if the state of things was quite so bad as Ramses makes out, for he was making out as good a case as he could for the merit of his own pious action ; but, all the same, the inscription suggests what was doubtless the almost invariable fate of a royal endowment once the Pharaoh who had planned it was dead. Within a generation the wishes of so strong and good a Pharaoh as Seti I were apparently being regarded as a dead letter. His worthy son, however, manages, as was his custom, to extract the uttermost farthing of credit for himself, both for this world and the next, out of his restoration of his father's work, and the whole inscription is worthy of being read, as a sample of his monumental conceit and egoism.

Abydos has two hypostyle halls instead of one, and we now enter the first of these, a magnificent chamber, 171 feet by 36 feet, its greatest dimension being on the east to west line. Viewed from either the eastern or western extremity, the vistas which this hall presents are very fine. The roof of the hall, now partly fallen, was supported by twenty-four columns, with clustered papyrus-bud capitals, which are so arranged that the approach to each of the seven shrines is flanked by two pairs of columns, with the exception of the outermost aisle on each side, which is,

naturally, flanked on its outer side by the external wall of the hall. The system in which the relief sculptures are arranged is that the sculptures on the columns in each aisle represent Ramses in the presence of the god to whose shrine the aisle in question leads. Thus those in the Amûn aisle show the king in the presence of Amûn, Mût, and Khonsu, the divine triad of Thebes, while those in the Ptah aisle show him in presence of Ptah, Sekhmet, and Nefertûm. It should be noted, however, that the reliefs in this court are by no means deserving of the attention and admiration which is deserved by those of Seti I in the following court. They are all incised reliefs (relief *en creux*), and are coarse and clumsy compared with the delicate and careful low-relief work of the older king. It is therefore needless to describe the scenes in detail. Exception may, however, be made in favour of the mural sculptures in which Ramses is represented as being purified by Thoth and Horus, being offered the *ankh* or symbol of life by Wepwawet and Horus, while Hathor of Dendera stands behind Wepwawet, and offering to the enthroned Osiris, behind whom stand Isis and Horus, a case of papyrus-rolls in the shape of a column crowned by a falcon's head, and held up by a kneeling figure of a Pharaoh. These representations, within the limits of incised relief, have some merit, and are more careful work than the others.

The back wall of the First Hypostyle still retains its seven openings, which lead into the second hypostyle hall. The roof of this hall is supported by thirty-six columns, ranged in three rows. The first two rows are of the papyrus-bud type. The third row consists of cylindrical columns without capitals, a plain abacus on the head of the column supporting the architrave. This row stands on a raised terrace, from which access is gained to the seven sanctuaries. The reliefs in this hall, especially those on the west, or right-hand wall, are of great beauty, and are particularly interesting to the student of Egyptian art, as representing almost the last brilliancy of the slowly declining art of the New Empire. The sculpture of the New Empire, still vigorous and living under Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut, begins after them to show signs of over-ripeness and a tendency to the exhibition of softer and more luxurious types, which may be due to the Syrian influences which were being brought in by the results of the Asiatic victories of Tuthmosis and his son Amenophis II. This softening of type continues to be marked throughout the

reigns of Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis III, though without any marked decline in the standard of workmanship.

The religious revolution of Akhenaten carries with it, as we have already seen at El-'Amârna, a strongly marked and characteristic type of art, which uses all the new softness and liberty of representation which has grown up during the preceding period, but carries it to an excess which in some cases becomes grotesque. With the collapse of Atenism, came also the collapse of the Amârna art. Its excesses and grotesqueries seem to have frightened the staid and conservative Egyptian artist, and blinded him to the undoubted merits which lay beneath them. Art returns under Haremhab and the early Pharaohs of the XIXth Dynasty to its ancient ideals; but the softening tendency which had already begun to break down its austere dignity and force has now become accentuated by the shock of Atenism. The art of the XIXth Dynasty is still beautiful, perhaps in some respects more beautiful than that of any previous period; but it has begun to lose its energy and vigour, and the beauty which we admire in the reliefs of Seti I, here and elsewhere, has in it the taint of approaching decay, and its delicacy is the delicacy of sickness. The decline is already traceable in the work of Seti's son, Ramses II, though there is still a great output of technically admirable work; but from that time onwards the deterioration is rapid, and becomes increasingly so.

At Abydos, however, we are only at the earliest beginning of the process of decline, and it seems almost unjust to suggest decadence in the presence of anything so lovely as some of the work which is found here. What one does notice unmistakably is the general impression of languor which is given by the figures of these beautiful reliefs. The gods and goddesses of Abydos seem to be immobile, not because they are conforming to the accepted canons of Egyptian sculpture, but because they are too weary to move their slender limbs. Even so, they are still beautiful; later generations will give us the immobility without the beauty.

As we have noticed, the reliefs on the west wall are particularly worthy of attention. They represent, as usual, the king performing various acts of worship in the presence of different divinities. He burns incense and makes libation before Osiris and Harendôtes. He presents offerings and burns incense before a great uraeus-crowned shrine in which is seated Osiris, with the goddesses

Maet and Ronpet (the year-goddess) standing before him, and the goddesses Isis, Amentet (a funerary goddess), and Nephthys behind him. He offers a figure of Maet (Truth) to Osiris, Isis, and Harsiësis, and kneels before Horus and Isis to receive the royal sword, the crook, and the scourge.

Undoubtedly the gem of the whole temple is the relief of Osiris and the goddesses. Maspero's praise of this exquisite work is not in the least exaggerated. 'The relief', he says, 'is at once flexible and precise, a surface over which the chisel lingered lovingly, giving a kind of colour to the epidermis by a multitude of almost imperceptible strokes. The gods and goddesses have the features of the sovereign, and this oft-repeated profile is differentiated each time by a new shade of melancholy languor. To have seen the Pharaoh and the three goddesses (his companions), about ten o'clock on a fine February morning, is to understand to what a degree Egyptian art, so mournful superficially, may kindle with life and exquisite tenderness' (*Egypt*, in *Ars Una* series, p. 188). Even the decided taint of languor, already commented on, and also noticed by Maspero, almost seems to heighten, if possible, the impression made by this delicate and beautiful piece of sculpture, which might be safely chosen as representative of the very best which the XIXth Dynasty Egyptian artist could accomplish.

The constant repetition of the portrait of Seti, either *in propria persona*, or, as Maspero indicates, under the guise of some divinity or other, is a conspicuous feature of the sculpture here and elsewhere throughout the building. The uniform success with which the noble profile of the Pharaoh has been rendered is in itself a tribute to the executive skill of the artists responsible for the work; while a comparison with the mummy of the king shows that no more than justice was done by the sculptors of the royal portraits to the dignity and beauty of their original.

We now approach the seven sanctuaries which open upon the raised platform at the southern end of the hall. The heavy partition walls, which divide each chapel from its neighbours to right and left, end in piers, each of which is recessed in its lower part by a rectangular chamber, adorned with reliefs. On either side of the recess are reliefs; while the panel above the lintel of the doorway of the recess is filled by a large relief. Before entering the shrines, attention should be given to these reliefs, which are of very high quality. Beginning with the piers on

either side of the central sanctuary (that of Amen-Rê), we see on the right-hand pier, in the large panel, King Seti kneeling between Amen-Rê and Osiris. He wears the highly elaborate divine crown. In the smaller reliefs on either side of the recess, he is embraced by Khonsu, and dandled on the knee of Isis. In the interior of the niche, the king anoints Amûn, and offers incense to Mût and Khonsu. The pier on the left hand shows the king kneeling between Amen-Rê and Harakhte, and receiving from Amen-Rê the curved scimitar and mace. Within the niche, the king offers an image of Maet in the presence of Amen-Rê, Mût, and Harakhte.

On the right hand of the sanctuary of Amûn is that of Osiris, of which the left-hand pier is, of course, common with that of Amûn. The right-hand pier has as the subject of its large relief the king kneeling, wearing the war-helmet, and burning incense before Osiris—a particularly fine relief, in spite of the slight mutilation of the king's face, and his right hand and figure. Below he is embraced by Anubis, and receives the *ankh* from Horus. Within the recess, the king appears before Osiris, Isis and Nût. The next sanctuary is that of Isis, and its left-hand pier has just been described. Its right-hand pier shows the king receiving emblems of royalty from Horus and Isis, while its niche shows Seti before Osiris, Isis and Horus. The last sanctuary on the right hand is that of Horus, and on the west wall of the hall, between the semi-pier on its right hand and the pier which ends the third line of columns, occurs the famous relief, already noticed, in which the king presents an image of Maet to Osiris, Isis and Harsiësis.

We now turn to the piers on the left hand of the sanctuary of Amen-Rê, of which that on the immediate left hand of the sanctuary has already been described. The next sanctuary to the left is that of Harakhte, and on its left-hand pier the large relief shows Seti in the midst of the sacred tree, on which Ptah and Horus are writing his name; while the lower reliefs show him before Sekhmet and Mût. The interior of the niche shows him before Ptah, Harakhte and Sekhmet. Next comes the sanctuary of Ptah. Its left-hand pier has a large panel which once showed Seti offering to Ptah and Sekhmet. The figure of Ptah has suffered damage. The recess contains figures of the king, Thoth, and a funerary priest offering incense before Seti. The last sanctuary on the left is that of Seti himself.

We must now return to the central sanctuary of Amen-Rê and take the shrines in detail. The sanctuary of Amen-Rê differs from its neighbours in being approached by a flight of steps, instead of by an inclined plane. The apparent vaulting of the chapel should be noticed. It is not true vaulting, each course of the roof projecting beyond the one below it, and the whole being finally chiselled into the form of the arch. This is the common Egyptian practice in the case of such vaults. The chapels once had doors, either of bronze or of cedar-wood and bronze. Within the sanctuary stood the sacred barque of Amûn, bearing the portable shrine with the image of the god ; and the walls are adorned with reliefs of the king offering to the various forms of Amûn, and censuring the barques of Amûn, Mût, and Khonsu. The detail of the barques, fans, offerings and offering vessels is extremely elaborate.

The sanctuary of Osiris, to the right of that of Amen-Rê, opens at the back into the chambers specially dedicated to the worship of the Osirian triad, which we shall visit later. On the east (left-hand) wall, Seti burns incense before the sacred emblem of Abydos, which, it will be remembered, claimed to be the burial-place of the head of the god. The emblem is the wig and head of Osiris upon a pole. Before the shrine are the standards of the two Wepwawets, of the north and south, the Ibis of Hermopolis, the Hawk of Horus, and the figure of the local god Anhûret of Thinis. The west (right-hand) wall is adorned with the sacred barque of Osiris, again represented in great detail, with its offerings and plumed fans.

The sanctuary of Isis, which comes next, is at present closed. It contains reliefs of the sacred barque of the goddess, and representations of King Seti offering to Isis and Horus. The Horus sanctuary, last on the right-hand side, shows Seti offering to Horus and Isis, and burning incense before the sacred barque of Horus. Notice here, and in all the other sanctuaries, except that of Osiris, the two false doors, once heavily inlaid with either gold or bronze, which occupy the rear wall. The false doors are surmounted by a rounded carved pediment and cornice, and are separated from one another by a tall flower on which lies a serpent. At the top of each door may be noticed the conventional representation of the rolled-up grass mat which hung before an actual door.

The Harakhte sanctuary, the first on the left hand of the

central shrine of Amen-Rê, has reliefs showing Seti before Harakhte and his Heliopolitan consort Ius-aas, with Atûm and Hathor. The Ptah sanctuary, next to the left, is unfortunately very much ruined, but has once been decorated with reliefs referring to the god to whom it is dedicated.

The last sanctuary on the left is that of Seti I himself. On its eastern (left-hand) wall, we see the king enthroned and carried in state by three hawk-headed beings who are called 'The Spirits of Pe', and three jackal-headed beings who are called 'The Spirits of Nekhen', Pe and Nekhen being Buto and Hieraconpolis, the two archaic capitals of the land. Before him go the sacred standards. Above this, the king, bearing the crook and scourge, stands between Thoth and Nekhebt, on the one hand, and Horus and Wazet on the other. Nekhebt being the vulture-goddess of Hieraconpolis, and Wazet the serpent-goddess of Buto. Farther on, we see the sacred barque of the king, who was, of course, a god, 'the Good God', as distinguished from 'the Great Gods' and had therefore a right to his own barque. On the right-hand wall is a scene which reminds us of the way in which the Egyptians in all ages never forgot to recognize the fact of the original union of the North and South which made the greatness of their kingdom. Seti sits between Nekhebt and Wazet, above the sign of union, while Thoth and Horus interweave the lotus and papyrus plants, and the goddess of writing and remembrance, Saffkhet, writes down the record of the event.

From the sanctuary of Osiris, the first on the right hand of the central sanctuary of Amen-Rê, access is gained to the chambers dedicated specially to the cult of Osiris, at the back of the seven shrines. We first find ourselves in the western hall, whose roof was supported by ten columns without capitals, ranged in two rows. The reliefs in this hall are designed to give a summary of the chief emblems and shrines used in the worship of Osiris. Those on the north wall have been maliciously damaged, but may still be understood. They show Seti offering before the shrine of Anubis, which contains a jackal, and before that of Harendôtes, which has a hawk. He then opens the door of the shrine of Heqt, which contains the figure of a frog, and so on. On the south wall are grouped the symbols of Osiris, and of other gods, including the symbol of Abydos, the head of Osiris, and the Tet or Dadu, the symbol of Busiris, where the backbone of the god was said to have been buried. At the west end of the hall are the

sanctuaries of Osiris (central), Isis (left), and Horus (right), the three members of the Osirian triad. The reliefs in these, representing the king offering to the gods of the triad, or identified with Osiris, and saluted by the gods, are of fine quality and colour. The four-columned hall at the east end of this group of chambers is too much ruined to be worth a visit.

Returning to the Second Hypostyle Hall, we pass out of it on the left-hand (east) side into the hall known as the Hall of Sokar or Ptah-Sokar. This is a three-columned chamber, with fine reliefs showing Seti worshipping Sokar and Nefertûm. The east wall has four recesses in which are the figures of Nefertûm, Thoth, Sokar, Osiris, Mîn, Ptah, and Haroëris (Har-wêr); and between these recesses the king worships the gods. From this hall open off two shrines dedicated to Sokar and Nefertûm. They were both originally corbel-vaulted, like the seven sanctuaries, and they contain some remarkable reliefs. Especially worthy of attention is the relief in the Sokar shrine representing Osiris on his bier, with Isis hovering over him in the form of a hawk, while she also stands in human form at one end of the bier, and Horus stands at the other end. The whole series of reliefs in this shrine show that it was connected especially with the details of the mysteries connected with the resurrection of Osiris.

Returning once more to the Second Hypostyle Hall, we pass from the east end of the hall, between the second and third row of columns, into a long gallery, slightly ascending. On the right (south) wall of this is the famous king-list of Abydos, which has been of some importance in the determining of the order of succession among some of the less-known Pharaohs, although its date is comparatively late, and its detail not always accurate. In front of the list, Seti himself holds a censer, while his heir, afterwards Ramses II, wearing the side-lock of youth, recites hymns from a papyrus-roll. The list contains the cartouches of seventy-six kings, in two rows; and it begins with Mena, and ends with Seti himself. The third row is a series of repetitions of Seti's own cartouche. On the left wall, Seti and Ramses again appear, offering to the gods.

Half-way along the Gallery of Kings, a door in the right-hand wall gives access to another passage, leading out to the back of the temple on the south. It may have been used for the processions which visited the tomb of Osiris. The reliefs on its walls are of the time of Ramses II, and, though vigorous enough,

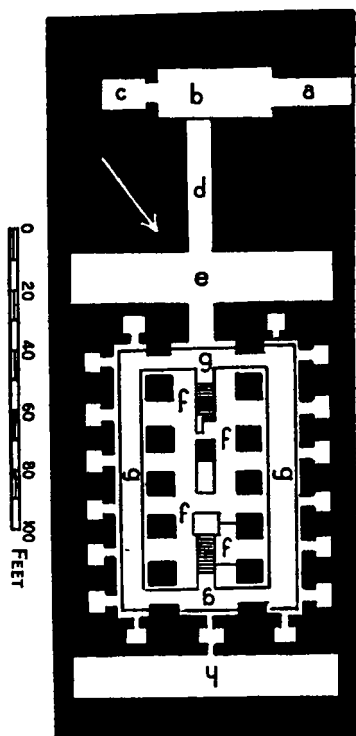
compare badly with the fine work of Seti. Ramses and his young son Prince Amen(hir)khopshef (who died young), lasso a bull for sacrifice; Ramses drags the barque of Sokar, and, together with four genii, pulls a clap-net, in which wild duck are caught for presentation to Amen-Rê and Mât. He drives four calves for sacrifice to Khonsu, and dances before a god (unknown, as his figure has been destroyed).

From the Gallery of Kings, access is given to several other chambers, of which the first, with six columns, and a banquette round the walls, was probably intended for the reception of sacrificial gifts, or perhaps for the resting-place of the sacred barques, whose sculptured representations adorn the walls. At the end of the Kings' Gallery we enter the slaughter-hall, with ten columns, and reliefs of the slaughtering of cattle which have never been finished. The minor chambers in this wing of the temple are scarcely worth the trouble of a visit.

Behind the temple, and at a distance of only 26 feet from its wall behind the seven sanctuaries and Osiris chambers, lies a very remarkable building, which was discovered in 1903 by Prof. M. A. Murray, partly excavated in 1911-14 by Dr. E. Naville, for the Egypt Exploration Society, and in 1925-6 by Dr. Frankfort, for the same society. It proved to be a structure of extraordinary interest—the Cenotaph of the Pharaoh Seti I, who was responsible for the great temple so close to it. On this point there can be little doubt, though the building is still sometimes called the *Osireion*. The original entrance to the building began wide out to the right hand, looking from the Seti temple, in a vertical shaft lined with brick; this gave access to a brick arch in the *temenos* wall of the temple, and from this arch a sloping passage (a), with walls and floor stone-lined, leads to an antechamber. The decorations and inscriptions on the walls of the passage are from the *Book of Gates* (right wall), and the *Book of What is in the Underworld* (left wall). They were executed by Menephtah, the grandson of Seti; but there is no doubt that the design was that of Seti. An ostrakon found in the passage gives an account of the transport of stone for the work, and incidentally informs us that Seti took such an interest in the building that he established a royal castle close at hand, so as to be able to come and watch its progress. It also tells us that the cenotaph was named 'Seti I-is-serviceable-to-Osiris'.

This passage is 110 yards long, and leads to an antechamber (b),

decorated with religious texts and scenes, from which opens a smaller chamber (c). From the antechamber another passage, 45 feet long (d), leads, at right angles to the first, to a transverse chamber of the full breadth of the building (e). This was roofed



THE 'OSIREION,' ABYDOS
(For explanation of lettering, see text)

with large slabs of stone, in the familiar tent- or saddle-shape, and bore texts from the *Book of the Dead*, executed by Menepthah. From this room a short passage leads to the Great Hall of the Cenotaph. This is a three-aisled chamber (f), 100 feet by 65 feet, surrounded by seventeen small cells, of which one, the

middle one of the end wall, has been pierced to give access to a further chamber. These cells open on a ledge, which is 2 feet in width, and is cut off from the pillared central portion of the hall by a deep trench which may have been filled at one time with water. The central portion of the hall thus resembles an island. It bears ten square pillars—enormous monoliths of granite, each $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, or more than twice the thickness of the pillars of the temple of the Sphinx at Giza. These originally supported architraves and roofing-blocks of similarly gigantic proportions. Each of the roofing-blocks measures 6 feet in thickness, and they and the architraves on which they rested are of granite. This pillared island in the centre of the hall is approached by a stairway at each of its shorter sides, and in its pavement, between the two rows of pillars, are two cavities, perhaps destined as the resting-places of a symbolic coffin and Canopic chest. It is probable that the island was cut off from the rest of the building by filling the trench with water.

From the central cell of the end of the hall access is gained to a second transverse chamber (h), also tent- or saddle-roofed, which was probably the sarcophagus-chamber, or rather a symbolic representation of the sarcophagus itself, as its roof is adorned with the usual sarcophagus-lid representation of the goddess Nût bending over the dead king, and also with the scene of Nût being raised above the earth by Shu, the god of the air. These sculptures are of the reign of Seti I, and are beautifully executed. Here, then, we have a very remarkable building. It is remarkable for the sumptuous nature of its construction, for its materials are fine limestone, hard red sandstone, and red granite, and they are used to create an impression of gigantic simplicity, such as we find in the valley-temple of Chephren (the temple of the Sphinx), so much so as to suggest conscious imitation of that building on a more magnificent scale, so far as regards the individual members of the architectural composition.

Yet there can be no doubt that the whole structure was destined to be buried under a great mound, so that it did not show at all above ground, save as a mound surrounded by trees. It is believed that the central hall, with its island and surrounding pool of water and its seventeen cells, is simply an attempt to embody a great cosmogonic myth, in which Osiris is buried on the primeval hill (the island), surrounded by the primeval waters, while the cells represent the so-called *pylons* of the *Book of the*

Dead. The sarcophagus-chamber beyond the central hall is the actual cenotaph of the Pharaoh who conceived the extraordinary idea of representing in actual stone the papyrus-pictures of Osiris as 'He who is at the Head of His Stairway'. If this belief is justified, then Seti I is, as Dr. Frankfort has said, 'the first and last king to have undertaken this extraordinary architectural expression of things religious'.

The fact that, as revealed in the course of excavation, the front and back walls of the sarcophagus-chamber of the cenotaph were raised above the roof so as to act as retaining-walls for the sand-bed on which the great temple of Seti I was built may possibly suggest (though not necessarily) that the building of the cenotaph preceded that of the temple. Whether this is so or not, it seems that the existence of, or the intention to create, such a building, accounts for the change of axis of the supplementary buildings of the temple; while the water-surrounded island, whose moat is naturally fed from the subsoil sheet of water underlying the desert, may represent the 'spring', or 'well', which Strabo describes as being 'reached by passages with low vaults consisting of a single stone, and remarkable for their extent and mode of construction'.

THE TEMPLE OF RAMSES II, ABYDOS

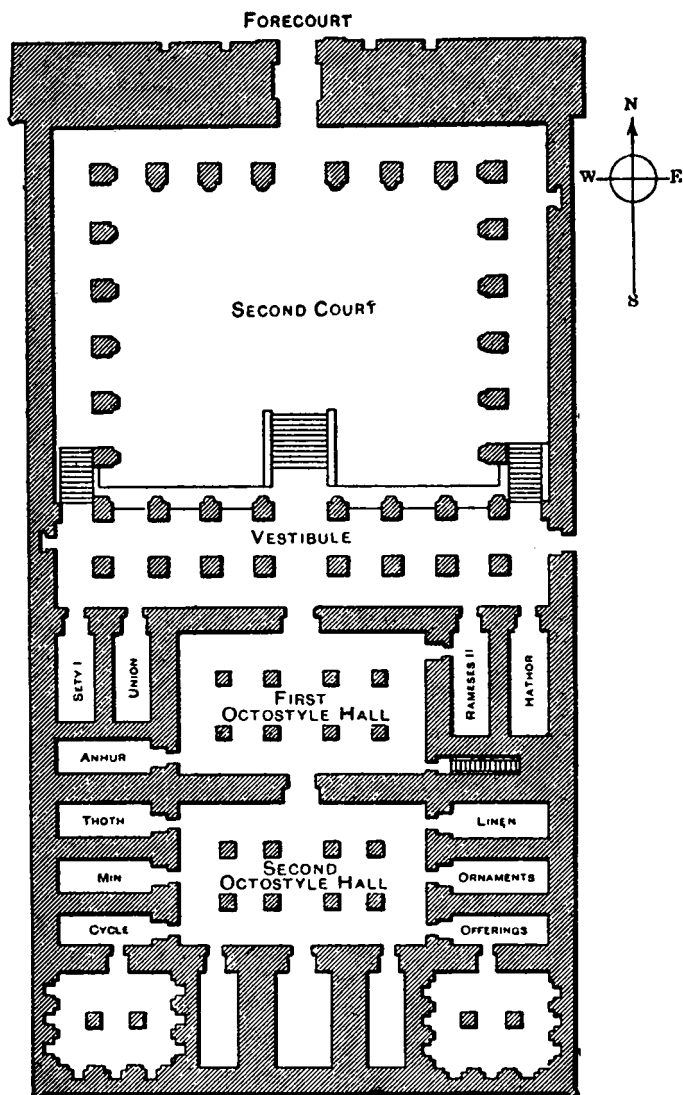
A short distance to the north of the great temple of Seti I lies the temple of Ramses II. It is now very much ruined, the remaining walls rising only to 6 or 7 feet in height; but the destruction is mainly comparatively modern, as the French Expedition of Napoleon found the building in fairly good preservation. It was an early work of the long reign of Ramses II, and was evidently constructed with greater care and more sumptuous materials than some of the later buildings of that monarch. An inscription on the exterior of the south wall of the temple expresses the pride of Ramses in his accomplishment: 'Lo, His Majesty [Life, Prosperity, Health!], was "Son-Whom-He-Loves", the champion of his father Unnofre [Osiris], by making for him a beautiful, august temple, established for eternity, of fine limestone of Ayan; a great double pylon of excellent work; portals of granite, the doors thereto of copper, wrought with figures in real electrum; a great seat of alabaster, mounted in granite, his excellent seat of the beginning; a *meskhen* chamber for his

divine ennead, his august father who rests therein, and Rê when he has reached heaven.' He then goes on to describe the abundant endowment of the temple, and the filling of its treasury and stocking of its pleasance: 'His treasury was filled with every costly stone, silver, gold in blocks; the magazine was filled with everything from the tribute of all countries. He planted many gardens, set with every sort of trees, all sweet and fragrant woods, the plants of Punt.' One of the doorways is described as being of black granite, with doors mounted with copper and inlaid with electrum; another as being of pink granite, with doors of beaten bronze.

Almost all of this splendour has now vanished; but the scanty remains still abiding show that the king was justified in his pride. The walls were of fine-grained limestone, the pillars of sandstone, the door-frames of granite, red, black, and grey, and the shrine was of alabaster. Moreover some, at least, of the relief-work is much above the usual standard of the reign. The finer work, in low relief, brilliantly coloured, occurs in the rear rooms of the temple; the coarser relief *en creux* in the outer court and vestibule, with the rooms opening from it. The fragment of another king-list, similar to that in the Seti temple, came from this temple to the British Museum, where it now is.

The present entrance to the temple is through a doorway leading into what was originally the Second Court. The First Court, almost entirely ruined and buried, lies outside of this to the north, and may still be partly traced. The entrance portal is of pink granite, and is probably one of the doorways with doors of beaten bronze referred to in the inscription of Ramses. Access is gained by it to a spacious peristyle court, whose loggia roof was supported by a series of rectangular pillars, faced with Osirid colossi of the king. At the inner, or southern side of the court, a triple range of steps rises to a terrace, along whose face runs a row of these Osirid pillars, backed by a row of plain rectangular pillars, the whole forming a raised vestibule. The somewhat coarse reliefs *en creux* in this peristyle court depict a procession of priests, with a prize bull for sacrifice and other animals, and trumpeters, soldiers, and offering-bearers. The other side of the court shows butchers and servants with the joints of meat, and bulls, antelopes and geese being brought up and recorded by the temple-scribes.

On the east wall of the Vestibule are depicted nine captives of



TEMPLE OF RAMSES II, ABYDOS

the southern tribes, represented by negro heads and shoulders rising out of a cartouche in which is written the name of the tribe in question. The west wall has a similar range of Asiatic tribes. From either end of the southern side of the vestibule two chambers open off. The two on the eastern side are dedicated to the goddess Hathor and Ramses II; the two western ones are dedicated to the union of Upper and Lower Egypt, and to Seti I. The Hathor room has a scene in which Ramses stretches out the *kherp* baton towards a (ruined) barque holding a statue of the Hathor cow suckling a figure of himself. In the Ramses room, the Pharaoh is seated in a sacred barque which is towed along by the spirits of El-Kâb or Nekheb, and of Pe, or Buto in the Delta. The room of the union is too much ruined to be worth attention. The room of Seti once contained a sacred barque with a figure of Seti; part of the barque is still visible.

We now enter the First Hypostyle Hall by a much ruined doorway of grey granite. The roof of the hall was formerly supported by eight square pillars. The scenes on the lower part of the walls show a line of kneeling figures of Hapi (the Nile-god), each with a tray of offerings. From the east side of the hall, at its southern end, a staircase once led to the roof; while opposite it, on the west side, is a chamber dedicated to Ankhûret, the local god of Abydos. A doorway in the main axis of the building leads from the first to the Second Hypostyle Hall, also eight-pillared, but now badly ruined. From it there open on either side three chambers, those on the eastern side being dedicated to Osiris. They are called the Room of Linen, of Ornaments, and of Offerings, respectively, from the character of their original reliefs; but they are too much damaged now to be of any great interest. The three chambers on the western side are of Thoth, Min, and the cycle of Horus gods. From the chamber of offerings and the chamber of the cycle entrance is gained to two rectangular chambers, each originally two-pillared, with recesses round three of their walls which held statues of the gods.

The Sanctuary, which is flanked on either side by a chamber with reliefs, was manifestly in its original state a chamber of great magnificence, but is terribly ruined. It was entered by a doorway of pink granite, with doors of beaten bronze, and its walls were of alabaster, on a foundation of sandstone. Its reliefs and inscriptions have now almost entirely disappeared. It held, at its southern end, a group of five figures carved in grey granite

(now much ruined), representing Seti I, a queen, Osiris, Ramses II, and a god who is now unidentifiable ; the idea being to bring the family of Ramses and his father Seti into direct filial relation with Osiris.

A little more than 30 miles up-river from El-Balyana we reach Hû (385½ miles from Cairo), a large village near which lie the scanty remains of the ancient city known to the Egyptians as Hat-Sekhem, and in the Greek and Roman period as Diospolis Parva. The remains of the temple at Hû are only of Ptolemaic and Roman date, and are of no particular interest. On the east bank of the Nile, 3 miles farther up-river, lies El-Qasr wa'l-Saiyâd, which is probably the ancient Chenoboskion, or ' Geese-Pasture ', a name which suggests that the rearing of geese was a feature of the town's life. This would bring Chenoboskion into connexion with a town mentioned in the time of Tuthmosis III as being north of Dendera. This town was named Hat-wêret-Amenemhêt, ' The Great Stronghold of Amenemhêt ', and it was rated at a yearly tax which included the provision of five hundred geese. It is likely that Chenoboskion and Hat-wêret-Amenemhêt are the same town, and that the place owed its ancient name to one of the XIIth Dynasty Pharaohs. These two towns apparently formed a twin city, with the more ancient foundation on the west and the more modern on the east bank of the Nile—a feature of which there are several other instances.

At neither place are the visible antiquities of much account. The mounds of Hû contain all that is left of the city's temple ; but, as we have just seen, it is of so late a date as to have comparatively little interest, even if it were not almost entirely destroyed. On the edge of the desert behind the town are the ancient cemeteries, of prehistoric XIIth and XVIIIth Dynasty dates, of which the first enabled Petrie to work out his system of sequence-dating. At El-Qasr wa'l-Saiyâd there are several rock-tombs, of which the only important ones are those of Idu and Zauta, who were local dignitaries of standing during the latter days of the VIth Dynasty. Of the two, Zauta was probably the elder. In addition to his local titles as Great Chief of his home and Hereditary Prince, he was Governor of the South, and Keeper of the Door of the South, besides holding the usual host of more or less honorary and ornamental titles. His descendant (?) Idu did not hold the important offices of Governor and Keeper of the South.

Idu's tomb is the first of the two mentioned, but the sixth in order, the previous five being of no interest. It has been much damaged ; but some of the scenes still remain in sufficiently good condition to allow of their significance being made out. On either side of the entrance, inscriptions give Idu's titles. The chamber consists simply of a rectangular chamber, with a sloping passage at the back leading down to the burial-chamber, now inaccessible. The scenes show Idu catching fish with a leister, and knocking down birds with a throw-stick. There are also the usual scenes of offerings, and there is part of a false door, with an inscription above it, ascribing the usual virtues to the owner of the tomb.

Zauta's tomb comes next. Its façade has been shamefully damaged by modern stone-thieves, who have simply quarried away a great part of it. Originally the tomb must have consisted of three rooms ; but the partition walls have disappeared, doubtless for the same reason. The roof has been barrel-vaulted. The tomb-shaft to the burial-chamber descends from the back of the middle room. The scenes represent the usual incidents of hunting and offering. They were better executed than those in the tomb of Idu, but have been much destroyed.

On the whole the tombs of El-Qasr wa'l-Saiyâd are scarcely worth the trouble of a visit from those who have had the opportunity of seeing the Old Kingdom work of the same kind, but of much better quality, at Saqqâra. Between El-Qasr wa'l-Saiyâd and Dendera there are no antiquities of any importance.

CHAPTER XV

DENDERA

DENDERA, the Tentyra of Greek nomenclature, is distant from Cairo by river 417 miles, while the distance by railway between Cairo and Qena, from which station it is visited, is 377½ miles. The route from Qena involves ferrying across the Nile, as the railway crosses to the east bank at Nag' Hammâdi, 343½ miles, and continues on the east bank to Aswân. Its ancient name, from which are derived the corruptions Dendera and Tentyra, was Enet-te-entore. The city was the capital of the VIth nome of Upper Egypt, and was sacred to Hathor, who was a goddess of many forms and functions, but stood, in the main, as the goddess of love and joy—an Egyptian equivalent of the Greek Aphrodite. The city was famous in Egyptian legends of the beginning of things as the scene of one of those great fights between Horus of Edfu and the evil god Sêth, which no doubt represent some of the tribal battles which preceded and brought about the union of the Two Lands, Upper and Lower Egypt. Horus of Edfu and Hathor of Dendera were united, and their son was another of the innumerable Horuses of Egyptian mythology, Harsmataui, 'Horus who unites the Two Lands'. Hathor is represented in Egyptian religious art under almost numberless forms—very often as a woman whose head is adorned with the disk of the sun, between cow's horns, but often also as a woman with a cow's head, which bears the sun-disk and horns. The two ideas of the woman's head and the cow's head gradually became fused in a compromise which resulted in the goddess being represented with a woman's head and cow's ears—a form in which Hathor is continually depicted, as, for instance, a decoration on the handle of a hand mirror, or an architectural motive for the capital of a column. It is in this latter form that we see the goddess figuring in the Hypostyle Hall at Dendera.

The temple which we are now about to visit is one of the best preserved and most immediately impressive of Egyptian temples, sharing this quality with its closely-related shrine of Edfu. It is

natural, but somewhat unfortunate for the visitor who happens not to be familiar with the history of Egyptian architecture, that on the whole the most complete, and therefore, on a casual view, the most attractive of the Egyptian temples should be either of Ptolemaic or Roman date; for this fact is apt to result in a temporary appreciation of what is really less characteristically Egyptian, and a consequent disparagement of the earlier and more thoroughly native work. Closer study, however, will soon show that what the Ptolemaic and Roman temples gain in the greater completeness due to the fact that they are several centuries later than their dynastic companions, they lose, and more than lose, in the fact that the art which they represent is no longer the vigorous and masterly art of earlier days, but the decadent and flaccid work of the time when dying Egypt was being temporarily galvanized into life by external influences from Greece and Rome.

Thus a first impression of Ptolemaic work, as we see it well represented at Dendera, may result in admiration for the undoubtedly fine decorative effect of the sculpture which is lavished so abundantly upon the walls and chambers of the great temple; but a closer and more careful inspection reveals the fact that it 'flatters only to deceive'. Coming to the temple with the impression of the exquisitely delicate and beautiful work of Seti's artists at Abydos fresh in the mind, one must inevitably find the sculptures of Dendera disappointing and commonplace. Indeed the general characteristic of Ptolemaic and later work, here and elsewhere, is that it is only attractive in the mass, and breaks down hopelessly when examined in detail. The Ptolemaic figures, however much they may strike the eye at a first glance, all look as if they had been stuffed with cotton wool, and badly stuffed at that, so that the bulges mostly come in the wrong places. In comparing them with Seti's work at Abydos, one is not bringing them by any means into competition with the best that Egyptian art could do, though the Abydos work still reaches a high standard; but alongside of the Ptolemaic figures the fine delicate lines of the ancient artists' creations look like a thoroughbred beside a cart-horse.

This is not to say, of course, that Dendera is not impressive. It is, and in a high degree, as is shown by the unbounded enthusiasm which the temple excited among the savants attached to Napoleon's Expedition. 'I wish', says Denon, 'that I could communicate to the minds of my readers the sensation which I

experienced. I was too much astounded to judge: all that I had heretofore seen in architecture was insufficient here to bring my admiration within bounds' (V. Denon, *Voyages dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte*, p. 178). A building which produces such an impression upon a competent judge must have merits, whatever its defects may be. What is emphasized is the fact that, impressive as Dendera may be, neither it nor any other temple of Ptolemaic or later date is worthy to be compared with the nobler work of the dynastic periods, still less to be taken for a typical Egyptian temple.

Inscriptions in the present temple state that the original building was erected by those most ancient kings who are known in legend as 'the followers of Horus'; which is just another way of putting the fact that its origin is, to use the thread-bare phrase, 'lost in the mists of antiquity'. In actual fact we know that Cheops of the IVth Dynasty, the builder of the Great Pyramid, built a temple here, presumably on the site of its prehistoric predecessor, and that in the reign of Pepi I of the VIth Dynasty the finding of an ancient plan of that building, drawn on hide, incited the Pharaoh to rebuild the temple, which had fallen into disrepair. Dendera seems to have been a place of importance at this period, and so many of its local dignitaries bear military titles, such as 'Ruler of the Fortress', 'Steward of the Magazines of Stores of War', or 'Captain of the Host', that it would seem to have been a garrison-town.

Petrie's excavations in the necropolis here resulted in the discovery of the tombs of six princes of the nome, who among their offices seem, to have been associated, as one would expect, together with their wives and daughters, with the service of Hathor. One of the most interesting features of the tomb-inscriptions of the time is the mention of the fact that the magnate speaks of himself as having conducted the 'transport' or the 'voyage' of Hathor. This of course refers to one of the great ceremonial events of the Dendera year, when Hathor voyaged up-stream to Edfu in her sacred barge, to visit her consort, Horus of Edfu. Her barge was met on the way by the barge of Horus, and the two gods travelled up to Edfu in company. Hathor stayed at Edfu for some days in the company of her consort, and then returned down-stream to her own temple.

Middle Kingdom references are not abundant. The most interesting is the inscription on the funeral stele of a certain

Khnumerdu, who was appointed librarian to the Queen Nefru-kayt, possibly the consort of Mentuhotpe II of the XIth Dynasty. This great lady was evidently a patroness of learning, as her mother Nebt had been before her. Khnumerdu tells us how he was taken in hand by the queen: 'She placed me in Dendera, in the great storehouse [library] of her mother, great in writing, great in sciences, great council-chamber of the South'; and how he proved himself a model librarian: 'I made extensions to the collection, enriching it with heaps of precious things, so that it did not lack in anything to the extent of my knowledge of things. I organized it, I made fair its arrangements with beauty more than before, I repaired what I found decayed, I tied up what I found loose [evidently papyrus-rolls], I arranged what I found muddled.' Evidently the barbarism of the south, during the First Intermediate Period, had not altogether extinguished learning, or the love of it, in Dendera.

Under the XVIIIth Dynasty, Tuthmosis III repaired the temple, and revived the voyage of Hathor. Tuthmosis IV also took an interest in the place, as is shown by the discovery of his name and of a colossal statue of his wife Mutemwia in the temple; but the traces of New Empire work are scanty. Ramses II and Ramses III are represented by their names and little more; while an inscribed brick with the name of Menkheperre, the priest-king of the XXIst Dynasty, has been found. It was left to the Ptolemys to begin the present building. It was begun before the reign of Ptolemy VIII, Soter II, as his cartouches are found in the crypts. The work continued during the reigns of Ptolemy X, Alexander, and Ptolemy XI, Neos Dionysos; Cleopatra VI and her son by Julius Caesar, Caesarion, are represented on the temple walls and in inscriptions. The Emperor Augustus is also mentioned, and one inscription states that the decoration of the outer walls was finished in the second year of the Emperor Tiberius, while the Greek dedicatory inscription on the upper edge of the cornice of the Great Hypostyle Hall or Vestibule states that 'the Pronaos was dedicated to the great goddess Aphrodite and her fellow-gods in the . . . year of the Emperor Tiberius' (year doubtful, possibly twentieth). Thus the temple, as we see it, was building from about 116 B.C. to A.D. 34; while it may be noted as a curious fact that its completion almost coincides with the determining event of the rise of Christianity. The decoration of the great building, however, continued through the reigns of Caligula,

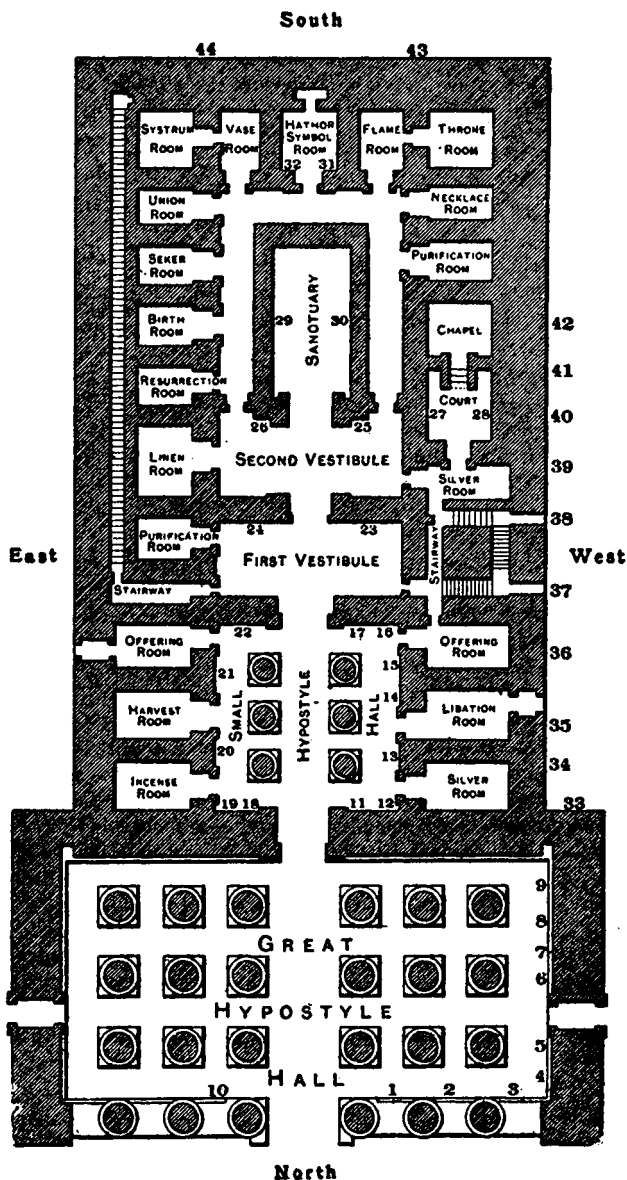
Claudius and Nero, and the great gateway in the *temenos* wall is of the time of Domitian, Nerva and Trajan (A.D. 81-117). Between this gateway and the present façade of the pronaos, there should have been a great pylon and a peristyle court, if the usual type had been followed out as at Edfu, which is only a little earlier in date ; but it must be supposed that money was lacking for the work.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE

The approach is through the sorely damaged gateway of Domitian and Trajan, whose names, with that of Nerva, occur upon it. Between the gateway and the façade of the temple, we pass on our right hand some smaller buildings, a birth-house of Augustus, a Coptic church, and a birth-house of Nectanebis, which will be mentioned later. The *temenos* through which we are passing measures between 900 and 1,000 feet each way, being approximately square. It was enclosed by a girdle-wall of crude brick, as is usual.

Before us now rises the façade of the Pronaos, Great Hypostyle Hall, or Vestibule, as it is variously called. In size, of course, Dendera cannot compare with any of the greater Egyptian temples, as it measures only about 260 feet over all ; but its front is undoubtedly imposing, with its six huge Hathor-headed sistrum columns, its richly carved entablature, and its immense cornice. The Hathor columns have screen-walls between them, and between the centre pair project the jambs of the great door which once closed the entrance. The faces of Hathor on the columns have been miserably wrecked by religious fanaticism, and the other sculptures of the façade, which depict 'The Prince of Princes, Autocrator Tiberius Claudius Caesar', have also been much damaged.

Entering the hall, we find ourselves in the midst of a forest of columns similar to the six of the façade. The roof of the hall is supported by another eighteen of these monstrous, but curiously imposing, shafts, with their mutilated visages of the goddess, beneath the sistrum-frame capital. The walls are decorated with reliefs, of the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, which are of no great interest, either artistically or otherwise, but which make an effective enough scheme of decoration. On the back of the screens between the columns of the façade, the Pharaoh (1) wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, leaves his palace



TEMPLE OF DENDERA

in order to enter the temple. He is preceded by a priest burning incense, and by five standards, bearing the Jackal Wepwawet of Thinis, the Ibis of Hermopolis, the Hawk of Edfu and Hieraconpolis, and the emblems of Thebes and of Dendera. Next, we have the king (2) being purified by Thoth and Horus of Edfu (relief much damaged); and (3) he is crowned by Nekhebt and Wazet, the vulture- and serpent-goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt. On the west wall of the hall the series is continued, and (4) the king is led by Montu, the war-god of Thebes, and by Atûm of Heliopolis, before Hathor of Dendera; at (5) he marks out the limits of the temple by driving in boundary stakes, while Isis and Sakhmet, the goddess of writing, assist him; (6) he offers a shrine, typifying the temple, to Hathor; (7) worships Hathor with her consort Horus of Edfu, and their son Harsmataui; (8) offers a figure of truth to Hathor, opposite whom is a figure of Harsmataui; (9) he presents the endowments of the temple, under the symbol of 'estates', to Hathor and her son.

On the left side of the entrance (10) we see the king, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, leaving his palace, as on the other side of the door. The rest of these scenes, and those on the east wall, are too much damaged to be worth describing. The south wall shows the king before the gods of Dendera. The upper registers of the walls show the Pharaoh making all sorts of offerings to Hathor and other gods.

The ceiling of this hall is of especial interest from its astronomical, or perhaps rather its astrological, adornments. The architraves above the columns divide it into seven bands of decoration. The westernmost section shows Nût, the goddess of the heavens, in the usual posture, with her fingers and toes stretched out and touching the world at the four cardinal points, while her long slender body arches over, forming the vault of heaven. Beneath her are the six northern signs of the Egyptian zodiac—the Lion, the Serpent, the Balance, the Scorpion, the Archer, and the Goat. Eighteen ships bear the eighteen *decani*, the presidents of the eighteen ten-day periods into which the Egyptian half-year was divided. The second band has at either end a winged figure representing the wind, the twelve hours of the night are represented, and the *decani* are grouped in six threes, each group representing one month of the half-year. The third band shows the moon, represented by the Sacred Eye. Fourteen days of waning are followed by fourteen days of waxing; and

Osiris in his moon-god shape appears in his barque floating above the heavens with himself in his ordinary form and Nephthys. The central band is decorated with vultures and winged disks. The fifth band has the twelve hours of the day, represented by boats with the sun's disk in them, and the figures of the gods to whom each hour was sacred. The sixth has once more the winged winds, with various astronomical figures. The seventh band repeats the figure of Nût ; but now the sun sheds its rays at the north end upon a shrine of Hathor ; while the six southern signs of the zodiac appear—the Crab, the Twins, the Bull, the Ram, the Fishes, and the Water-bearer, and the eighteen *decani* of the second half-year make their appearance in their ships. The whole scheme is highly interesting, and indeed this great hall, with its massive columns, and its gigantic Hathor heads, half-seen in the dim light, and its elaborate, though sorely mutilated decoration, can scarcely fail to impress the mind. One is irresistibly drawn to reconstruct in imagination its appearance nineteen hundred years ago, when the Hathor heads were intact, and every figure on the walls and columns glowed with fresh colour, and the endless procession of Hathor's priestesses wound in and out among the columns with rattle of sistra and clashing of tambourines ; while overhead the heavenly host sailed across the sky, serenely indifferent to the noisy little posturing figures fifty feet below.

A door in the middle of the back wall admits us to the Second Hypostyle Hall, a comparatively small chamber, whose roof is supported by six columns of a mixed type, the Hathor head being superposed upon a floral capital—not with good results. The reliefs on the walls of the chamber, which was known as ' The Hall of the Appearances ', depict the foundation of the building. It may be noted that the royal cartouches have been left blank, the Vicaresses of Bray at Dendera not having been sufficiently agile to keep up with the continual changes of ruler while the building was progressing. Beginning at the west (right-hand) side of the entrance, the Pharaoh (11) wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, leaves his palace, preceded by the standards of Thinis and Thebes, and a priest burning incense ; (12) he cuts the first sod, in the presence of Hathor ; (13) he shapes the first brick for the building ; (14) he performs a foundation ceremony before Hathor ; (15) he presents the temple to Hathor and Harsmataui ; (16) he presents a spear to Horus of Edfu—a memory of the local victory of the copper-using followers of Horus over the stone-using

followers of Sêth ; (17) he burns incense before Hathor. This completes the series of reliefs on the right-hand side of the hall.

Returning to the entrance, the first relief on the left-hand (east) side of the doorway (18), shows the king, wearing the White Crown of Upper Egypt, leaving his palace, preceded, as before, by various standards (Thinis, Edfu and Hieraconpolis, Hermopolis, and Thebes) ; (19) he offers gold and silver to Hathor for the temple ; (20) he performs a ceremony, imperfectly understood, of throwing balls of perfume over the temple, before Hathor and Isis ; (21) he presents the temple to Hathor and Horus of Edfu, before whom stands their son, Harsmataui ; (22) Ptah introduces the king into the presence of Hathor and Horus, before whom Harsmataui shakes a sistrum.

On the other side of this hall are three chambers, which were used for the ritual purposes of the temple. The three on the right-hand side were respectively used for the storage of silver and costly stones, for the storing of the jars of holy Nile water used for the purification of the temple, and for the storing of various offerings. On the left-hand (east) side, the first chamber was for incense, the second for harvest offerings, and the third for other kinds of offering. It has to be realized that all the chambers and halls of the temple were originally separated from one another by heavy doors, generally of cedar-wood inlaid with bronze, silver, and gold, so that the vistas which are now obtained of court beyond court were not available when the temple was in actual use.

We now enter the First Vestibule or Antechamber, the Sacrificial Chamber, or Hall of the Altar, in which the sacrifices were offered to Hathor and her related gods. It must be remembered that an Egyptian temple was not, like a Christian church, a place of public worship. It was the house of the god, where he dwelt, and where only privileged persons were permitted to enter and take part in the processional acts which formed so great a part of the ritual of worship. Probably the priestesses of Hathor and the privileged nobles of high rank assembled in the Great Hypostyle Hall, whose inner doors were then opened, showing the Small Hypostyle Hall, with its gathering of officiating priests, and beyond, the Hall of the Altar, with its sacrificing priests in the act of offering. This was the extent to which publicity went in the regular worship, and only priests of high rank, or the king as

supreme high-priest of all the gods of Egypt, entered the chambers beyond, and even they only on special days, save for the entry of the priest of the day to perform the regular daily ritual.

The reliefs in this antechamber are not of noteworthy importance, though attention may be given to the damaged representations on the back (south) wall, where one sees (23, 24) a ram-headed and a bull-headed divinity assisting the Pharaoh to make offering to Hathor and Horus. Passages at the north end of the chamber lead, on the west and east sides respectively, to a winding and a straight stairway, both of which conduct the visitor, as we shall see directly, to the roof of the temple. Another doorway on the east side of the hall gives access to a chamber for offerings, called the ' purification chamber '.

We are now approaching the most sacred portion of the temple, jealously guarded from the intrusion of unqualified persons. The Second Vestibule, or Antechamber, is sometimes called the Central Hall, and was known as ' The Hall of the Cycle of the Gods '. Its reliefs depict the mysteries of the Hathor cult, and represent Hathor in her functions as a sun-goddess, giver of life and light. From the east side of this antechamber opens a room known as the Linen Room, and used as a storehouse for the robes with which the goddess was clothed in the daily ritual or on festal occasions. From the west side, a passage known as the Silver Room leads into a small open court, from which steps (modern) lead to a small chapel upon a platform. Its facade is adorned with two sistrum columns. The reliefs in the court show various offerings, and also the king spearing the crocodile of Sêth before Horus of Edfu. This court and chapel form a special unit within the great temple. They were used for the celebration of ' The Day of the Night of the Child in His Cradle ', a festival of the birth of Horus, which, coming as it did at the close of the Egyptian year, offers a curious resemblance to the Christian festival of Christmas. The ceiling of the chapel shows the goddess Nut arched over the world, and touching its four cardinal points with her fingers and toes. She stands on the primeval waters, her robe is decorated with the zigzags by which the Egyptians symbolized water, and from her body the sun and moon shine forth upon a Hathor-headed shrine.

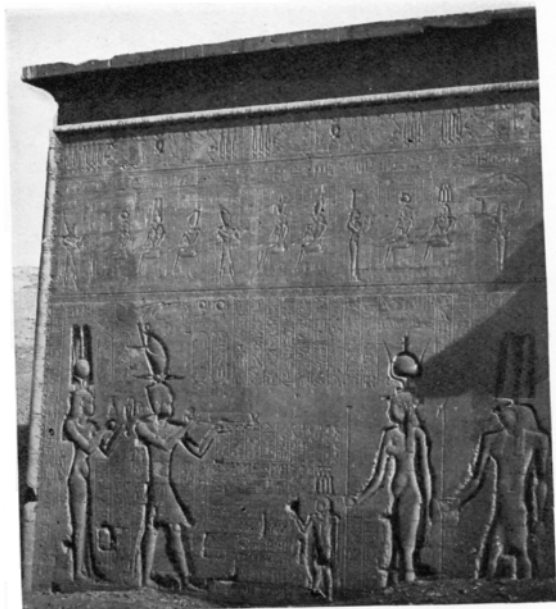
Returning into the Second Antechamber, we are faced by the entrance to the Sanctuary of the temple. At the east and west sides of its doorway (25, 26) the king offers two mirrors of

burnished copper, with the usual Hathor-headed handles, to the goddess, who was, like her Greek and Roman counterparts, the goddess of beauty. The Sanctuary was kept in profound darkness, and its doors were shut and sealed during the greater part of the year, being opened only for the great festivals. The reliefs, as usual, show the king before the goddess and related gods. At (29) and (30) he burns incense before the sacred barques of Hathor and Horus. An ambulatory runs completely round the Sanctuary, and from this corridor eleven chambers open off. Of these, the most important is the 'Hathor-symbol Room', which is immediately behind the Sanctuary, and in line with the central axis of the whole building. Here was a shrine with images and symbols of Hathor. The niche, high up in the south wall, is reached by modern iron steps, and has a relief of Hathor with the winged solar disk. Facing this niche, on either side of the entrance the king is shown (31, 32) being presented to Hathor by Wazet and Nekhebt, the serpent- and vulture-goddesses of Lower and Upper Egypt. Beginning with the chamber on the west side near the south end of the Sanctuary, the various chambers are named, respectively, the 'Purification Room', the 'Necklace Room', the 'Throne Room', the 'Flame Room'. Then comes the Hathor-symbol Room, just described, and the remaining chambers are the Vase Room, the Sistrum Room, the Union Room, the Sokar Room, the Birth-room, and the Resurrection Room.

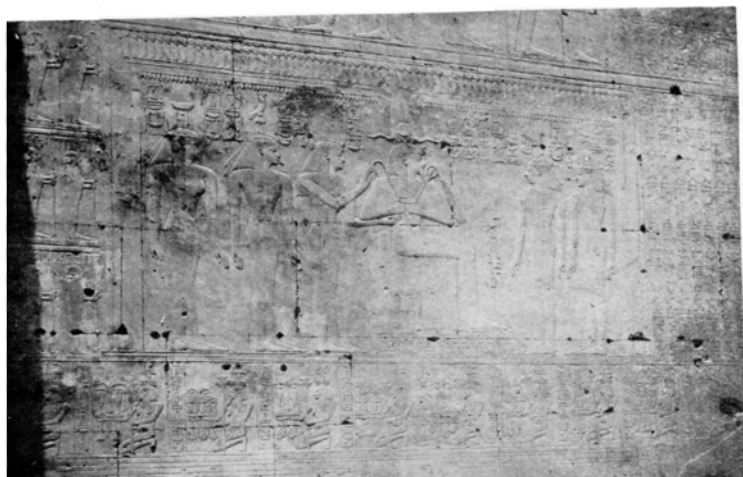
We have now completed our circuit of the temple on the ground floor; but there still remain to be seen the crypts and the roof, with its stairways of approach. Dendera possesses no fewer than twelve crypts, and as their reliefs date from the reign of Ptolemy XI, Neos Dionysos, they are the oldest art work in the temple, and also the best. The two crypts usually visited as specimens of the whole are those which open from the chambers at the extreme south-west corner of the building, known as the Flame Room and the Throne Room (18 and 19 on Baedeker's plan). Among the reliefs in the crypt entered from the Flame Room (B 18), notice should be given to the relief of the Pharaoh Pepi I, the first restorer of the temple (VIth Dynasty), who is represented kneeling and offering a divine statue to four images of Hathor. In the other crypt, entered from the Throne Room (B 19) the king offers sacrifices and slays hostile gods, as usual. We have still to ascend to the roof by one of the two staircases,

either the straight one on the east side, or the winding one on the west. These staircases were used by the priests for the great processions which formed so important a part of the temple worship, and they have consequently been decorated with reliefs depicting in full detail the New Year festival in which the king and priests bore the images of Hathor and her related gods in solemn procession round and over the temple. The left-hand wall, in either case, shows the procession ascending to the roof, while the right-hand wall shows it descending. The east staircase is dark; the west staircase, which makes ten rectangular turns upon itself in its ascent to the roof, is lighted by several windows. 'Nothing that we have yet seen', writes Miss Amelia Edwards (*A Thousand Miles up the Nile*), 'surprises and delights us so much, I think, as this staircase. . . . Here, one by one, we have the standard-bearers, the hierophants with the offerings, the priests, the whole long, wonderful procession, with the king marching at its head. Fresh and uninjured as if they had but just left the hand of the sculptor, these figures—each in his habit as he lived, each with his feet upon the step—mount with us as we mount, and go beside us all the way. . . . Surely there must be some one weird night in the year when they step out from their places, and take up the next verse of their chanted hymn, and to the sound of instruments long mute and songs long silent, pace the moonlit roof in ghostly order !'

The roof itself, when reached, proves to be of various levels. A flight of steps leads from the north-west angle of the lower level to the roof of the first antechamber, and thence a continuation leads to the roof of the Second, or Small, Hypostyle Hall. From this, a modern iron staircase leads up to the highest point, the roof of the Great Hypostyle, or Pronaos, from which a fine view of the Nile valley with its boundary of hills is obtained. At the south-west corner of the roof there stands a small chapel with twelve Hathor-headed sistrum columns. This was one of the 'Stations' of the divine images during the procession. At the north-east corner of the lower level, above the chambers to the left of the Small Hypostyle, is a shrine of the mysteries of the death and resurrection of Osiris, with an open first court and an inner sanctuary. The famous zodiac of Dendera, was cut from the roof of this inner chamber, and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, being replaced here by a plaster cast. This Osiris shrine resembles the similar shrine on the roof



RELIEF FROM TEMPLE OF DENDERA
CLEOPATRA AND HER SON CAESARION
WORSHIPPING HATHOR AND OTHER DIVINITIES



BAS-RELIEF FROM TEMPLE OF SETI I, ABYDOS



KARNAK FROM THE AIR



TEMPLE OF LUXOR FROM TOP OF PYLON

of the temple of Isis at Philae. Note the huge roofing-slabs on the highest portion of the roof, above the pronaos.

The visitor should not leave Dendera without walking round the outside of the temple and examining the reliefs and the two birth-houses and the Sacred Lake and temple of Isis. The reliefs on the east and west walls are of late date (entirely Roman, some of Nero's reign), and are of no especial interest, representing the usual scenes of the king presiding over the building of the temple and offering it to the gods. It should be noted, however, that this parading of religious scenes on the outside of the temple is a departure from the practice of the dynastic architecture, which confined the religious representations to the inside of the building, and decorated the outside with scenes of the wars and conquests of the Pharaohs who built the temples in question. Edfu, on the other hand, a little earlier in date, offers a compromise and presents both religious and warlike scenes on the outside walls.

The reliefs on the south (rear) wall, however, have an interest of their own, though they are merely concerned with the figures of royalty before the gods. The two figures represented twice in the presence of the gods of Dendera are here those of the famous Cleopatra, and Caesarion, her son by Julius Caesar. Neither of the representations of Cleopatra does much credit to that lady's reputation for beauty; but it must be remembered that these reliefs are merely conventional, and make no claim to be portraits.

Turning from the reliefs of the south wall, we are close to the small temple of Isis, which stands on a terrace behind the great temple. It dates from the time of Augustus, and it consists of a sanctuary, with side chambers, and a vestibule. The reliefs show Hathor suckling the child Horus, while the cow of Hathor is shown on the east and west walls. In the rear wall is a recess with a figure in high relief of Bes, the hideous dwarf, who, among his many other functions, was the patron deity of childhood. There is nothing of any great interest, and, in any case, the chambers are not accessible in the meantime. East of this little temple lie the remains of another structure, which once had a forecourt, a columned hall and several other chambers, but is now ruined down to the foundations. Returning towards the north and the entrance of the great temple, we pass (left hand) the Sacred Lake, which was a necessity to any temple of importance. In this case it is a large rectangular basin of some depth,

with a flight of steps leading down to the water at each corner. Other flights of steps, concealed in the masonry on the north and south sides, gave access to the water when it was at a lower level.

Passing some brick ruins of Roman date, we reach next the small Birth-house. Here it is necessary to explain what is the significance of this structure, which we shall meet again in other temples of Ptolemaic or of later date. Such temples have almost invariably a small temple attached to them, with reliefs representing scenes from the birth and childhood of Horus. In these small temples were celebrated rites which related to the Osirian tradition of the child Horus who grew to manhood after the murder of Osiris, and overthrew the enemies of his father. Horus, as Pharaoh of Egypt, becomes the ancestor of all succeeding Pharaohs, and the prime fountain of all law and order in the land. Thus it was essential that each Pharaoh on his accession should be recognized as a true descendant of Horus, and a legitimate inheritor of the Horus tradition. This was ceremonially accomplished at each temple by the performance of the traditional rites of the divine birth of Horus, which were held in the birth-house specially designed for this purpose. The idea may perhaps have arisen from the representations at El-Deir el-Bahari and Luxor of the divine birth of Queen Hatshepsut and of Amenophis III. It grew in importance with the remarkable growth of Osirianism as a universal cult in Egypt, and reached its full development in the Ptolemaic period.

The small birth-house at Dendera dates from the time of Nectanebis I, and was completed under the Ptolemys. It has a colonnade, with screen-walls between the columns, a transverse vestibule, a sanctuary and side chambers. The reliefs of the sanctuary show the birth of Harsmataui. Between this small birth-house and the larger temple of the same type, is a large Coptic church, one of the earliest in Egypt, dating from the fifth century. The building is of considerable interest to students of the development of the early Christian church, but does not concern us here.

Finally we come to the larger birth-house, which is of later date than its smaller neighbour, dating entirely from Roman times (Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian). The approach, by an incline, leads to a forecourt, from which we enter a vestibule, with a flight of steps on the right hand, which once led to the roof of

the building. A second vestibule opens into the sanctuary which has a small store-chamber on either side of it (not open). The reliefs show, as usual, the birth and childhood of the divine child. The colonnade surrounding the sides and rear of the temple has flower capitals, the abacus of each column being adorned (?) with the figure of Bes, the patron of childhood and one of the guardians of women in child-birth.

CHAPTER XVI

COPTOS TO LUXOR (THEBES)

COPTOS, the next historic site after Dendera, has little to offer in the way of attractive ruins, and the thing which really constitutes its interest—its connexion with the quarries of the Wâdi Hammamât, and, by the way of Wâdi, with the Red Sea—requires, for its investigation, rather more time than can usually be spared. At the same time, Coptos, with its western connexion Ombos, on the western bank, represents one of the most ancient traditions in Egypt, and the records of the Wâdi Hammamât, even if they cannot actually be seen, ought to be known to every student of Ancient Egyptian history. The place is comparatively easy of access from Luxor, and can be visited, with good arrangement, between morning and lunch.

HISTORICAL NOTES

Coptos and Ombos form another instance of the occurrence of two ancient cities almost opposite one another on the east and west banks of the Nile. Mr. Weigall has pointed out that in this case, and several others, it is the town on the western bank which is the older of the two; the reason being that the main lines of communication in the Nile valley ran along the west bank, so that centres of population grew up there first. But, as trade developed with advancing civilization, the trade-routes to the gold-producing areas of the Arabian range, and to the Red Sea, had to find a terminus which did not involve the crossing of the river, and thus offshoots of the western towns grew up on the eastern side of the river. Thus Ombos, to which we shall return, is a predynastic foundation, and its ancient name, 'Nûbi' or 'golden', suggests that in early days it was already engaged in the gold-mining industry. Coptos, whose history does not date back to earlier than the Ist Dynasty, is the result of the realization of natural conditions, and was established, obviously, to meet these. It lies at the end of the ancient road to the famous

breccia quarries and the gold-bearing district of the Wâdi Hammamât, and must have been created as a depot for the trade from the east, to obviate the difficulty of the river-crossing to Ombos.

The working of the quarries dates from the earliest dynastic period, so that we may presume that Coptos rose as a consequence of the industry there. The establishment of the route to El-Quseir, the nearest route from Egypt to the Red Sea, must have followed speedily. Such being the origin of the city, it was quite natural that its patron-god should be Min, the ithyphallic deity who was Lord of the Eastern Desert and of Foreign Lands. He is represented as a human figure, with upraised right arm bearing a scourge, and bears on his head tall plumes. He is frequently identified with Amûn of Thebes, who closely resembles him in several particulars, especially in the tall plumes which he wears; but at this early stage Amûn was the comparatively insignificant god of an insignificant city, and while the two are identified with one another and with Rê, as solar gods, Min alone is the Lord of the Eastern Desert, as Thebes did not stand upon a desert road. Petrie's excavations at Coptos, in 1893-4, produced, among other objects, three exceedingly ancient and rude statues of Min, on which figures of desert animals and Red Sea shells were roughly cut.

The temple of Min at Coptos was already in existence in the IVth dynasty, as is proved by a ceremonial jar bearing the name of Cheops. It was rebuilt, or restored, by the two Pepis of the VIth Dynasty; and we have evidence of activity in the Wâdi Hammamât from both these reigns, as well as from those of Iseti and Unas, of the preceding dynasty. In the same dynasty a certain ship-captain named Ipy came to procure stone for the pyramid of the Pharaoh Aty, and brought with him 200 archers and 200 quarrymen. His expedition was quite outclassed, however, by that of the Pharaoh Imhôtep, who sent his son Zaty with 1,000 labourers, 100 quarrymen, 1,200 soldiers, 200 donkeys, and 50 oxen. The proportion of soldiers in both expeditions would seem to show that conditions in the eastern desert were disturbed, though the soldiers would, of course, lend a hand in the work, besides acting as defenders of the quarrymen.

It is with the XIth Dynasty that Hammamât, and consequently Coptos, begins to rise in interest and importance. In the reign of Mentuhotpe IV, one of the great officials of the court,

Henu by name, 'Overseer of the Temples, Chief Justice of the Six Courts of Justice', and so on, came through Coptos and the Wâdi Hammamât with an expedition of 3,000 men, on his way to the Red Sea. He gives us most interesting particulars of the provisioning of his caravan, mentioning that each man's ration was 20 loaves per day, which is not so Gargantuan as it seems, the loaves in question being flat, round cakes of bread. Even so the bakers of the expedition must have been kept fairly busy, turning out 60,000 cakes daily. Arrived at El-Quseir, he built and dispatched a ship to Punt, and then returned himself by the Wâdi Hammamât, bringing down 'august blocks of stone for statues'.

Henu's expedition, however, was again surpassed in the next reign by that of Amenemhêt, who is probably to be identified with the founder of the XIIth Dynasty. This great official, who was vizier to Mentuhotpe IV, took 10,000 men with him to the valley, so that Coptos must have been a whirl of activity as he passed through; and his inscriptions relating to the fortunes of the expedition are among the most interesting of Middle Kingdom records. The block of stone for the sarcophagus-lid which Amenemhêt sent down as one of the results of his work in the valley measured 14 feet by 7 feet, by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the vizier mentions that 3,000 sailors 'from the North Land' took it down to the river, the Delta sailors being evidently the 'handy men' of Egypt, who could be relied upon for anything in the way of pulling and hauling. If Amenemhêt's 10,000 men were fed at the same rate as Henu's 3,000, they must have consumed 200,000 loaves per day, and their commissariat must have been better organized than that of most expeditions.

In the XIIth Dynasty, Coptos and Hammamât, as we might have expected, were kept busy. Under Senusret I, Ameni of Beni Hasan, whose tomb we have already seen, records that he took an escort of 600 soldiers to Coptos to guard the gold-train from that town. Senusret III earned for himself the title 'Beloved of Min, Lord of Coptos'; but practically all the kings of the dynasty worked the quarries or repaired and enlarged the temple. The place distinguished itself in a bad sense during the dark days of the Hyksos conquest by providing a traitor from among the priests of the temple of Min. Teti, the traitor in question, had to be excommunicated and deprived of all his offices for his traffic with the enemy; in most other countries,

even down to comparatively recent times, his fate would not have been by any means so easy.

Coptos continued to be of importance during the New Empire, and the tomb of Menkheperresonb, in the reign of Tuthmosis III, shows the receiving of gold from the captain of the police of Coptos, and the 'Governor of the Gold Country of Coptos'. A stele from the temple tells of the visit of Hittite princes and a princess in the reign of Ramses II of the XIXth Dynasty. Two steles of the reign of Ramses IV (XXth Dynasty) give somewhat grim evidence that Egyptian powers of organization had not improved during the time between the XIth and the XXth Dynasty. Ramses IV visited Hammamât in person to inspect the quarries, and twenty-one months later sent a large expedition of practically the same size as Ameni's to exploit them. The expedition started out 9,262 strong, and apparently returned with 8,362 men, having lost 900 between the rigours of the journey and the hardships and dangers of the quarrying !

But the most interesting of all the records connected with Coptos is the Ptolemaic Papyrus which records the adventures and misadventures of the Prince Setne-Khaemwêset, the famous son of Ramses II. It tells how Khaemwêset went down into the tomb of a former wizard of a royal line, named Na-nefer-ka-Ptah to take from the tomb a roll of magic writings, and was told by the wife of the dead wizard how her husband had found the roll at Coptos, and how she and her little son had both lost their lives in consequence of the anger of the god Thoth at the taking of his roll. Na-nefer-ka-Ptah, heart-broken by his losses, committed suicide and was buried at Memphis. Khaemwêset, persisted in taking the roll, in spite of the warning thus given him, fell into the power of the dead wizard, and was forced, as a penalty, to bring the mummies of Na-nefer-ka-Ptah's wife and son from Coptos to Memphis, so that the family might be united in a single tomb. The story is one of the most interesting examples of the Egyptian wonder-tale.

In Roman times, the trade-route between the Red Sea and Coptos was in active use, and a tariff of taxes on persons and goods passing through the city for the desert journey has been found in a ruined guard-house at the beginning of the road. It dates from the reign of Domitian. Coptos rebelled against Diocletian in A.D. 292 and was destroyed in consequence. It recovered from the blow, and was a prosperous town down to the time of

the Caliphate ; but thereafter it gradually lost importance, and its place as the terminus of the desert routes was taken by Qûs, a few miles farther south.

A visitor who has at least three days at his disposal should not omit a journey to El-Quseir, viâ the Wâdi Hammamât. It is usually made from Luxor, where cars can be hired. Two cars are desirable, the return journey for both being in the neighbourhood of twelve pounds Egyptian. The desert roads commence at Qena or Qift and meet at a small desert village called El-Laqeita. Here cars have to report their departure to the Frontiers Administration. The desert journey, if the cars are good, occupies some six running hours, and is excellent almost throughout its length. Steadily ascending, the limestone is gradually left behind and the granites, schists, dolerites and other igneous rocks are seen. Here the scenery is splendid, having no counterpart elsewhere in Egypt. Passing the Bîr el-Hammamât the track narrows, and for miles on either side of the road can be seen the inscriptions of those who were sent to quarry stone. A few miles farther on the Bîr el-Fawâkhîr is reached, where some of the tunnels in the granite, used by the gold-miners of ancient times, can be explored and their huts examined. The descent into El-Quseir is hardly less enjoyable, the varieties of colour, especially of the multicoloured ochres and granites, being, unlike most desert scenes, constantly changing.

El-Quseir possesses few attractions, especially in the matter of accommodation, and if possible tents should be taken. In special cases, the Italian Phosphate Company occasionally give visitors the use of their rest-house and canteen, but this is naturally not to be counted on. A more detailed description of this delightful journey is not given, since it can hardly be described as being in the Nile valley in spite of the importance of its monuments. Visitors interested in this and other desert journeys cannot do better than read Weigall's *Travels in the Upper Egyptian Deserts*.

ANTIQUITIES

These, so far as interest is concerned, are almost in inverse proportion to the historical interest of the old city and neighbourhood. The large black granite triad of Ramses II, sitting between Isis and Hathor, which Petrie discovered in 1893-4, is

now at the Cairo Museum (No. 595, G 13, south). A medical papyrus, now in the British Museum, bears the statement that the work was discovered at Coptos in the time of Cheops of the IVth Dynasty. The excavations of MM. Weill and Reinach in 1910 resulted in the discovery of a number of interesting steles of the later Old Kingdom period, and of temple remains dating from Senusret II and Tuthmosis III, with restorations by the Ptolemys and several Roman emperors. But a visit to the ruins, which lie near to the modern village of Qift, will scarcely repay the trouble of any one but an enthusiast.

OMBOS

On the western bank of the river, making the apex of a triangle whose other points are Qift and Qûs on the east bank, lies the ancient city of Ombos, which may possibly have been the mother-city of its later rival Coptos. This Ombos must, of course, be distinguished from the more southerly Ombos (Kôm Ombo) between Silsila and Aswân. All along this bank, from El-Ballâs to Naqâda, are prehistoric cemeteries which have been excavated by Petrie, de Morgan, and Quibell. Ombos lies about half-way down this line of ancient graves. It has to be reached from Qûs, on the other side of the river, and the expedition, which is long and tiring, is not worth the trouble.

The main interest of Ombos lies in the fact that the city-god of the place was Sêth, who figures in later Egyptian mythology as the wicked brother of Osiris, and the murderer of that good king, and as having been defeated and disgraced by Horus, the son of Osiris, who championed his father's cause. Sêth, in virtue of this association, becomes identified more and more with the evil principle, and finally becomes a kind of Egyptian counterpart of the Devil. In these later days when he had fallen upon evil times, he was identified also with the Asiatic god Sûtekh, who, it will be remembered, was the god whom the Hyksos Pharaoh Apepa worshipped. All this, however, had nothing to do with Sêth's original position and reputation. Sêth appears originally to have had just as good a reputation as any other local god, save for the fact that the tribes which worshipped him, and whose centre was at Ombos, suffered defeat at the hands of the Horus-worshipping tribes of farther south. These inter-tribal battles seem to have been at the bottom of the legend

which pictures the battles of Horus against Sêth at Dendera, Edfu and elsewhere.

But although his worshippers were defeated by the southern tribes, Sêth himself did not cease to be held in honour. He continued to be worshipped by his own tribes, and to be at least respected by their conquerors, for his emblem appears above the name of one of the early kings along with the hawk of Hieraconpolis; he is sometimes pictured as the instructor of the Pharaoh in archery; he is invoked in early prayers for the dead, along with his rival Horus; and in the XIXth Dynasty Seti I, one of the best of later Pharaohs, was named after him, as was also another Pharaoh of the same line. Although, in the course of his career, Sêth had more social ups and downs than any of his divine confrères, it was only in Ptolemaic times that the ancient rivalry of Sêth and Horus, which had left Sêth, although defeated, quite respectable, gradually became converted into the legend which made him out to be the diabolical enemy of the god Osiris, and the embodiment of the evil principle. His symbol is a grotesque 'fabulous monster', with upright, square-tipped ears, a rigid, bifurcated tail, and a long snout, who has variously been identified with the okapi, with the aard-vark or ant-bear, *and with a pig whose every characteristic is reversed*! He is frequently represented as a human figure, with this grotesque head. At Ombos, for some obscure reason, the crocodile was Sêth's sacred animal: in later days, therefore, it was held in abhorrence at Dendera. A familiar story, which, whether true or not, was considered by Juvenal true enough to be told, relates how at a feast in Coptos, some visitors from Dendera killed a crocodile. Not unnaturally, considering local prejudices, a tremendous row arose, and the truculent men from Dendera, instead of being overwhelmed by the consciousness of their sacrilege, added to it by capturing a citizen of Ombos, whom they proceeded to slay and eat! It would sound only good enough for a traveller's tale, were it not for the well-known instance related by Diodorus, in which a Roman citizen who had inadvertently killed a cat was put to death by the infuriated Egyptian mob. The eating of the Ombite citizen by the crocodile-slayers, however, seems to be carrying local prejudice a little too far, even when allowance is made for the excitement of the moment.

The temple of Ombos, as would be expected from the primitive character of its god, dates from the earliest historic period.

Scarabs of the XIIth and XIIIth Dynasties show the connexion with the Middle Kingdom. Tuthmosis I has left evidence of his interest in the temple in the shape of a fine relief, now in the Cairo Museum. Tuthmosis III and his son Amenophis II rebuilt and enlarged it, and the XIXth Dynasty Pharaohs, Ramses II and his son Menephtah, did some restoration work. In the XXth Dynasty Ramses III again restored and equipped the temple. His record in the Harris Papyrus states: 'I restored the house of Sûtekh, Lord of Ombos; I built its walls which were in ruin, I equipped the house in its midst in his divine name, built with excellent work, for ever. "House-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis-in-the-House-of-Sûtekh-of-Ombos" was its great name. I equipped it with slaves, captives and people, whom I created. I made for him herds in the North, in order to present them to him as a daily offering. I made for him divine offerings anew, being an increase of the daily offerings which were before him. I gave to him lands, high and low, and islands, in the South and North, bearing barley and spelt. His treasury was supplied with the things which my hands brought, in order to double the feasts before him every day.' After this new endowment, however, the only mention of the temple is by one of the Sheshonqs of the XXIInd Dynasty; thereafter the record is a blank, save for the crocodile fight, and its cannibal sequel.

Nor are the ruins still extant of any conspicuous interest. Some limestone fragments of temple walls still remain, with the remains, to the north, of an ancient pyramid of unhewn stones. The range of prehistoric cemeteries, which continues south to Naqâda has been of extraordinary importance in connexion with the establishment of the principle of sequence-dating for the prehistoric period, but is of no interest to the ordinary visitor. A little distance north-west of Naqâda, M. de Morgan discovered in 1897 a large brick mastaba, which may have been the secondary tomb of the Pharaoh Mena or Menes, the founder of the Ist Dynasty. It is in too poor condition, however, to be worth a visit, though it can be reached without any great difficulty from the railway station at Qûs, on the eastern bank of the Nile.

Qûs

Qûs itself represents the ancient city of *Kis*, which, in the early part of the fourteenth century of our era was the second

town of Egypt. In the dynastic period it was devoted to the worship of Haroêris or Har-wêr, 'The Elder Horus', who was a form of the sun-god. He was supposed to have been born at Qûs, and, as he was identified by the Greeks with their own Apollo, his birth-place was called by them Apollonopolis Parva, Edfu being Apollonopolis Magna. There are no remains of any interest. Qûs succeeded Coptos as the depot for the trade-routes to the east; but after the fourteenth century this position began to be taken by Qena, which is still the terminus of the route through the eastern desert to El-Quseir, the Red Sea port.

SHENHÛR

This village, about four miles south of Qûs, really falls without the period with which we deal, as its temple is only of Roman date. The temple, though small, is in a fairly good state of preservation. It originally consisted of three forecourts and the main fabric; but the forecourts have been badly ruined. The second Forecourt has the bases of eight columns, and a fragment of inscription, with the cartouche of the Emperor Nerva.

The actual body of the temple is entered by a ruined doorway from the third Forecourt. Its outer hall has only the side-walls standing; but the next chamber, the Pronaos, is partly roofed. Behind it is the Sanctuary, with an ambulatory leading around it, partly roofed also. The sanctuary is decorated with reliefs, which are much weathered. The only cartouches to be seen read *Autocrator Caesar*. The chief deities are Amen-Rê, Mût, and Khonsu, the Theban triad, with Min and Isis. But it is scarcely worth while wasting time over a building of such late date and so little importance, when we are so near to the supreme remains of Egyptian temple architecture.

MADAMÛD

This site lies so near to Karnak that it is frequently visited as part of the Theban programme, as it is easily reached from Thebes. It is best, however, to keep Thebes by itself, apart from the more northerly sites. The ruins of the temple at Madamûd, formerly offering little to interest anybody, have risen into more importance since the excavations of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, begun in 1925 by Bisson de la

Roque and M. G. Foucart. These have shown that there was a temple here in the time of the Middle Kingdom, statues of Senusret III, and a granite slab of the same king having been found among the ruins. The chief interest of Madamûd lies in the fact that the late Middle Kingdom kings, whose order is imperfectly known, seem to have had a special regard for it, and constructed temples and monumental gateways there. These were pulled down in later times and used for the foundations of the Ptolemaic temple. The work of the French Institute has been the extraction of the older blocks from the foundation and their replacement by concrete. Foremost among their discoveries have been sandstone pillars and an architrave of Sekhemwazkhaurê usurped by a Sebekhotpe and the magnificent pair of lintels of Senusret III and Amenemhêt-Sebekhotpe, now in the Cairo Museum (G 23) in which the degeneration of the art during the two odd centuries which elapsed between their reigns is strikingly illustrated. A granite head of Senusret III (now in the Museum, No. 6049, G 22, S.W.), also from Madamûd, is one of the finest examples of the work of the Middle Kingdom.

Amenophis II of the XVIIIth Dynasty also built here, and Seti I and Ramses II of the XIXth Dynasty added to the building a terrace with a pair of obelisks dating from this period. The final structure is of Ptolemaic date, and was 132 feet long. It was added to and extended in Roman times, and is of somewhat unusual plan. The gateway into the *temenos* was built by the Emperor Tiberius. The façade is in pylon form, and leads to the Colonnaded Court, which dates from Antoninus Pius. Behind this court is a Pronaos, of which five columns are still extant, the two central ones having foliage-capitals, the other three papyrus-bud capitals. A small Hypostyle Hall follows, and behind it are two chambers and the Sanctuary, with the usual chapels beside it. A small separate temple in the *temenos* was possibly designed for the worship and abode of the sacred bull, Bakh, the sacred animal of Montu, the Theban war-god, to whom the temple was dedicated.



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BOOK IV—THEBES

CHAPTER XVII

THEBES : HISTORICAL NOTES

WE now reach the city which shares with Babylon and Nineveh the glory of being accepted as representative of all the splendour and magnificence of the ancient eastern world, and which, in some respects, and notably in the solid grandeur of its great temples, must have outshone even its two great rivals. For over four centuries, from the expulsion of the Hyksos to the death of Ramses III, the great southern city reigned without a rival, so far as Egypt was concerned, and for a considerable part of that period she was the virtual centre of the ancient world. Her rise to supremacy in Egypt did not come until comparatively late in Egyptian history, and her decline began long before that history had closed ; but the noonday of her glory was of a splendour such as has seldom been seen in the world. Even to-day she retains some of her ancient pride of place, for while Babylon and Nineveh have to have the story of their past magnificence laboriously extracted from the mounds of rubbish which have buried it, and patiently interpreted to the world, Thebes has the great evidences of her past standing open and manifest for all to see and wonder at. The magnificence of Karnak, Luxor and the Ramesseum needs no interpretation, however intricate their history may be ; it appeals to the eye at once.

The modern representative of the ancient city is Luxor, a busy town of somewhat less than twenty thousand inhabitants ; but Luxor, of course, occupies only a fraction of the area on the east bank of the Nile covered by Thebes, to say nothing of the other Thebes, the City of the Dead, which grew up on the west bank. Luxor is a corruption of the Arabic *El-Uqsar*, which is the plural of *El-Qasr*, and means ' The Castles ', the reference being to the towering ruins of the great temple which is still the centre of the place, and up till comparatively recent times actually housed a

large portion of the population. In ancient days the name of the district and city of Thebes was *Wéset*, or *Uast*. It was also called *Ἀεωτ*, 'The City', from which title comes the Hebrew name by which it is known in the Bible, *No* (Ezekiel xxx, 14, 15, 16), or *No-Amon* (Nahum iii, 8), i.e. the City of Amūn. The city was often called 'The Two Apts', from the two great city districts now represented by the ruins of Karnak and those of Luxor, Karnak being called *Apt-isut*, 'The Thrones of Apt', and Luxor *Apt-reset*, 'The Southern Apt'. It is possible that the pronunciation of Apt, in the New Empire, was Apé, which, with the feminine article *Ta*, 'the', placed before it, would give Tapé, and this, in turn, the corruption in which the Greeks imagined they heard the familiar sound of the name of their own Thebes. But this derivation is not universally accepted, and certainty on the subject does not seem attainable.

At all events, by the time of the writing of the *Iliad*, ix, the name was sufficiently current coin in Greek-speaking lands to be used as a well-known title for the Egyptian capital:

Where, in Egyptian Thebes, the heaps of precious ingots gleam,
The hundred-gated Thebes, where twice ten score in martial state
Of valiant men with steeds and cars march through each massy gate.

The epithet 'hundred-gated' has sometimes been interpreted as if it meant merely the pylons of the great Theban temples, and not the gates of the city walls, the curious idea having arisen that Thebes was unfortified, and relied for its protection solely upon the river. The origin of this exceedingly improbable theory is simply the passage (Nahum iii, 8) in which the Hebrew prophet describes the city as 'No-Amon, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea'. This, of course, is poetical description, which, as is obvious, does not aim at accuracy in detail. Memphis also was 'situate among the rivers', yet Memphis was fortified, as Piankhy's great inscription amply shows. And the theory of an unfortified Thebes is sufficiently disposed of by the inscription in which Amenophis II tells us that, on his return from his victorious Asiatic campaign, 'One hanged the six men of those fallen ones before the wall of Thebes'. Homer's reference implies the fact of fortifications, as he contemplates chariots and charioteers issuing from what is manifestly a

city gate, and not a temple pylon ; but Amenophis's statement is conclusive. Obviously he never dreamed of an unfortified Thebes ; the wall is mentioned as a matter of course. Nor would its absence ever have been thought of had it not been for the desire to find literal accuracy in a poetic description which cannot possibly be accurate without involving a fundamental change in the geography of Egypt.

Another name which was given to Thebes in Greek and Roman times was *Diospolis hē Megalē* or *Diospolis Magna* ; Amûn, the Theban god, being identified with the Greek Zeus, so that Thebes was 'The Great City of Zeus'. The City of the Dead, on the western bank, was sometimes called *Wéset Amentet*, 'Western Thebes', and *Per-Hathor*, 'House of Hathor', Hathor being the patron-goddess of the western hills, often represented as the Divine Cow, adorned with the Hathor symbols, issuing from the hills.

THE HISTORY OF THEBES

Recent investigations have shown that Thebes is of much older standing as a city than was formerly believed, traces of a IIInd Dynasty temple having been discovered among the ruins of Karnak ; while these, in turn, doubtless imply an earlier foundation, possibly predynastic. So that Thebes may fairly claim to rank in point of age with the most ancient cities of the land. It is equally certain, however, that the city's rise to importance and fame is of much later date, and that she was by no means one of the towns whose fame early became legendary in Egypt. It was not until the rise of the Intefs and Mentuhotpes of the XIth Dynasty that Thebes began to take a prominent place in Egyptian story, and such scanty evidence as we have from the period immediately preceding this goes to show that the princes and people of the south were rather behindhand in culture and art, as compared with their northern neighbours of Heracleopolis. They had, however, what was of more immediate importance for their future destiny, courage and pertinacity. Repulsed more than once in his struggle with the Heracleopolitan Pharaohs, and their backers the princes of Asyût, the Theban prince Intef finally was able to take to himself the title of The Horus Wah-ankh Intef-o and to add to it the proud designation 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt', though this scarcely corresponded to actual fact, as he died before the complete unification of the land under the

sovereignty of his line. His kingdom, at all events, extended from the First Cataract as far as Thinis (or This) and Abydos. His tomb stele, sadly wrecked, is still to be seen at the Cairo Museum (No. 311), with its representation of the king and four of his pet dogs, 'The Gazelle', 'The Greyhound', 'The Black', and 'The Firepot'.

The most important king of the line, however, or rather of the collateral branch which appears to have ousted the Intefs, was Mentuhotpe III Neb-hepet-rê, whose great funerary temple at El-Deir el-Bahari stands beside its XVIIIth Dynasty successor, the famous terrace temple of Queen Hatshepsut. Mentuhotpe's own temple already shows the advance in power and culture which the southern city had been making, and evidence is also forthcoming in the way of inscriptions by great officials to show that Thebes was entering fully into the inheritance of the preceding capitals of Egypt, so far as foreign trade and native architecture were concerned.

The Mentuhotpes were succeeded, perhaps after a struggle for the throne, by the vigorous Pharaohs, the Senusrets and Amenemhêts, of the XIIth Dynasty. These made their court, not at Thebes, which was not sufficiently central for the control of a north-land only recently brought into subjection, but at Itt-taui, 'Controller of the Two Lands', a little north of the mouth of the Faiyûm, where we have already seen their pyramids. Thebes, however, was not neglected. Amenemhêt I, the founder of the dynasty, built at Karnak, and his son Senusret I continued his work; while Senusret III did restoration work at El-Deir el-Bahari, in addition to other work. The oldest tomb-chapel at Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna belongs to Intefôqer, who was 'Governor of the Town and Vizier' under Senusret I.

During the dark interval which followed the golden age of the XIIth Dynasty we have little knowledge of the condition of the city; but Sebekhotpe III (Sekhemsewaztaurê), whose red granite statue is in the British Museum, built at Luxor; and the fact that the British Museum statue came from Bubastis would suggest that the XIIIth Dynasty still maintained control over the north-land. Sebekhotpe IV also built at Karnak and Luxor, and we know, from the account of the tomb-robberies in Rameside times, that Sebekemsaf, one of the later Pharaohs of this distracted time, was buried, with his queen, Nubkhas, in Thebes of the west. The Hyksos conquest apparently reduced the

Pharaohs who reigned at Thebes to the position of mere princes of the southern city, by which title they are described in the well-known legend recorded in Papyrus Sallieri. It is quite evident that Apepa, the Hyksos Pharaoh of that papyrus, claimed suzerainty over Seqenenrê of Thebes, and that Seqenenrê admitted the claim, and stood very much in awe of his northern overlord. The three Seqenenrês, however much they went in terror of the Hyksos, began to win back for Thebes something of her old power, which was, no doubt, the reason why Apepa tried to make a *casus belli* which would justify him in 'eating up' his too powerful vassal. Kamôse, who inherited the struggle, succeeded, apparently, in liberating Middle Egypt from the Asiatics. He, too, was buried at Dirâ 'Abu el-Naga, where his jewels, with those of Queen Ah-hotpe, were found in 1859, and secured by Mariette for the Cairo Museum (Nos. 4030-4057, U 3, Case 10).

Ahmôse, I, the founder of the XVIIIth Dynasty, completed the liberation of Egypt by the capture of Avaris (Hat-uart), the Hyksos place of arms in the Delta; and with the establishment of the new dynasty a period of unexampled glory and prosperity dawned upon Thebes. Ahmôse himself restored Luxor, while Amenophis I built largely at Karnak, and also on the western bank. Tuthmosis I did extensive work at Karnak, where his fine obelisk still stands, and where he erected a fine Hall of Columns whose site is marked by the great obelisk of his daughter Hatshepsut. Queen Hatshepsut, and still more her co-regent and successor Tuthmosis III, greatly added to the splendour of the city; and as Tuthmosis returned year by year from his campaigns in Asia, he brought with him wealth and multitudes of captives, till Thebes became by far the most important city in the ancient world, to which all the nations looked with profound admiration, qualified by scarcely concealed envy and apprehension.

The effect upon the population, and especially upon the governing classes about the royal court was by no means altogether for good. Racially, the old Egyptian stock began to show signs of modification, and a greater softness of type is manifest in the portrait-sculptures of the time. The usually sure taste of the Egyptian craftsman began to deteriorate under the impact of Asiatic influences and models, and the crowd of slaves who were introduced into every department of life tended to produce a more luxurious and less strenuous mode of living among the native Egyptian population.

Meanwhile, however, Thebes thrived amazingly, as the city became the centre to which came all the loot, human and material, of the Asiatic raids, and from which none of it departed until it had paid a heavy toll to the claims of the capital. It was from this time that the worship of the Theban god Amûn began to assume the proportions which, in the end, dwarfed for the time every other cult in Egypt, and finally paralysed the whole life, both religious and secular, of the nation. In the time of the Old Kingdom, and down to the rise of the Middle Kingdom, Amûn had been merely a local god of no particular importance, even in his own locality. The chief local deity was Montu, the hawk-headed war-god, who was worshipped at Armant (Hermonthis), and whose importance, even in the time of the XIth Dynasty, is seen in the fact that the Pharaohs of that line bore a name, Mentuhotpe ('Montu is satisfied'), compounded with his name. By the time of the XIIth Dynasty, however, and probably for a dynastic reason, as Amenemhêt I, the founder of the dynasty was probably an usurper, and was evidently an adherent of Amûn, the hitherto insignificant god began to usurp the place of Montu. Several Pharaohs of the line bear his name, and his worship was provided for, as we have seen, by extensive building at Karnak and elsewhere.

It was only in the XVIIIth Dynasty that he came to his full power and glory. Tuthmosis III adorned his temple at Karnak with a great Festal Hall, with several obelisks, and with the record chambers whose ornaments, the Lotus and Papyrus pillars, are still conspicuous in the great temple. In addition he endowed the god with great wealth, both in real and personal estate, and with numbers of slaves. One inscription tells us of the gift to Amûn of 1,578 Syrian slaves, and, of course, Nubian slaves would be given in proportion. The brickmakers in the tomb of Rekhmirê, the vizier of Tuthmosis, are Syrian slaves, 'the captivity which His Majesty brought for the works of the temple of Amûn'.

Amenophis II, the son of Tuthmosis, continued his father's policy, with an added touch of barbarity quite alien to the great conqueror and to normal Egyptian practice, as when he hanged the Syrian captive chiefs before the wall of Thebes, as we have seen. He and his son Tuthmosis IV added to the splendour of the Theban temples, and there was still no sign of any diminution in the glory or prestige of Thebes or its god. The peaceful reign

of Amenophis III perhaps marks the culmination of the whole process of the glorification of Amûn and his city. 'Thebes', says Breasted, 'was now rapidly becoming a worthy seat of empire, the first monumental city of antiquity.' The temple of Luxor was built with a splendour and beauty which have been obscured rather than added to by the subsequent additions of Ramses II. It was then connected with its greater sister at Karnak by a wide avenue bordered by sphinxes and made gay with flower-gardens. On the west bank of the Nile, the Pharaoh erected what must have been one of the most gorgeous and beautiful of Egyptian temples, his own mortuary temple, of which the solitary fragments remaining are the two Memnon colossi, and the stele which marked the station of the King when he officiated as high-priest in his own sanctuary. He reared, too, on the west bank, a new palace for himself and his favourite queen, Tiye, and dug a great pleasure-lake on which he and his wife could sail in their pleasure-barge. In short, at the culmination of the reign of Amenophis III, Thebes must have been by far the greatest and most magnificent city in the world.

All this was changed by the religious revolution which was forced upon Egypt by Amenophis's son and successor, Akhenaten. His hatred of Amûnism led him to desert Thebes, and to create for himself a new capital at El-'Amârna, where we have already seen the scanty remains of his work. For probably at least a dozen years, Thebes was neglected and out of favour, with her temples shut up and their incomes diverted to the service of Akhenaten's god, the Aten. The glory returned to her, however, on the death of the heretic king, and Haremhab began anew the work of building to the honour of Amûn which the kings of the XIXth Dynasty were to carry on upon so gigantic a scale. Haremhab added to the work at Luxor which Amenophis III had begun, and also built largely at Karnak. Ramses I, Seti I, and Ramses II, all contributed to the completion of that huge Hypostyle Hall which is the most astonishing and complete if not the most beautiful feature of the vast temple of Karnak; while on the west bank the temple of El-Qurna was reared for the spirits of Ramses I and Seti I, and Ramses II built the splendid Ramesseum for himself, and adorned it with the most gigantic granite colossus that even Egypt ever raised.

But the power of Egypt was now on the decline, and the resources which had been so lavishly squandered on the worship

of Amûn were no longer available to anything like the same extent. The time when the kings of the Ancient East wrote to the Pharaoh in the tone of sturdy beggars, who whined for the crumbs which fell from the rich Egyptian table, and snuffed as a reason for their importunity, 'for in my brother's land gold is as common as dust', had departed, never to return. Ramses III, the last great soldier Pharaoh, did his best to keep up the splendid tradition of the city, and his great buildings at Medinet Habu are at least impressive by bulk and mass, though by no means to be accepted as favourable specimens of Egyptian architecture; but after his strenuous reign the later Ramessides fell more and more under the domination of the priests of Amûn, and that result followed which never fails to follow when the control of a kingdom falls into the hands of its priests.

Egypt steadily declined in power and prestige, and when the last Ramses was dethroned by the high-priest Herihor, the progress of decline, instead of being checked, was accelerated. Now was seen the fatal result of the policy which all the Pharaohs had followed since the beginning of the conquest of the Asiatic empire, and which Ramses III had pushed to an extreme. The temples of all Egypt owned 750,000 acres of the land of their small country; of this quantity Amûn alone possessed 583,000 acres. The temples of Egypt owned, in all, 88 ships; of these Amûn had for his share all but 5. Of the 53 factories owned by the gods of the country, Amûn possessed 46. And so with everything else. In a time when Egypt needed all the resources which she could produce, a large proportion of the wealth and strength of the land was immobilized and wasted on the service of one single god at Thebes. The result was disastrous both for Egypt and for Thebes.

Under the priest-kings at Thebes, the land again fell apart, and a rival dynasty reigned at Tanis, in the Delta. Thebes ceased to count in the political life of the nation and became merely an ecclesiastical preserve, theoretically revered, even to the ends of the Eastern world, as is shown by the papyrus which records the adventures of Wenamûn, but practically ignored. The seat of power shifted to the north, where it had been in the beginning, and the Libyan Pharaohs of the Bubastite line (XXIIInd Dynasty) resided in the Delta, though they honoured Amûn by building at Karnak. With the advent of the Ethiopian Pharaohs of the XXVth Dynasty, the seat of

government returned to Thebes for a season, but with disastrous consequences for the city. Shabaka and Taharqa and Tanutamûn proved no match for the Assyrian power which they provoked by their constant and futile interference in the affairs of Palestine and Syria ; and at last, in the year 661 B.C., Thebes shared the fate which had already overtaken Memphis, and was sacked by the Assyrians under Ashurbanipal.

The fall of the great city astonished the whole Eastern world, If Thebes had fallen, what city was safe ? Nahum, the Hebrew prophet, expressed the feeling of the nations in his taunts to Nineveh : ' Art thou better than No-Amon, that was situate among the rivers that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea ? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite ; Put and Lubim were thy helpers. Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity ; her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets ; and they cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains.' Prince Mentemhêt, the governor of Thebes, whose ugly, capable face looks out from three statues in the Cairo Museum (Nos. 893, 935, 1184, G 30, north ; G 24, centre) did his best to restore the city after the sack ; but his efforts were only partially successful, and when 136 years later, Cambyses the Persian followed Ashurbanipal, his blow to the prosperity of the once proud capital was only a second slaying of the slain.

The Ptolemys, with their usual policy of conciliating the gods and priesthoods of Egypt, did a good deal for Thebes, as the gigantic remains of their works at Karnak show ; but it was really only the decking of a corpse, for the real glory of the city had long since departed. The chastisement which Ptolemy V inflicted upon it for its rebellion did not suffice to break the spirit of revolt, and the three years' siege in the reign of Ptolemy VIII (Soter II) is said by Pausanias to have reduced Thebes to a mere shadow of its former self, a place of ruins. Yet when Diodorus visited the town in 57 B.C. the tradition and the pride of its ancient splendours still survived among the inhabitants. ' There was no city under the sun ', he was told, ' so adorned with so many and stately monuments of gold, silver, and ivory, and multitudes of colossi and obelisks cut out of one entire stone.' ' The Thebans boast ', he tells us, ' that they were the most ancient philosophers and astrologers of any people in the world,

and the first that found out exact rules for the improvement both of philosophy and astrology' (Bk. i, 45, 46), which is as it may be.

By the time Strabo visited it (24 B.C.), Thebes had once more rebelled, this time against the Romans and their heavy taxation; and had once more been reduced to ruins, by the heavy hand of Cornelius Gallus, so that we need not wonder that the report is simply that: "Vestiges of its magnitude still exist, which extend 80 stadia [about 9 miles] in length. There are a great number of temples, many of which Cambyses mutilated. The spot is at present occupied by villages' (Bk. XVII, chap. i, 46).

In Roman times, Thebes became more or less a tourist resort, numbers being attracted to the ruins of the great city, especially to hear the morning song of the Memnon Colossus. Since then, religious fanaticism, both Christian and Mohammedan, has done much to destroy the glories of the past, and the annual inundations and the saline incrustations which result from exudation from the soil have done perhaps even more. Yet even so, Thebes has never been totally lost to sight and memory, as Babylon and Nineveh have been; nor have her monuments suffered anything like the almost total wreck which has overtaken those of her sister capital Memphis. Even in the early days of the nineteenth century when excavation was just in its first headstrong childhood, and was doing almost as much harm as good, the mighty relics of the glory of the great city could be seen sufficiently well to impress the most casual visitor. I was lost', says Belzoni, writing of 1817, 'in a mass of colossal objects, every one of which was more than sufficient to attract my whole attention. . . . I seemed alone in the midst of all that is most sacred in the world. . . . The high portals, seen at a distance from the openings to this vast labyrinth of edifices; the various groups of ruins of the other temples within sight; these altogether had such an effect upon my soul, as to separate me in imagination from the rest of mortals, exalt me on high over all, and cause me to forget entirely the trifles and follies of life' (*Narrative*, p. 153). It may not be possible for every one to attain the sublime altitudes reached by Belzoni in his first view of the wonders of Thebes; still, there is enough left to impress even the least poetic and sentimental mind with the sense of the wonder and the tragedy of bygone greatness.

CHAPTER XVIII

LUXOR

OF the two great temples of Thebes (east bank), that of Luxor, though by no means so imposing as its vast neighbour at Karnak, should perhaps be the first to be visited. Its nearness to the centre of things in the town of Luxor is one reason for this preference ; but another and more important reason is that Luxor, while gigantic and complicated enough, is, in comparison with the vastness and infinite complexity of Karnak, simplicity itself. It is better for the visitor to become accustomed to the huge scale and the differing styles and periods of a really Ancient Egyptian temple (which he has not yet seen, Dendera being, comparatively speaking, modern, and even Abydos only of the XIXth Dynasty and of almost uncomplicated architecture) in the case of a temple like Luxor, where neither the scale of the building nor its complexity is so bewildering as in the case of Karnak. Both temples are, in a sense, epitomes in stone of Egyptian history ; but at Luxor the thread is less tangled and easier to follow than at Karnak. The temple stands close to the river-bank, near to two of the most important hotels of the place, and its colonnades, especially the great colonnade of Amenophis III, make a most impressive picture from the river. The lights and shadows of the great building are best seen in the afternoon ; but if good fortune brings the visitor to Thebes with a waxing moon, a visit to Luxor by moonlight will prove an experience not to be forgotten.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE TEMPLE

As we see it to-day, the great temple, 853 feet in length, and 181 feet across at its greatest breadth, belongs almost entirely to the later days of the XVIIIth Dynasty and the earlier half of the XIXth, the chief work visible being that of Amenophis III of the earlier, and that of Ramses II of the later, dynasty. But, as in many other cases, the extant work masks the remains of

much earlier foundations. The evidence which links the site with the Middle Kingdom is slight enough, but the name of the Pharaoh Sebekhotpe III of the XIIIth Dynasty, has been found in more than one instance in the temple, and therefore, though the evidence for Middle Kingdom work is even scantier than at Karnak, we must conclude that a Middle Kingdom temple existed on the site, though of its size or appearance we have not the slightest idea. The fact that when Tuthmosis III built here a shrine with three sanctuary chambers, dedicated to the Theban triad, Amûn, Mût, and Khonsu, he placed it on the site occupied at a later date by the forecourt of Ramses II, and close behind the great pylon of that Pharaoh, would seem to indicate that the sacred site of the earlier days was here, and not farther south. The little colonnade of clustered papyrus columns in red granite which still faces the court of Ramses II permits of an instructive comparison between Egyptian architecture in its prime and in its decline. The delicate and clean-cut grace of the columns of Tuthmosis utterly shames the clumsy coarseness of those of Ramses. Nobody would dream that both sets of columns represented the same natural form.

Senmût, the famous architect of Queen Hatshepsut, tells us in the inscription on his statue found in the Temple of Mût at Karnak, that he was 'architect of all the Works of the Queen' (Newberry, in Benson and Gourlay, *Temple of Mut in Asher*, p. 304), at Luxor, as well as at other places named; but nothing of his work has survived, and the shrines of Tuthmosis are the only XVIIIth Dynasty work of the earlier half of the dynasty that has endured until now. So far as can be judged, Luxor, up till the reign of Amenophis III (1412-1376 B.C.) remained a comparatively unimportant site, sacred, indeed from ancient days, but undistinguished by any building of real grandeur. Amenophis, however, soon changed all that.

It would perhaps be unfair to inquire too closely into the proportion which genuine piety bore to dynastic necessities in the Pharaoh's resolution to build a great temple at Luxor. It must be remembered that, though Amenophis has of late years more and more taken the position of the representative Pharaoh of Egypt at the very culmination of her power and prestige among the nations of the Ancient East—a position which he owed, not to his own exertions, but to the work of the greater men, like Tuthmosis III, who had gone before him—his own

tenure of the throne, according to Egyptian prepossessions, was by no means clear, or even reasonably valid. A Pharaoh should be the son of a Pharaoh and of a princess of the royal line; or alternatively, if his own lineage was not absolutely pure, he might yet legitimize his accession by being married to the eldest daughter of a Pharaoh. But Amenophis conformed to neither of these conditions. He was indeed the son of a Pharaoh; but his mother Mutemwia, far from being of the Egyptian blood-royal, was not even a native Egyptian princess at all, being the daughter of Artatama, King of Mitanni, an important buffer-state situated within the great bend of the Euphrates, east of Carchemish. Nor had he made amends for the defect of his origin by marrying a princess of the solar stock. On the contrary, his Great Royal Wife was a lady, of distinguished rank certainly, and of even more distinguished ability, but with no connexion whatsoever with the royal house—the lady Ti, whose parents were Yuya and Thuyu, Master of the Horse, and Mistress of the Robes in the royal household.

It was therefore almost a necessity that the young king should take steps to consolidate his position on the throne by making a claim, which, if once conceded, would place his right to the crown far above all question. Fortunately his great ancestress, Queen Hatshepsut, had already shown him how the thing should be done by attributing her paternity, not to her human father Tuthmosis I, but to the God Amûn, who had taken the place of Tuthmosis. In her great temple at El-Deir el-Bahari she had caused to be sculptured scenes in which the ancient Pharaonic fiction of descent from the sun-god Rê was converted into literal descent from Amûn, now identified with Rê. Amenophis III now proceeded to copy her example, and while the great temple which he began to build to the glory of Amûn at Luxor testified, no doubt, to the piety of its royal founder, it also bore witness, in a series of reliefs giving all the details of his divine filiation, to the fact that the Pharaoh, if not strictly of pure Pharaonic stock, was something better even than that—the direct descendant of the great god Amûn, and therefore also of Rê, who was now one with Amûn. The priests of Amûn could scarcely reject the theory, when it was offered to them with so magnificent a sop as the temple of Luxor to make it go down; and what the priests of Amûn accepted, the general populace would not question. We have perhaps, therefore, in

Luxor, the not altogether unusual spectacle of a building which was designed to pay a double debt, and to make the most of both worlds.

Certainly, as we shall see in detail when we come to examine the temple, Amenophis did his best most honourably for Amûn, even if he served his own ends thereby; for his work is by far the finest that we shall see at Luxor, and finer than nine-tenths of that at Karnak. But he did not live to finish his great design, and his son Amenophis IV, better known as Akhenaten, at once cancelled all work on the Amûn temple, erasing the name of Amûn in all possible instances, and building a shrine to his new god, the Aten, within the precincts of the great building. With the reaction after his death, work was resumed at Luxor, and Tutankhamûn, Ay, Haremhab, and Seti I proceeded to carry out, but with less power, an adaptation of Amenophis's original designs. Their work, however, was of trifling importance compared with that of Ramses II, who added to the work of Amenophis the present large forecourt and pylon at the north end of the temple. His architect in this work was Bekenkhons, who has told us with pride of what he did at Luxor. 'I erected obelisks therein, of granite, whose beauty approached heaven. A wall was before it of stone, over against Thebes [reaching down to the sacred lake]; and the gardens were planted with trees. I made very great double doors of electrum; their beauty met the heavens. I hewed very great flagstaves, and I erected them in the august forecourt in front of his [Ramses's] temple' (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, § 567).

Subsequent to the reign of Ramses II, only a few small additions were made to the building by Menepthah, Seti I, Ramses III, Ramses IV, and Ramses VI. Substantially, however, the temple was complete when Bekenkhons finished his work. It was connected with its sister temple at Karnak by a magnificent avenue, bordered by ram-headed sphinxes, of which the Karnak termination may still be seen, leading up to the propylon of Ptolemy Euergetes, in front of the temple of Khonsu. Bekenkhons has told us that it was surrounded, like all Egyptian temples, with gardens. Doubtless the river frontage, which makes so much of the charm of Luxor, was magnificently arranged so as to take full advantage of the stately situation of the temple. The Great Harris Papyrus tells us that in the reign of Ramses III, the number of slaves belonging to the temple of Luxor, or, to give it

its official name, the ' House-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis [Life ! Prosperity ! Health !]-in-the-House-of-Amûn ', possessed 2,623 servants, i.e. slaves, working under the priests ; while its herd of cattle for the stated sacrifices numbered 279. It is impossible to find out from the papyrus what was the separate income of Luxor ; but it was certainly proportionate to the splendour of the building. This may be taken as the close of the prosperous days of Luxor.

Later, we hear of repairs by Menkheperre of the XXIst Dynasty, and Nesbenebde (Smendes), the northern Pharaoh of this period, claims to have taken steps to repair the damage caused to the temple by a flood. Shabaka and Shabataka, of the XXVth or Ethiopian Dynasty, Haker of the XXIXth, and Nectanebis of the XXXth, made small additions to the building ; and Alexander rebuilt the sanctuary. But during all the later period, the glory of Thebes had been steadily waning, and Luxor gradually fell into decay and ruin. The Christians erected churches within the precincts, and were imitated by the Moslems, whose mosque, dedicated to Abu'l Haggâg, still adorns the forecourt of Ramses II, and, having been rebuilt in recent years, is likely to prove much more difficult to get rid of than the Christian churches. As late as the middle of the nineteenth century, the forecourt of Amenophis III was used as a government storeplace for corn. Such abuses are now a thing of the past, and the temple is cleared, so far as possible, ' swept and garnished ' for the delectation of the visitor, and offers a comparatively intelligible example of a temple of the New Empire, dating between 1410 and 1225 B.C.

DESCRIPTIVE NOTES—TEMPLE OF LUXOR

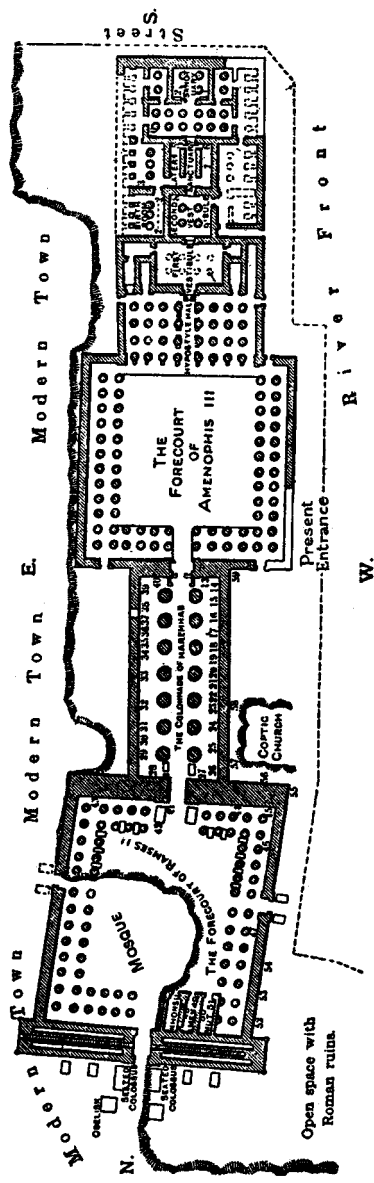
The present entrance to the temple is not by the great pylon to the north, but from the river-bank road direct into the forecourt of Amenophis III. While we are thus deprived of the more stately approach to the building, this mode of entrance has the advantage that the visitor is thus introduced to the different parts of the temple in their historical order of succession, instead of seeing the latest built portions first.

The great Forecourt of Amenophis III is one of the most perfect and noble examples of good XVIIIth Dynasty work. It measures 148 feet in depth from north to south, and 184 feet

in width from east to west. It is a peristyle court, and is surrounded on three sides by double rows of clustered papyrus-bud columns. The columns are of fine proportions and in good preservation, except at the north end of the court. Unfortunately the roofing-blocks which originally rested upon the architraves have perished, so that we cannot see the court with the effect of deep shadow contrasted with brilliant sunshine, for which it was designed. Yet even in its wrecked condition the court is most impressive. Its North end was originally the entrance to the whole temple, as Amenophis or his architects conceived it, and here stood the great gateway from which the avenue of sphinxes ran to unite the temple with Karnak; but this arrangement was altered, later in the reign, by the building of the great colonnade, which was not completed at the death of the king. It must always be remembered, in viewing this and all other such courts, that we are seeing only the ghost of the original structure, not only in form, but also in colour. The reliefs and inscriptions, instead of being, as at present, dependent merely on shadow for their effect, were all picked out in bright colour, and the effect of the whole, under an Egyptian sun, must have been brilliant. It would be well, also, to keep in mind the fact that it is the clustered papyrus column that we see here, or in the shrine of Tuthmosis III, and not the monstrous degeneration of it that we shall shortly see in the forecourt of Ramses II, and, still more in the work of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, that is the typical Egyptian form of columnar architecture, by which that architecture ought to be judged.

From the Forecourt, we now pass into the Hypostyle Hall, which has thirty-two columns, arranged in four rows of eight columns each. Ramses IV and Ramses VI have usurped the columns by inscribing their cartouches on them, with even less justification than such usurpers usually have for their action. The walls have suffered much; but their reliefs show Amenophis III before the gods of Thebes, while inscriptions of Seti I and Ramses II mention repair work done by them in this hall, and there is also a set of cartouches of Ramses III. On the left hand, as we go southwards, stands a Roman altar dedicated to the Emperor Constantine. At the rear of the hall, and entering from it, were two small chapels and a staircase.

The First Vestibule, into which we now pass from the



TEMPLE OF LUXOR

Hypostyle Hall, originally possessed eight columns ; but these disappeared in the conversion of the place into a Christian church ; a change which it suffered in the fourth century of our era. At the south end, where the entrance to the sanctuary of the temple should have been, an apsidal recess, flanked by two granite columns, was constructed, and the beautiful reliefs of Amenophis III were duly covered, for the protection of sensitive Christian souls, with a thick coat of Christian whitewash, on which paintings were executed. Fortunately the whitewash is now peeling off again, and the reliefs of the XVIIIth Dynasty are becoming visible. The north wall has a scene of a procession of King Amenophis (figure of the king now destroyed) going to the worship of Amûn, with priests and musicians, fan-bearers, courtiers and soldiers (1).

We now return to the Hypostyle Hall, in order to get access, by passing out of the temple, and re-entering it on the right hand, beyond the First Vestibule, to the Birth-room, which as we have seen, was at least one of the reasons for the building of the whole temple. Originally the roof of the chamber was supported by three clustered columns ; but these and the roof have collapsed. The reliefs on the west wall are the ones which present to us the figment of the king's divine filiation. There are three rows of scenes, the story beginning at the north end of the lowest row (2 . . . 2). Here we see first the god Khnûm (the creator-god) moulding on the potter's wheel two children, who are to be Amenophis and his *Ka*. Isis watches the performance. We then see Queen Mutemwia, Amenophis's mother, being embraced by Isis in the presence of Amûn, who falls in love with her. Amûn is then led by Thoth, the ibis-headed god of wisdom, into the queen's chamber, where he is to take the place of the absent Tuthmosis IV. Next we see Amûn and the queen seated together on the symbol for heaven, and supported by the goddesses Selqet and Neith. Amûn puts the breath of life into the queen's nostrils, and, before leaving her, reveals himself as divine, and intimates to Mutemwia that the child who shall be born of their union shall be named Amenophis. Amûn then gives due instructions to Khnûm, the creator-god, who has the task of moulding mankind on his potter's wheel ; and we next see Khnûm busily modelling two little figures, one of the king-to-be-himself, the other of his *Ka*. Isis watches the work, and gives life to the figures.

We now turn to the middle row, where the figures run in the south-north direction. First, Thoth announces to Mutemwia the approach of her confinement. The queen is led to her chamber, where she is seated upon a stool, while Isis and Khnûm chafe her hands. Bes and Thouêris, the patrons of childbirth, together with other genii, are present. Isis next presents the newly-born child to Amûn his father; and Amûn dandles his son in his arms, in the presence of Hathor and Mût. The topmost row shows the nursing of the child by goddesses, including the nine Hathors (the fairy godmothers of Egypt); while the last scene shows him as a grown man and Pharaoh. The other reliefs in the room show Amenophis being blessed by various gods.

From the Birth-room, we pass into another three-columned chamber, whose reliefs are much damaged, and thence we enter the later Sanctuary, which was originally a four-columned vestibule before the earlier Sanctuary, but was rebuilt by Alexander the Great, who replaced the columns by a built chapel, open to north and south, which still occupies the centre of the original chamber. This chapel is adorned with reliefs representing Alexander before Amûn, Mût and Khonsu, to whom the building is dedicated. The work on these reliefs already foreshadows the exaggerations of the Ptolemaic time which have already been alluded to in the description of Dendera. The scenes on the walls of the original chamber within which the shrine has been set, are, however, of a different class, belonging to Amenophis III (4-7). They show the king worshipping various gods, and especially making offerings to the sacred barque of Amûn, which, as we know from other sources, was a gorgeous structure of gilded cedar of Lebanon, and bore a shrine in which a portable image of Amûn was housed. The presence of such reliefs suggests that this chamber must always have possessed a shrine of the sort which Alexander rebuilt; and, indeed, his inscription asserts this: 'He made it as a monument for his father Amen-Rê, in white stone, with doors of acacia inlaid with gold, as it was in the time of Amenophis III.'

From Alexander's Sanctuary, we enter the Second Vestibule, a small square hall with four graceful clustered papyrus-bud columns. It has scenes (8, 9) of Amenophis embraced by Amûn in the presence of the goddesses Amentet and Mût, and of priests bringing offerings, in fine ram-headed vases, to Amûn, the ram

being the sacred animal of this god, who is often represented himself as ram-headed. From this vestibule we pass through two ruined chambers into a columned hall which ran transversely across the front of the original sanctuary. It had twelve columns, and its scenes are now too much damaged to be of importance, though they were once of considerable beauty (10). Behind this hall lies the Sanctuary, a small chamber with four columns, and with scenes (11, 12), showing Amenophis dancing before Amen-Rê, and led by Horus and Atûm into the presence of Amen-Rê, who is here assimilated to Min, the god of the eastern deserts. This identification, in the very sanctuary of a temple dedicated to Amûn, though it is not unusual elsewhere, has suggested speculations as to this representation being evidence of the dawn of those heretical ideas which reached their full development in the reign of Amenophis IV (Akhenaten), the son and successor of Amenophis III; but the ground is inadequate to bear such a structure.

We must now retrace our steps to the Forecourt of Amenophis where we first entered the temple, in order that we may complete our survey of the XVIIIth Dynasty buildings by viewing what is doubtless the most imposing part of the whole temple, the great colonnade which is variously attributed to Amenophis III, Tutankhamûn, and Haremhab. Strictly speaking, there can be no doubt that the credit of it should go to Amenophis, whose architects designed it, and partly erected it, although it was not completed in his reign. A more vexed question, however, is whether the colonnade as we now see it, with the addition of the side-walls which are now ruined for the greater part of their height, was meant to be left thus as a complete unit of the temple structure, or whether it was designed to be completed by the addition of side-aisles, forming a great Hypostyle Hall, as at Karnak and the Ramesseum, of which the central colonnade should form the nave, and, by windows in its clerestory, afford light to the lower aisles. The analogy with the pyramid-temples of the Old Kingdom which has been relied upon in support of the idea that the great work of Amenophis was never intended to be anything more than a colonnaded approach to the Forecourt seems quite inadequate to bear the weight of the inference that has been put upon it; while it appears both reasonable and probable that in Amenophis's unfinished hall we see the germ of the conception which was within a short time to find its

full fruition in the gigantic hall at Karnak. (But for the discussion of this question, see Engelbach in *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, pt. III, pp. 65-71. His conclusion is that the colonnade was never meant to be more.) But it is perhaps safer to wait for fuller evidence before committing ourselves to one view or the other. Be it what it may, the great colonnade is one of the most impressive things in Egypt.

Tutankhamûn took up the work which had been interrupted here by the religious revolution of Akhenaten; but his short reign can scarcely be held responsible for all the decoration, and Haremhab's cartouches doubtless represent a good deal of truth as well as a measure of usurpation. Seti I, Ramses II, and Seti II have also left their names here; but probably with less claim to have done any serious work than in the case of Haremhab. The great columns are fourteen in number, and are of the open-flower papyrus form, as in the central avenue of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. They measure 52 feet in height, and still bear their huge architrave blocks. Though less in height than the tremendous twelve at Karnak, they are finer in proportion than any of the work in the larger hall.

The reliefs on the side-walls of the hall are of fine work, and of especial interest, portraying, as they do, one of the great religious festivals of the Theban year. 'The Feast of Amûn in the Apts' took place about the middle of the inundation-period, and lasted for twenty-four days. This feast had a peculiar interest to Haremhab, because on his usurpation of the throne after the collapse of the Akhenaten regime, and the deaths of Tutankhamûn and Ay, his arrival at Thebes to assume the crown and have his accession recognized was, certainly by design, so arranged as to coincide with the great festival. 'Horus,' he says, 'proceeded with rejoicing to Thebes, city of the Lord of Eternity, with his son [i.e. Haremhab] in his embrace to Karnak, to introduce him before Amûn, to assign to him his office of King. . . . Behold . . . they came with rejoicing at his beautiful feast in Luxor. He [Amûn] saw the majesty of this god, Horus, Lord of Alabastropolis, his son [Haremhab] being with him as king, introduced in order to give to him his office and his throne' (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, § 27).

The feast which happened so conveniently to regularize the ambitions of Haremhab was of the same kind as that which brought Hathor of Dendera yearly to Edfu, to meet with her

consort Horus at the latter temple. The sacred barge of Amûn, with the image of the god, was brought from Karnak to Luxor on the river, and was accompanied by a splendid procession of galleys, towing and escorting. Meanwhile the smaller, portable models of the sacred barge were carried in procession on land to Luxor, for the benefit of the faithful who could not accompany the river ceremony. Arrived at Luxor, the god was welcomed there with great sacrifices, and in due course returned to Karnak, for the conclusion of the feast. The fine reliefs still show a good deal of the detail of this great religious function, though, of course, the upper parts of the work have perished.

We begin with the scenes on the left hand as we enter the colonnade from the Forecourt of Amenophis, i.e. in the west angle of the south wall, continuing along the west wall. The scene in the angle of the south wall is much damaged. It represents the king holding out the *kherp* sceptre towards Amûn and Mût, while priests make libation (13). The following scenes on the west wall (14-16) show preparations for the great festival, and rehearsals by the dancing-girls. With the next scene (17) the actual procession begins. First come soldiers and standard-bearers; then (18) two royal chariots, empty, led by grooms; then (19) a group of towers, pulling at a rope which was attached to the sacred barge, now destroyed. A group of negroes follows (20), with cudgels and a drum, and a second group with castanets. Next (21) we have women shaking sistra, and men clapping their hands; while (22) men pull a rope attached to another sacred barge, which is partly preserved, and is being towed also by a rowing galley. Another troop of soldiers follows, with standards, drums, trumpets and castanets (23); and is succeeded (24) by groups of priests bearing the portable sacred barges; behind these is a representation (25) of the gate of the temple at Karnak, with its flagstaves, and (26) of offerings and temple furniture. In the west angle of the north wall (28) we have the king making offering before Amûn and Mût.

We now pass over to the east angle of the north wall (29), where again we see temple furniture and offerings. Nos. 30, 31, 32 show sacrificial bulls, three sacred barges being carried back to Karnak, and standard-bearers and negroes in a high state of devotional fervour. Galleys are shown higher drifting down-river to Karnak. In 33 the king's empty chariots appear again, with a military guard; followed (34) by sistrum-bearing girls,

and men clapping their hands. Nos. 35 and 36 show standard-bearers and soldiers, minstrels, etc.; while above are seen the sacred barges now floating down-stream to Karnak. Lastly (37-40) we have the conclusion of the whole business, the sacred barges being carried in, the butchers' stalls, the king offering the final sacrifice at Luxor, and offering flowers to Amûn and Mât.

The Forecourt of Ramses II, which we now enter, need not detain us long. Its chief significance to us is as an illustration of the degeneration of architectural conceptions and forms within the comparatively short space of a century. The papyrus-bud columns which surround it are supposed to represent the same thing as those which surround the Forecourt of Amenophis III, and the granite columns of the little shrine of Tuthmosis III. It is true that they have not quite reached the same stage of degeneracy as the bloated sausages of Medinet Habu; but the decay of the tradition which was perfectly intelligible in the XVIIIth Dynasty is sadly manifest. The columns of Ramses have lost all resemblance to the original natural form of which they are supposed to be a conventionalization, and are like nothing that is in heaven above, or earth beneath, or in the water under the earth.

The court is still blocked, so far as regards its north-east portion, by the Mosque Abu'l-Haggâg; but otherwise it has been cleared. As we enter from the colonnade, a granite colossus of Ramses II sits on either hand. Note, on the throne of the right-hand figure (41), which is also the less mutilated of the two, the representation of the two Niles binding together the lotus and papyrus plants, in symbol of the union of the Two Lands, Upper and Lower Egypt; and against the right leg of the same colossus (42), the fine figure of Queen Nefertari, the wife of Ramses. The colossi of Ramses in granite, placed in the inter-columnar spaces of the front row of columns on the eastern side of the court, are impressive (one of them, at least, usurped from Amenophis III). The reliefs on the walls behind (as at 43) show Ramses in the presence of the gods.

On the west side of the court, the six colossi in the inter-columnar spaces are more damaged. On the walls behind, there is a representation of a religious procession which is of some interest. The pylon of Luxor is represented (44) with its colossi and flagstaves; towards it walk seventeen of the 111 sons of Ramses, followed (45, 46) by nobles leading fat bulls, gaily

bedecked for sacrifice. The reliefs in the chapel of Tuthmosis III, in the north-western angle of the court (51), are of Ramses II, and of no particular interest; but the beautiful granite columns which stand in front of them make, as we have seen, the most effective contrast with the clumsy work of Ramses, in the midst of which they are placed.

We now pass out of the Forecourt of Ramses by the western gate, and go round to the front of the great pylon. The gateway was originally flanked by six colossi of Ramses II, two sitting and one standing on each side. Of these, the two sitting statues still remain, much weathered and mutilated, and one of the standing colossi still survives, in a similar condition. Of the two fine obelisks, which originally stood in front of the seated colossi, one, 82 feet in height, still remains in position, the other, 74 feet high, now adorns the Place de la Concorde at Paris. The scenes on the front of the pylon, which follow the usual rule—achievements of the Pharaoh on the outside walls of the temple, religious scenes on the inside walls—represent the everlasting Battle of Kadesh of which Ramses was, with so little justification, so uncommonly proud. We shall meet these reliefs, or 'another of the same' more than once before we are done with them, so that there is no reason to detail the various scenes here.

Scenes from the Asiatic campaigns of Ramses are continued along the western wall of the temple behind the pylon (52-59). The king storms the town of Tunip in Naharin; charges the enemy in the field, receives prisoners, and returns in triumph. Next (55) he drives the enemy back upon their city; attacks the city of Satarna (56), and a devastated landscape is shown (57). The royal army then climbs the Lebanon (58), and the sons of Ramses bring in Asiatic prisoners (59).

We have now completed our survey of this great temple. Its chief attraction, from one point of view, is the comparative unity and simplicity of its structure. Here it is in strong contrast to Karnak, which is hardly a temple, but rather an aggregate of temples, and an epitome of the history of Thebes. All that counts at Luxor was built within what seems, in Egypt, the small space of 175 years; and while one cannot deny to the work of Ramses II a certain impressiveness of mere bulk, it is scarcely to be questioned that the temple would have been far more beautiful without his additions to the work of Amenophis III. All that is best at Luxor was done, roughly speaking, within half

a century, between 1400 and 1350 B.C. ' We have not here, as at Karnak,' says M. Jean Capart, ' one of these monuments whose primitive disposition has been obliterated by continual transformations. Luxor has, so to speak, no parasitic additions' (*Thebes*, p. 202). And thus, while Karnak, so much vaster than its sister temple, bewilders and overwhelms almost as much as it impresses us, Luxor charms us by the clarity and intelligibility of its lay-out.

CHAPTER XIX

KARNAK AND ITS TEMPLES

ABOUT a mile and a half from the temple of Luxor lies the vast aggregate of sacred buildings which we know as Karnak. The great temple of Amûn, which is the centre of the whole huge complex, is by far the largest temple in Egypt, or in the world, though it must have been surpassed by the Labyrinth of Amenemhêt III, at the mouth of the Faiyûm, which, according to Petrie's examination of its foundations, must have been big enough to hold all the existing buildings of Karnak and Luxor put together. But the Labyrinth has utterly vanished, and Karnak is without a rival. That is not to say that it is the finest temple in Egypt, still less that it is, as it has been called, 'the typical temple of the Empire'. Typical is exactly what Karnak is not. Architecturally it is a mixture of all types and times; and it is not as an architectural whole that it is supremely interesting, but as a great historical document in stone, in which the course of Egyptian history, with its ups and downs, can be traced more or less distinctly over a period of almost 2,000 years, beginning with the Middle Kingdom (2000 B.C.) and ending with Ptolemy XI, better known as Ptolemy Auletes, 'The Piper' (80-51 B.C.). It will be seen from this fact how inadequate is the usual programme, which allots one morning to the temple of Khonsu, the great temple of Amûn, and the other buildings to the north and east, and an afternoon to the southern buildings, with a view of the whole field of ruins at sunset and, if possible, another by moonlight thrown in as a concession to the picturesque.

HISTORICAL NOTES

Karnak and Thebes rose and fell together. During the Old Kingdom neither the city nor the temple was of any importance. The district capital was Armant, some distance to the south, and on the west bank of the Nile, and its hawk-headed war-god Montu was the chief divinity of the neighbourhood. Reverence

for Montu and Armant (Hermonthis) continued even after Thebes and Amûn had long outdistanced the ancient local capital and its god. Montu had a shrine at Thebes, adjoining the precinct of Amûn, and he and his city are frequently referred to with honour in the Pharaonic inscriptions.

It was with the rise of the XIIth Dynasty that Amûn and his temple really begin to come into the prominence which they never afterwards lost, save for the brief interlude of Atenism, until the fall of the Empire. The traces of the great temple which existed at Karnak at this time (roughly 2000 B.C.), are scanty, though they have been added to within recent years by Legrain's notable discoveries of fine and important sculpture in relief and in the round, dating chiefly from the reigns of Senusret I and Senusret III, and Chevrier's discovery of the elements of a sculptured chapel of Senusret I. Amûn now, with the rise of a Theban royal line, became the chief god of the kingdom, and the other members of his triad, his consort Mût, and his son Khonsu, the moon-god, rose along with him. Amûn was now identified with Rê of Heliopolis, the nearest approach to a universal god which Egypt had attained to, and henceforth is Amen-Rê. The Middle Kingdom temple stood towards the rear of the existing buildings of Karnak, behind and possibly beneath the granite sanctuary of Philip Arrhidæus, and between it and the festal hall of Tuthmosis III.

It is, however, with the rise of the XVIIIth Dynasty that the glory of Karnak becomes the increasing study of each successive Pharaoh. The work begins with Ahmose I, the expeller of the Hyksos conquerors (1580 B.C.). An inscription found by Legrain at Karnak gives us details of his enrichment of the temple furniture: ' Now His Majesty commanded to make monuments for his Father, Amen-Rê, being : great chaplets of gold, with rosettes of genuine lapis lazuli ; seals of gold ; large vases of gold ; jars and vases of silver ; tables of gold, offering-tables of gold and silver ; necklaces of gold and silver, combined with lapis lazuli and malachite ; a drinking vessel for the *Ka*, its standard of silver ; a drinking vessel for the *Ka* of silver rimmed with gold, its standard of silver ; a flat dish of gold ; jars of pink granite, filled with ointment ; great pails of silver, rimmed with gold, the handles thereon of silver ; a harp of ebony, of gold and silver ; sphinxes of silver . . . a barge of " The-Beginning-of-the-River " called " Userhet-Amûn " [Mighty is the Front of

Amûn] of new cedar of the best of the terraces in order to make his voyage therein' (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, 29-32), and so on. With such furnishings the ritual of Amûn must have been sufficiently gorgeous, though of the temple within which it was conducted we know nothing, as its architectural history only begins with Amenophis I, whose architect Ineni (Anena) mentions the great pylon 'twenty cubits in height, at the double façade of the temple, of fine limestone of Ayan, which the Son of Rê, Amenophis living for ever, made for his Father, Amûn'.

After Amenophis I, the first notable additions to the building were made by Tuthmosis I. He erected a large court to the north-west of the Middle Kingdom structure, with a new pylon, the present No. V; then, extending his plan, he reared still farther westwards another and greater pylon (No. IV), and between the two great gates he built a colonnaded hall, with columns of cedar. In front of the western pylon (IV), he set up a pair of obelisks of red granite, of which one, 64 feet in height, is still standing. The architect employed was still Ineni, who has told us of his work. 'I inspected the erection of two obelisks, and built the august boat of 120 cubits in its length, 40 cubits in its width, in order to transport these obelisks. They came in peace, safety, and prosperity, and landed at Karnak. The track was laid with every pleasant wood.' Tuthmosis II also worked at Karnak, and a statue of him has been found here. But the work of Queen Hatshepsut quite eclipses anything that her weakling husband may have done. She erected two superb obelisks, 97½ feet in height, unroofing part of the cedar-columned hall of her father in order to find a site for them. One of these is still standing, and is the tallest obelisk in Egypt, and only second to the shaft of Tuthmosis III which now stands at St. John Lateran in Rome, and measures 105½ feet.

Her successor, Tuthmosis III, made considerable additions to the growing building. He sheathed the obelisks of Hatshepsut in masonry up to the roof of the cedar hall, so that the inscriptions of the great queen should not be visible; but his other works were more worthy of his name. He built several small chapels in the court of Tuthmosis I, adding a new pylon (VI), and a colonnaded hall between pylons VI and V; and he added two obelisks to the pair which his father had set up before pylon IV. Later, he built behind pylon VI two chambers of records, whose notable survivals are the two beautiful granite pillars



KARNAK FROM THE SACRED LAKE



DETAIL FROM RELIEF OF SETI I, KARNAK
THE KING LEADING HIS CAPTIVES



TUTHMOSIS III



TUTANKHAMUN

THREE FAMOUS THEBAN PHaraohs



RAMSES II

with the papyrus and the lotus in relief. Hitherto the growth of the temple had mainly been westwards ; but he now added a great festal hall at the eastern end of the building. He also built the sandstone chamber, to the east of pylon VI, within which Philip Arrhidæus was later to place his granite sanctuary. Three of the sides of this chamber were covered with the annals of the various campaigns of Tuthmosis in Syria.

The next great builder at Karnak was the magnificent Amenophis III, whose work here, however, suffers from being scattered. His avenue of sphinxes must have added greatly to the dignity of the approach to Karnak ; and his largest piece of building here, the pylon (No. III) which was used by the XIXth Dynasty Pharaohs as the back wall to their great Hypostyle Hall, and which is now completely ruined, must in its day have formed an imposing western front to the great temple. But on the whole Amenophis III is better represented at Luxor than here. With his reign, Karnak was virtually completed, so far as the XVIIIth Dynasty is concerned, although Haremhab, who is the link between the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, built two pylons to the south of the main building (IX and X). The temple, at this stage, covered not much more than the half of its present area, and was completed by the pylon (III) of Amenophis III. Even so, it must have been a sufficiently imposing building.

With the XIXth Dynasty began the great Hypostyle Hall, and the huge pylon west of it (II). Ramses I began them both ; but the bulk of the work was done by that great Pharaoh, Seti I, who set up the great columns of the central nave of the Hypostyle, those of the northern aisles, and, at all events, most, if not all, of the southern aisles as well. The decoration, however, had to be left to Ramses II, who was thus enabled to claim all the credit for the whole hall, a course to which he was well accustomed and not in the least averse.

There now comes a break in the continuity of the work at Karnak. Ramses III seems to have considered that the temple was complete, otherwise he would scarcely have built his little temple to Amûn at right angles to the axis of the greater building, and right in the line of any subsequent extension. It forms, however, a picturesque addition to the later Court of the Bubastites, into which it breaks, and is one of the few good examples of perfectly clear and coherent temple-building which the Egyptians have left us. The remaining Pharaohs of the XXth Dynasty did

comparatively little at Karnak, though it is from this time that we have the Great Harris Papyrus, with its astounding revelations of the colossal wealth of the priesthood of Amûn.

With the Libyan Pharaohs of the XXIInd Dynasty, there was a revival of building activity at Karnak, and the vast Court of the Bubastites, west of the Hypostyle Hall shows how large were their designs—larger, indeed, than their powers. The court, as planned, covered an area of 9,755 square yards, or nearly double that of the XIXth Dynasty Hypostyle ; but it was never finished, and the attempt of Taharqa, of the XXVth Dynasty, to make it into a gigantic hypostyle (if that be the true interpretation of the colonnade of which only a single column is now standing), was a costly failure, like the rest of his reign.

Finally, the Ethiopians erected the most gigantic of all the pylons of Karnak—that which now forms the western front of the great temple. It is 370 feet wide, with towers 142½ feet high, and 49 feet thick, and, though it was never completed, it is still by far the largest façade of any religious building. (The west front of St. Paul's, for instance, measures 170 feet in breadth ; while its height, to the top of the statue of the Apostle above the pediment, is 135 feet.) Beyond this tremendous front lies the quay which once formed the river approach (or canal approach, see *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, XXV, p. 4) to the temple, and which bears one of a pair of small obelisks erected by Seti II of the XIXth Dynasty. The avenue of sphinxes which borders the road from the quay to the temple is the work of Ramses II, usurped and altered subsequent to the reign of Pinûtem I, XXIst Dynasty, possibly by Sheshonq, XXIInd Dynasty.

THE TEMPLES OF KARNAK : DESCRIPTIVE NOTES

From Luxor the Shari' el-Karnak leads straight to Karnak, which it reaches by the western avenue of ram-headed sphinxes, erected by Amenophis III. Approaching the site thus from the south-west, we are on the flank of the great temple instead of its front, and our first acquaintance with the group of temples which together make up Karnak is made as we reach the temple of Khonsu. This small temple was dedicated to the son of the Theban triad. Khonsu may originally have been a form of Horus ; but when Amûn was identified with the sun-god, Rê, it

became natural to identify his son with the second great celestial light, and Khonsu became the moon-god.

THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU

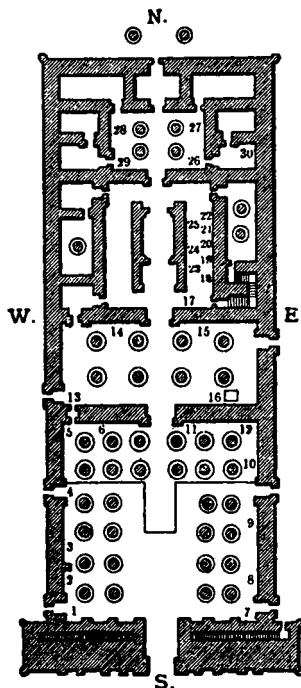
The avenue of sphinxes leads us up in the first place to the striking propylon erected by Ptolemy III, Euergetes I. From this portal crude brick walls ran on either side, enclosing the precinct of the temple ; but the *temenos* wall has been destroyed in the neighbourhood of the Khonsu temple. The deeply curved cornice of the propylon shows the winged sun-disk, while the reliefs on the lintel and jambs of the gateway show Ptolemy Euergetes, along with Queen Berenice, offering to the Theban gods. Beyond the propylon, the avenue of sphinxes continues.

We are now face to face with the front of the temple of Khonsu. The façade consists of a fine and very complete pylon, measuring 59 feet in height, 105 feet in breadth, and 33 feet in thickness. From these measurements, it will be seen that the temple is not a very large one ; but it is in sufficiently good preservation to afford a remarkably good example of a complete and uncomplicated Egyptian temple design of the New Empire, and for that reason its value is quite beyond any mere considerations of scale. The temple as a whole dates from the reign of Ramses III, of the XXth Dynasty ; but the site must have been previously occupied by a temple, and the remains of the earlier work have been incorporated in the building. The four vertical grooves on the front of the two towers of the pylon, with the square openings corresponding to them in the upper part of the towers, show admirably the method of fixing the great flagstaves which were a feature in the decoration of the front of every temple.

Passing beyond the towers of the pylon, we enter the Forecourt. On the east and west sides of the court are double rows of columns, four in a row ; while the north side is occupied by another double row of twelve columns in all, these being raised upon a low terrace, which is approached by a ramp of slight incline. This terrace, with its twelve columns, is sometimes called the Pronaos ; but there is really no separate chamber. The columns are of the late degenerate form of the clustered papyrus-bud type, with but little resemblance to the prototype. The smooth surfaces of the columns, and the side-walls bear reliefs dating from the reign of the first priest-king, Herihor. At

the left hand, above the south doorway on that side, two galleys (1) are being rowed up-stream, and are towing the sacred barge, which appears at (2), a little farther on, though indistinctly. In the middle of this (west) wall, appears King Herihor, on the

galley which bears the portable sacred barge. Other galleys and barges are seen above the northern door and in the angle of the terrace (4, 5), with several princes following. In the middle of the north wall of the terrace, priests bear the barge of the Theban triad, Amûn, Mût, and Khonsu, and above, the king is seen praying, dancing and offering before the gods (6).



TEMPLE OF KHONSU, KARNAK

Returning now to the entrance of the Forecourt, we take the right-hand (east) wall. Over the south doorway on the wall we have the king worshipping various gods. Next (8) is a representation of the pylon of the temple, showing eight flagstaves, instead of four. The method of fastening the staves, by means of heavy clamps of wood and bronze projecting from the windows in the upper part of the pylon towers, can be seen. Farther on (9), the king worships before the sacred barques of the triad. On the wall of the terrace (10) the king offers flowers to an image

of Mîn, who is borne on the shoulders of priests. The north wall shows the barge of Amûn being carried by priests, and the king receiving gifts from Khonsu (11, 12).

We now enter the Hypostyle Hall, which occupies the whole breadth of the temple, but is comparatively shallow in the line of the temple axis. It has eight papyrus columns, of which the four on the two sides of the central avenue have open-flower

capitals, while the four side columns are of the bud type. The central columns are also 5 feet higher than the side ones, so that the hall has a central nave, with clerestory, and side-aisles. The reliefs on the walls are of the reign of Ramses XI and show him and the high-priest, Herihor, who dethroned him and usurped the throne, offering to the gods (13-16). The doorways at both ends of this hall were either built by Nectanebis I, or restored by him. Two seated apes of the moon-god in sandstone still remain in the hall. Passing through the north doorway, we enter the hall of the Sanctuary, which was originally occupied by a red granite shrine of Amenophis II. This was incorporated in the new temple by its builder, Ramses III, and was inscribed by Ramses IV at a later stage. It is represented now only by scanty remains. Blocks in the wall of this hall bear the car-touches of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis III, so that we may conclude that the original temple is not later than the time of the first-named Pharaoh, however much older it may have been. The reliefs on the walls to east and west of the ruined shrine show Ramses IV in the presence of the gods. Those in the right-hand corridor (17-25) are finer than those on the west side. The dark chambers behind these walls are of no interest, save that the roof is reached by a stairway from the eastern chamber.

We now reach a small hall which has four sixteen-sided columns. The reliefs here are interesting because of the contrast which they offer between the work of the Ramesside period (Ramses IV) and those of Roman times. At the right-hand (east) side of the doorway (26), the Emperor Augustus offers to the gods. The upper scenes on the east wall (27) show Ramses IV making offering to the sacred barque, while below a Roman emperor worships Khonsu. On the west wall (28) we have again a Roman emperor offering to various gods, and lastly (29) Augustus again offers to Amen-Rê. Egyptian art had travelled a good distance on the downward path by the time of Ramses IV ; but the contrast between his work and the clumsy rigidity of Roman times shows that there was a lower deep awaiting it. The north end of the temple is occupied by seven chapels. These have reliefs of Ramses III and Ramses IV. Those in the rooms on the eastern side still retain their colour. The chapel in the north-eastern angle of the temple has a representation of the dead Osiris, with Isis and Nephthys mourning over him.

To the west of the temple of Khonsu, and immediately adjoining

the pylon, is a small temple of Osiris and Opet, the hippopotamus-goddess, who is identified with the grotesque Thouëris (Taurt), and who at Thebes was regarded as the mother of Osiris. This little temple is opened by request. We enter from the west side into a rectangular two-columned portico, lit by grated windows. The columns have open-flower capitals, with heads of Hathor superposed. Beyond this, a vestibule is flanked by two side chambers, which have, to the left, scenes of Osiris on his bier, with Isis and Nephthys, and to the right, scenes of the birth of Horus. Above the door Horus (Harsmataui), in the shape of a hawk wearing the Double Crown, is watched over in the marshes by Opet in her hippopotamus form, and by a lion-goddess. Passing through the vestibule we reach the Little Sanctuary, where the figure of the goddess Opet once stood in a niche. The reliefs in the niche show the king worshipping Opet in hippopotamus form, and the standard of Hathor. A crypt beneath this little temple connected it by a subterranean passage with the temple of Khonsu.

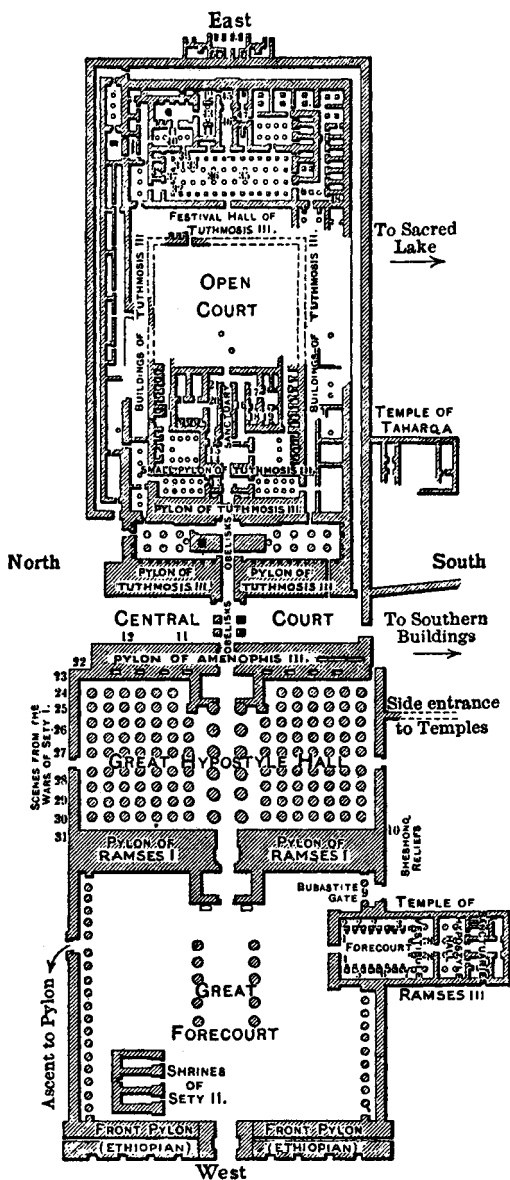
THE GREAT TEMPLE OF AMEN-RÊ

Leaving the temple of Khonsu, we proceed northwards for a short distance. Our road, after running along the side of the temple, turns somewhat towards the west at the north end of the building, then after a little bends round to the north again, and lands us in the middle of an avenue of ram-headed sphinxes, with a vast pylon on our right hand, and the house of the Director of Works, and the office of the Inspector of Antiquities on our left. At the left-hand (west) end of the avenue a slight incline leads to a rectangular terrace, which overlooks the house of the Director. This terrace is actually a quay, and instead of being, as now, 'in the air', and leading to nowhere, it was once washed by the waters of the Nile, which has now receded westwards by several hundred yards. The quay still served its purpose as late as the XXVIth Dynasty, for records of the height of the inundation between the XXIst and XXVIth Dynasties are marked upon its riverward face. One little obelisk, out of the two which Seti II set up on the quay, still stands; the pedestal of the other is all that is left of it. One can well imagine that this quay must have formed the most magnificent approach to the great temple of Amûn in its later days, when the great barge

'Userhêt-Amûn', of cedar of Lebanon overlaid with gold, returned down the river from Luxor, at the close of the 'Feast of Amûn in the Apts', with the galleys which had towed it upstream forming a stately escort in its rear, and all that was most gorgeous in the temple furniture of the wealthiest god in Egypt was displayed in the procession which welcomed the god as he returned to his temple. On our right hand, as we look towards the great pylon, lie the ruins of a little shrine built by Hakar, of the XXXth Dynasty (390 B.C.). The sphinxes which border the approach to the temple from the quay are, according to the Egyptian Survey, the work of Ramses XII. (Other authorities attribute them to Ramses II.)

Before us is the stupendous Ethiopian pylon which now constitutes the west front of the temple. It is 370 feet wide, 142½ feet high, and 49 feet thick, and, as we have seen, the west front of St. Paul's is insignificant in comparison with it. Before we pass it, let us try to realize on how colossal a scale the house of Amûn before us was built and endowed. The area of the *temenos* of Amûn at Karnak was 61·775 acres, and would accommodate ten average European cathedrals within its limits quite comfortably. The actual length of the temple of Amûn from west to east is over 1,220 feet, while its greatest breadth is 338 feet. It could find room within its walls for St. Peter's (Rome), Milan, and Nôtre Dame (Paris). The wealth of the god, whose house the great temple was, was proportioned to the magnificence of his abode. Amûn possessed 5,164 divine statues, 81,322 slaves, vassals and servants, 421,262 head of cattle, 433 gardens and orchards, 691,334 acres of land, 83 ships, 46 building-yards, and 65 cities and towns. In addition to all this, the god possessed an immense, though variable, annual income from the gifts of the faithful in gold, silver, copper, cloth, fowl, oil, wine and vegetables of all sorts; so that we come to understand that Amûn, whose income was not subject to the outgoings which affected the income of the Pharaoh, was actually a much more wealthy personality than the king of the realm.

The great pylon was never completed, and portions of the crude brick ramps by which the stones were hauled into position still remain. The north pylon may be ascended, and the climb is well worth while, as a fine view of the whole lay-out of the temple may be gained from the top. We now enter the Great Forecourt, sometimes known as the Court of the Bubastites, from the fact



GREAT TEMPLE OF AMEN-RÊ, KARNAK

that it was mainly erected by the Pharaohs of the Libyan or XXIIInd Dynasty, whose capital was at Bubastis. Its enormous size is scarcely realized until we compare its measurements with those of the more famous Hypostyle Hall to which it gives access ; but it measures 276 feet in depth and 338 feet in width, so that its area is over 93,000 square feet, as against the 54,000 square feet of the Hypostyle Hall. Thus it could hold either the Duomo of Florence or St. Paul's, London, leaving nearly ten thousand square feet to spare. Another feature which should be realized at once is the extraordinary complication of periods and builders in the work of this single court. Generally speaking, the court is of the XXIIInd Dynasty ; but the pylon through which we entered it, and which forms its west wall, is of the Ethiopian period. On the left hand, as we enter, is a shrine dedicated by Seti I of the XIXth Dynasty, to the Theban triad, Amûn, Mût, and Khonsu (attributed by most authorities to the second Seti). Before us stand the remains of a colonnade which once consisted of two rows of five columns each. Only a single column is now standing. It was the work, like most of the rest of the colonnade, of Taharqa, the Ethiopian Pharaoh of the XXVth Dynasty ; but it also bears the names of Psammetichus II, of the XXVIth Dynasty, and of Ptolemy IV, Philopator. This column, which showed signs of instability, was entirely dismantled and rebuilt by the Service of Antiquities in 1928-29. The screen-walls which unite the columns also bear the name of Philopator. Between this colonnade and the row of columns on the north side of the court stands a row of ram-headed sphinxes of Ramses II, which once formed part of an avenue which led up to the pylon (II) of Ramses I, which was then the west front of the temple. These were moved to their present position when the new court was being made. Before the colonnade of Taharqa are two large pedestals for statues, and at the farther end of the colonnade (east) are the remains of statues of Seti I. On our right hand, the southern row of Bubastite columns is broken by the façade of the small temple of Ramses III, XXth Dynasty, to which we shall presently return. In front of the porch which leads to the gateway of the pylon (No. II), at the east end of the court, stand two statues of Ramses II, of which the legs only of the left-hand figure remain. A stele of Psammetichus II, XXVIth Dynasty, stands beside the ruined statue. On the south side of the porch before the east pylon, Ramses II triumphs over the

foes of Amûn, and this king's name, together with those of his father Seti I, and his grandfather Ramses I, is found in the doorway. An intervening door was erected by the two Ptolemys, VI and VII, Philometor and Euergetes II. The earlier doorway also exhibits scenes of Ramses III. Finally the great pylon (II), which forms the back wall of the court is the work of Ramses I, XIXth Dynasty. Such a jumble of Pharaohs and periods is not often seen within a single court. Nearly twelve centuries are covered by the work represented here.

TEMPLE OF RAMSES III

We now return to the small temple of Ramses III, which interrupts the row of Bubastite columns on the south side of the court. Being of XXth Dynasty date, this temple was obviously here before the court came into being, and it is plain that Ramses III considered the great temple to be completed by the pylon (No. II) of Ramses I which, in his day, formed the west front of the temple; otherwise he would never have placed his temple where it was bound to be absorbed in any subsequent extensions. In spite of the smallness of this temple, which only measures 170 feet in length, it is, like the temple of Khonsu, a characteristic example of a typical and simple Egyptian temple of the Later Empire, built throughout on a single impulse, and uncomplicated by later additions.

The pylon, which has been considerably ruined in its upper portions, is adorned by reliefs of Ramses III slaughtering captives, whom he grasps by the hair in a manner with which we shall become familiar at Karnak, in the presence of Amûn, who delivers to him three rows of captive cities, each represented by a human figure rising out of a cartouche with the name of the city. Ramses bears the Double Crown on the left-hand tower, and the Red Crown on the right. In front of the pylon stand two somewhat clumsy and ill-proportioned statues of the king, in sandstone. He wears the Double Crown above the *nemes* headdress, according to the ungraceful custom of the later imperial period. The statues have once been coloured. We now enter the Peristyle Forecourt. The roofed gallery which runs round the court has its architraves supported on each side by eight square pillars, each bearing on its front an Osirid figure of the king. These figures have been much

mutilated, and only three now retain their heads, which are badly damaged.

The reliefs on the back wall of the pylon show Ramses receiving from Amûn the symbol for jubilees, indicating that a long reign was promised to the king. The east wall of the court has a procession in which the king leads the priests who carry the sacred barques of Amûn. Mût, and Khonsu ; while on the western wall the procession is one in which the statue of Min, the desert-god often identified with Amen-Rê, is carried to its shrine. We pass up a gently inclined plane into the Vestibule, or Pronaos. Its roof is supported in front by four Osirid figures against pillars, and behind this row is another of four papyrus-bud columns. The pillars in front are united by screen-walls, with reliefs. Between the columns of the vestibule and its back wall are the lower parts of two black granite statues of Sekhmet. The reliefs on the walls are badly damaged.

The doorway by which we pass into the next hall has on its jambs figures of the king, which were once inlaid with bronze or gold. Passing through this entrance we find ourselves in the Hypostyle Hall, which has eight columns with bud capitals, and reliefs of the usual type, with the king offering in the presence of various gods. From the hypostyle, we reach the chapels of the Theban triad, decorated with scenes of the king offering before the sacred barques of Amûn, Mût, and Khonsu (middle, east, and west respectively). A staircase leads from a room beside the chapel of Mût.

Leaving the temple of Ramses III, we find on our right hand as we go towards the pylon of Ramses I, the Portico of the Bubastites, or Gateway of Sheshonq, which occupies the south-eastern angle of the great Forecourt of the Bubastites. This portico was erected and adorned by the Pharaohs of the XXIIInd Dynasty, and once had a two-columned porch before its gateway. The reliefs show Osorkon (Uasarkon) I, Takeloth (Takerat) II and his son Osorkon, in the presence of various gods. Beyond this portal is the famous relief of Sheshonq I (Shishak of the Bible) commemorating his triumphs over Judah and Israel in the time of Rehoboam (*c.* 930 B.C.). Strictly speaking, this scene, though carved on the south wall of the pylon of Ramses I, belongs to the Bubastite series ; but it will be better to leave it until we come out from the next hall to view the reliefs of Seti I and Ramses II on the north and south outside walls of the Hypostyle

Hall. We now pass to the front of the great but much dilapidated pylon (No. II) of Ramses I, through which we enter the famous Hypostyle Hall of Karnak. Since the great disaster of October, 1899, when eleven of the columns of the hall tumbled down like ninepins, and five others threatened to follow their example without delay, while the pylon of Ramses I began to pour down blocks like water, almost the whole of this great hall has been rebuilt, by the exertions of the late M. Legrain, and rebuilt, it may be noted, by precisely the same simple means of ramp and lever which served for its original erection. Some of the picturesque features of 'most admired disorder' which marked it in older times have therefore disappeared, and the leaning column no longer leans; but any sentimental loss in this respect is more than atoned for by the thought that the hall is now much safer than it has been for centuries, and is also in a condition much more nearly approaching that of its days of splendour.

The Great Hypostyle Hall is, as the traveller is so often told, the largest single chamber of any temple in the world, having an area of about 54,000 square feet, which is about 2,000 square feet less than the whole area of Canterbury (56,280), about 7,000 less than that of Westminster (61,729), and 10,000 less than that of Nôtre Dame, Paris (64,308). The Court of the Bubastites, as we have just seen, is more than half as big again; but it is improbable that the colonnade which makes its central avenue was ever meant to carry a roof and to be completed by the addition of side aisles, so that the Hypostyle still remains supreme in size in its own kind.

The question of its architectural qualities is another matter. It has been extravagantly praised, and almost equally extravagantly blamed. One distinguished author says that it is 'the noblest architectural work ever designed and executed by human hands', and adds to this eulogium: 'The Pyramids are more stupendous. The Colosseum covers more ground. The Parthenon is more beautiful. Yet in nobility of conception, in vastness of detail, in majesty of the highest order, the Hall of Pillars exceeds them every one.' Another authority, still more distinguished, tells us that 'the only special feature of this hall is its great defect—that the columns are far too numerous. . . . The size which strikes us is not the grandeur of strength, but the bulkiness of disease.'

Probably the truth, as usual, lies somewhere between these

two extremes. Undoubtedly the columns are far too many and far too massive for the space which they obstruct rather than adorn ; and the reason is just that the Egyptian architect dared not trust the sandstone which he was using to support his gigantic architraves and roofing-blocks under any other conditions. He was mastered by the results of his own megalomania, and, because, like most of the architects of the later period, he craved after creating 'the biggest ever', he ended by making his work bewildering and a little wearisome, instead of attaining the masterpiece of greatness at which he aimed. Yet, even so, no one can deny that the Hypostyle Hall is a most imposing building, and that, if it is not great, it is at least grandiose.

The figures which tell us its scale may help us to recover a little of the enthusiasm which we can scarcely work up for its architectural beauty. The twelve columns of the nave measure 69 feet in height, and have a diameter of $11\frac{3}{4}$ feet, and a circumference of more than 33 feet. That is to say they are comparable with Trajan's Column at Rome. They carried, on architraves which weigh anything up to 60 or 70 tons, roofing-blocks which hung in air 79 feet above the floor below. It has been said that on each of the open-flower capitals one hundred men could stand ; which may be quite true, though in such a case one might prefer to be in the centre of the crowd rather than on its circumference. The hundred and twenty-four columns of the side-aisles measure $42\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, and $27\frac{1}{2}$ feet in circumference, and are of the bud-capital type, although again the original idea of the clustered papyrus stems is almost entirely lost, and the columns are heavy and ungraceful. The two rows of smaller columns on either side of the nave supported square pillars, which rose to the height of the larger columns, and supported the ends of the roofing-blocks of the nave. In the clerestory thus formed above the roofs of the aisles, were windows, filled in with stone gratings, which allowed of the entrance of enough light to render the religious processions below mysterious, without exposing them to the glare of Egyptian sunlight.

The hall, as we have seen, is the work of at least three Pharaohs, while Haremhab may put in a claim as the possible designer of the great plan. A sandstone stele of this king stands beside one of the columns in the south aisle, near the middle of the hall, and not far from it are two finely wrought quartzite statues of Seti I, now mutilated and headless. The decoration of the

side-walls is really a subsidiary matter, in view of the total impression of its greatness; but certain items are worthy of notice. At the back of the pylon of Ramses I by which we have entered, there stands on the left hand an alabaster dyad of Ramses II and Amen-Rê; while on the right hand is an alabaster block with representations of Syrian and African captives.

Some of the reliefs of Seti I, especially those on the north wall are very fine. In particular the series on either side of the north door of the hall, representing the king fulfilling various sacred functions, or being blessed by various gods, is of high merit. In one set of scenes to the east of the door, Seti is shown kneeling before Harakhte, who holds in his left hand a palm-branch from which various sacred symbols are suspended, and blesses the king with his right hand. Behind Seti stands the lioness-headed goddess Wert-Hekew (Urt-hekau), the wife of Ra-Harakhte, bearing in her right hand another palm-branch hung with sacred symbols, while with the left she blesses the king. Behind Wert-Hekew comes another scene in which Seti kneels beneath the sacred tree of Heliopolis, while Thoth inscribes his name upon its leaves. These scenes, perhaps especially the last, are of singular merit, and the sacred tree scene may almost be classed with Seti's reliefs at Abydos. The reliefs of Ramses II on the north wall have a similar scene with that Pharaoh as the central figure; but they are of much less merit than those of his father.

Before we pass on to the eastern portion of the temple, which is mainly also the earlier portion, it is advisable to pass to the outside of the hall, in order to see the historical reliefs which are carved on its south and north walls, and on the south wall of the pylon of Ramses I. We shall take these reliefs in their historical order, beginning with those of Seti I, which are on the north wall. Leaving the hall by the door in the north-east corner, we find on the east end of the north wall a representation of King Seti in the Lebanon, where the Syrians are felling trees for him. Beneath, he is engaged in battle with the Arabs of Southern Palestine, and drives them before him; the fortress Pe-Kanana is represented to the left, above, with fugitives being assisted by its inhabitants to escape into it. Turning the corner, we enter upon the main series, and go westwards along the wall. The king fights with the Asiatics in front of Yenoam. Their chariots and infantry flee before his attack. Yenoam, surrounded with water, is in the background. Next the king binds his

captives, and marches behind his chariot, dragging two rows of prisoners and their four chiefs behind him. He leads his captives into the presence of Amûn, Mût and Khonsu, to whom he offers a share of the loot. In the lower row there is represented the triumphal return of the king through Palestine. The Palestinian chiefs do him homage; he fights with the Beduin, who flee before him; he makes his entry to the frontier fortress of Egypt. This last scene is of considerable interest. The king, in his chariot, is preceded and followed by the captives of his campaign. He is advancing towards the canal which marks and defends the frontier, and which is well-stocked with crocodiles. The canal is crossed by a bridge, with a bridge-head at either end. Priests and nobles await their king with bouquets of flowers. Finally the king offers his prisoners and his loot to Amûn. On either side of the door in the middle of the north wall is a colossal relief in which the king clubs his captives before Amûn, who offers him the curious curved sword which Egyptian royalty affects.

The western series of the reliefs begins at the west end of the wall and moves towards the door in the middle, both series thus converging on the two colossal scenes of the sacrificial offering up of the prisoners before Amûn. Seti fights against Kadesh in Galilee (to be distinguished from the more famous Kadesh on the Orontes). He has overthrown the chariot of an enemy. In the background the city appears, and beneath it cattle are driven away by their herdsman. Seti, in the middle row of reliefs, fights against the Libyans. He holds a Libyan chieftain beneath his bow (note the single feather, the characteristic mark, along with the side-lock, of the Libyan warriors), and is about to slay him with the curved sword. Next, the king, on foot, is about to pierce a Libyan chief with his lance. The Libyan sinks backwards as Seti forces him down by grasping his uplifted right arm. Seti in his chariot drives before him two rows of prisoners. He next presents his captives to the Theban triad. In the bottom row of this series we have the campaign against the Hittites, with the earliest Egyptian representations of the warriors of this redoubtable foe of Egypt. The king shoots from his chariot against his enemies, who succumb, as in duty bound. He leads his captives and two captured chariots by cords, and drives in front of him two rows of prisoners. He consecrates his captives and loot to Amûn, Mût, and Khonsu,

who are here accompanied by Maet, the goddess of Truth, as a guarantee, one must suppose, of good faith, since he is dealing with such enemies as the hitherto untried Hittites.

We have here the largest illustration available from the period of fine Empire work of the Egyptian artist's capacity to carry out a series of great battle-reliefs. It must be confessed that he scarcely compares favourably with his rival of Assyria in this class of work. His charging horses suggest an uncomfortably close kinship to the rocking-horse of nursery days, and the general effect is somewhat stiff and unnatural. In short the Egyptian sculptor was not at his best, as was the Assyrian, in dealing with scenes of violent action. His genius lay more in the depiction of quieter scenes or in sculpture in the round, where he is as much superior to the Assyrian artist as he is inferior to him in the capturing of the rapid action of men and animals. Yet it cannot be denied that there is no little merit, for example, in the often-photographed scenes of the Libyan fights; and the whole series is, of course, of supreme historical interest.

We now cross the Hypostyle Hall again, and go out by the south door, in the middle of the south wall, to view the reliefs of Ramses II. These relate to his campaign against the Hittites. The wall of the first of the southern courts of the temple projects from the middle of the east section of the south wall of the Hypostyle Hall, and on the western face of this projecting wall, in the angle formed by it with the wall of the hypostyle, is inscribed the treaty of peace, which was made between Ramses and Hattushilish, King of the Hittites, in the twenty-first year of the Egyptian king. Beyond the projecting wall, and more conveniently to be visited during the survey of the southern buildings, is a representation of Ramses leading his captives before Amûn, and beneath, an inscription which gives the so-called 'Poem of Pentawêr', the poetical account of the battle of Kadesh which is so named because it happened to be transcribed by a scribe named Pentawêr. On the end of the south wall of the Hypostyle is a relief with Ramses presenting his captives and loot to Amûn. The reliefs of Ramses, however, do not compare favourably with those of his father Seti.

On the south end-wall of the pylon of Ramses I, beyond the reliefs of Ramses on the south wall of the Hypostyle, is the famous unfinished relief of Sheshonq I, celebrating his triumphs

in Judah and Palestine in the invasion recorded by the Bible as having taken place in the fifth year of King Rehoboam, son of Solomon (cf. 1 Kings xiv, 25, 26, and 2 Chronicles xii, 2-9). The relief represents Amûn, distinguished by his tall upright plumes, holding in his right hand the curved sword, while with his left he leads up a series of captive towns, represented as usual by ovals with a human half-figure rising out of them. Within the ovals the names of the various cities are inscribed, to the number (originally) of one hundred and fifty-six. Several of the names can be equated with familiar Bible names, such as Rabbah, Taanach, Ajalon, Gibeon, Beth-horon; and the list shows that Sheshonq's heavy hand fell impartially upon king Rehoboam and his northern enemy, the rebel Jeroboam. To the right of the relief the unfinished figure of Sheshonq can be made out, smiting a group of captives whom he holds by the hair in the usual manner. The relief has no merit, apart from its historical and Biblical interest.

Before we return into the Hypostyle Hall, in order to pass through the pylon (No. III) of Amenophis III, and enter the eastern portion of the great temple, it might be as well to realize that all this part of Karnak which we have been surveying belongs to the late period, when Thebes was undoubtedly on the downward slope, though still, at least in the days of Seti I and Ramses II, a great and splendid city. From pylon No. III, which at present forms the back wall of the hypostyle, we have, more or less exclusively, the older work of the New Empire in its great days, before the break caused by the religious revolution of Akhenaten. There are, of course, later intrusions even in this eastern section of the great temple, as there are also earlier remains of the Middle Kingdom; but in the main all from this pylon eastwards belongs to the great time when Egypt was a conquering power, and when all the kingdoms of the Near East were either humbly submissive to her rule, or were anxiously cultivating her friendship and seeking to have her as their banker, from whom loans could be negotiated by judicious flattery. To realize the Karnak of the glorious days of the Empire, you have to think away all that lies west of the third pylon, which now stands in front of us, and to imagine that this pylon, the work of Amenophis III, the most gorgeous of Egyptian Pharaohs, is the west front of the great temple.

Unfortunately it is not easy to do this, as the pylon is now

almost completely ruined and can give but little idea of its former magnificence. The vestibule of the pylon projects in front of it—a later erection, into which some alabaster slabs, with noble reliefs of the reign of Amenophis III, have been built. On the rear wall of the north tower of the pylon are the much-ruined remains of a colossal relief depicting the voyage of the great barge of Amûn, *Userhêt-Amûn*, with King Amenophis on board. Another vessel accompanies the sacred boat; but the scene is only a shadow of what it was. On the rear wall of the southern tower is an inscription, also partly ruined, recording the gifts of Amenophis to the temple and its god.

Passing through the gateway of the pylon, we find ourselves in the Central Court of the temple. On either side of us, as we emerge from the gateway, are the bases of two obelisks of Tuthmosis III, which marked the western front of the temple as it was in his reign, before Amenophis had erected his pylon. A little beyond these stood two other obelisks erected by Tuthmosis I. Of these, one has disappeared, but the other is still standing. It is a shaft of red Aswân granite, 64 feet in height (Engelbach; Baedeker gives 71 feet), and it weighs 143 tons, being thus the second lightest of the greater extant obelisks, the Matariya (Heliopolis) one of Senusret I, though 67 feet in height, weighing 22 tons less. It had originally a single column of hieroglyphs running down the centre of each side; but it now has three vertical columns, those on the sides having been added by Ramses IV and Ramses VI. The dedication inscription of Tuthmosis I is of no particular interest, being merely formal. The fragments of the companion obelisk have been discovered, and show that this second shaft, though set up, as we know from the inscription of Ineni (Anena) already quoted, by Tuthmosis I, was not inscribed by him, but by Tuthmosis III, so that it must have remained uninscribed for no fewer than twenty-three years. Strange though this may seem, the occurrence is more than paralleled by the case of the great Lateran obelisk, the largest now in existence, which, as Tuthmosis IV tells us in his additions to the inscription on the shaft, lay on its side, uncared for, at the south side of Karnak for thirty-five years, until he set it up and caused the record of his piety to be engraved upon it.

We pass through pylon No. IV, which formed the west front of the temple in the days of Tuthmosis I, but is now sadly ruined. The doorway was restored by Alexander the Great, the first of

the later intrusions which we have to notice in this earlier part of the temple. The court into which we now enter has had the most curious history of any part of the great building. It was originally erected by Tuthmosis I and, as he designed it, was meant to have a roof of cedar, and columns of the same costly wood, which, however, were subsequently replaced by stone, three of the bases of the stone columns still remaining. Before long the court was strangely transformed by the daughter of Tuthmosis, Queen Hatshepsut. She wished to celebrate the attainment of her sixteenth year as queen regnant, and to this end she sent up to Aswân her factotum, Senmût, to bring down to Thebes and erect at Karnak two great obelisks. Senmût duly accomplished his heavy task, and the two obelisks were floated down to Thebes. Then the queen, for what reason it is impossible to say, chose as the site for their erection the cedar hall of her father. She unroofed the larger portion of it, and thrust the two granite shafts up above the broken roof. The hall was thus rendered quite unfit for any ceremonial observances, and one can only conjecture what may have influenced the queen in her choice of such a position for her memorials. It is just possible that there may have been in her mind a kind of spite against the hall, as having been the scene of the little piece of play-acting by which the priests of Amûn succeeded in forcing the recognition of Tuthmosis III (between whom and Hatshepsut there was no love lost), as having a claim to the throne no less than herself.

After the death of Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III restored the hall so far as was possible (the work was completed by his son, Amenophis II), and took steps to deprive Hatshepsut of whatever glory she might have derived from her obelisks. He sheathed them both in masonry up to a height of 82 feet, so that the queen's inscriptions could not be read, only the points of the two shafts being left projecting for $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the roof of the hall. His spiteful action indirectly helped to preserve for us the sharpness of the inscription on the remaining shaft. His masonry casing has now fallen down, though parts of it still remain on the spot, and the inscription can be read with comfort. Around the court was a series of niches, with Osirid statues of Tuthmosis I, which have the arms crossed and the *ankh*, or symbol of life, in each hand.

Of the two great obelisks of Hatshepsut, one only remains

standing. A portion of the other lies not far off, affording a good opportunity of examining the carvings on the upper part of the shaft, and on the pyramidion. The carving of the pyramidion is of special interest. It represents Queen Hatshepsut, as a man, and wearing the royal war-helmet, kneeling in front of Amûn, who sits on a throne, wearing his tall plumes, and lays his hands in blessing upon her. During the religious strife of Akhenaten's reign, the figure of Amûn was chiselled out; but it was restored at a later date, and the deeper cutting necessitated by this restoration is still conspicuous. The standing obelisk, which is $97\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, and weighs 323 tons, is the largest obelisk in Egypt, but is surpassed by the Lateran obelisk at Rome, which is 105.6 feet high, and weighs 455 tons.

The inscriptions on the shaft run in single vertical columns down each face, and are merely formal, intimating, with the curious complication of genders which the fact of a female Pharaoh made necessary, that 'the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Maetkerê (Hatshepsut), she made it as her monument for her father Amûn, Lord of Thebes, erecting for him two great obelisks at the august gate: "Amûn-is-Great-in-Terror" [pylon V], wrought with much electrum; which illuminate the Two Lands like the sun; never was the like made since the beginning.' The inscription on the base, on the other hand, is of extraordinary interest, as in it the queen expresses with great simplicity the reason which led her to erect these memorials, and tells a number of facts with regard to the work, concluding with an appeal to the judgment of posterity and its favourable construction on her work. A few short extracts from this eminently human document may be quoted.

First we have her statement of motive, which reads like a quotation from a Hebrew Psalm:

I have done this from a loving heart for my father Amûn . . .

I did it under his command: it was he who led me.

I conceived no works without his doing: it was he who gave me direction.

I slept not because of his temple: I erred not from that which he commanded.

My heart was wise before my father: I entered into the affairs of his heart.

I turned not my back on the City of the All-Lord: but turned to it the face.

'I was sitting in my palace,' she continues, 'I was thinking of my Creator, when my heart led me to make for him two obelisks of electrum, whose points mingled with heaven. . . . O ye people who shall see my monument in after years, those who shall speak of that which I have made, beware lest ye say: "I know not, I know not why this was done—a mountain fashioned entirely from gold, as if it were an everyday occurrence."' She then goes on to tell us, with a great oath to confirm her words, that the shafts are each 'of one block of enduring granite, without seam or joining', and that the work upon them occupied the amazingly short time of seven months: 'My Majesty exacted work upon them from the year 15, the first of Mechir, until the year 16, the last of Mesore, making seven months of exaction in the mountain.' Next she intimates that the electrum (silver-gold alloy) for the metal caps which crowned the pyramidion of the obelisk was measured out by the bushel, 'like sacks of grain', a statement which is literally true, as Thûti, another of her servants, has recorded the quantity of electrum which was used for some of the other work of Hatshepsut under his supervision, and it amounts to nearly twelve bushels! Finally she appeals once more to posterity to attest her truthfulness: 'Let not him who shall hear this say that what I have said is a lie; but let him rather say: "How like her it is, who is truthful in the sight of her Father!"'

Indeed the surviving obelisk is well worthy of all the pride with which Hatshepsut regarded it. Tuthmosis III, indeed, was to surpass it by far, though his greatest shafts have perished; but up to her own time no such gigantic obelisks had been erected in Egypt, and the near-by obelisk of her father looks small beside hers. The fact that in its erection it did not come down quite square upon its pedestal scarcely detracts from the merit of the performance, though it was, no doubt, a rankling sore in the mind and conscience of Senmût.

Passing through the remains of the ruined pylon V, we enter a transverse hall of Tuthmosis I, which originally had sixteen-sided columns, and statues of Osiris. Into this chamber, Tuthmosis III has intruded a couple of small shrines, or antechambers, one on either side of the central aisle. In the passage leading from the left-hand chamber to the north side of the main chamber is a colossal seated statue of Amenophis II, in red granite. In front of us, as we pass this, is the VIth and last pylon of the main

temple, a small and ruined structure of Tuthmosis III, with a granite gateway. On either side of the gateway is the well-known list of the conquests of Tuthmosis, which takes the usual form of a series of ovals with emergent figures, each oval bearing the name of a conquered city or locality. The list on the left-hand side is of particular interest, as it records 'the tribes of the Upper Retenu [Syria] which His Majesty took in the wretched town of Megiddo'.

Before us, as we pass through the granite gateway, is the Hall of Records of Tuthmosis III, now chiefly conspicuous for the two beautiful granite pillars which once supported its roof. That on the left hand has a papyrus design on it in relief, and that on the right a similar relief of a lotus, thus symbolizing respectively Lower and Upper Egypt (another instance of the studious emphasizing, on every possible occasion, of the fact that Egypt was formed by the union of the Two Lands). On the left hand there is also a remarkably fine quartzite colossal head of the god Amûn, and a quartzite statue of the goddess Amûnet. These were the work of Tutankhamûn, but were later usurped by Haremhab. On either side of the Hall of Records are the remains of a colonnaded court of Tuthmosis III, with sixteen-sided clustered columns of papyrus-bud form. On its south side this court has a series of shrines for the worship of the deified Amenophis I, which continues eastwards along the south side of the Sanctuary.

Passing out of the Hall of Records, we are faced by the complex of buildings of Tuthmosis III into the middle of which the granite shrine of Philip Arrhidaeus was intruded to take the place of the more ancient sanctuary (323-305 B.C.). The carvings in the interior of the shrine are of no particular importance, but those on the right-hand (south) outside wall deserve attention. Here Philip is crowned and presented to the gods (top row). In the middle and third rows the festal barques of Amûn are seen being carried in procession by the priests, or set down upon their stands at the 'stations' of the god. The actual shrine of Amûn, in the centre of the barque, is veiled with a white cloth. The building of Tuthmosis III which surrounds the shrine of Philip is sometimes called the Second Hall of Records, as it contains one of the most important historical inscriptions of Egypt, the annals of the Asiatic campaigns of the great conqueror. These begin at the north-east corner of the wall on the north side facing the granite shrine, and run along this north wall

westwards. A doorway of black granite of Tuthmosis III opens to the north into a series of ruined chambers which show the cartouche of Hatshepsut, obliterated and replaced by those of Tuthmosis II or Tuthmosis III. The corresponding chambers on the south side have an alabaster dyad of Amenophis II, and an alabaster dyad of Tuthmosis III. The reliefs of Hatshepsut, in the chamber on the north side, entered by the black granite doorway, are well worth seeing, as they have kept their colour well.

We now emerge from this somewhat complicated part of the temple into an open court where the XIIth Dynasty temple originally stood. The scanty fragments which remain are mostly flush with the ground. Beyond the ruined walls on the left hand (north) of this court, and between them and the series of walls which enclose the temple to the north are two wells, one of them approached by a stair. Before us, as we look across the site of the Middle Kingdom temple, lies the Festival Hall of Tuthmosis III. We enter this great building (144 feet wide, 52 feet deep) by a door in its south-west side, and find ourselves in a hall which, in some respects, is unique in Egyptian architectural practice. It has three central aisles, and two side ones, which are lower than the central three. The central aisle of the whole building has its roof supported by two rows, each of ten columns of the shape of an ancient Egyptian tent-pole. The effect is singular, as the capitals of the columns seem to be inverted, and the shafts have a slight taper downwards instead of upwards. The inverted capitals, however, simply represent the knobs on the upper ends of the tent-poles. This curious experiment of representing the royal tent in stone does not appear to have caught on, and was never repeated. The two aisles on either side of this bit of freak construction are bordered by square pillars, of the same height as the outer walls of the hall, and therefore lower than the tent-pole columns. This difference was made up by impost-blocks, which brought the architraves up to the level of the central columns, so that they could take the outer ends of the roofing-blocks from the central two rows. The two lower side-aisles had their roofs supported partly by the outer walls of the hall and partly by the square columns beneath the impost-blocks. The greater height of the three central aisles enabled the architect to light the building by a clerestory. Several ruined statues are to be seen in the hall, in particular a kneeling quartzite figure of Menepthah, the son and successor of Ramses II.

In the little chamber at the south-west corner of the hall was found the famous Karnak Table of Kings, which was removed in 1843 to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Leaving the hall by the north-east corner, we pass through several chambers, more or less ruined, into a small hall, which had its roof supported by four fine clustered papyrus-bud columns. These are well preserved and still bear their architraves. The walls of this little chamber, though much damaged, still retain some of the delicate carvings of plants and animals which Tuthmosis III caused to be placed here on his return from the campaign of his twenty-fifth year. Flowers, fruit, birds, cattle, and various animals are represented with great care and accuracy; and it is curious to find, in a Pharaoh of more than three thousand years ago, the same spirit of interest in the new and the strange which led Napoleon to carry with him into Egypt a troop of savants for the purpose of reporting on the marvels of the land. Opening off the Festival Hall on the south side is a small hall which once had eight fine sixteen-sided columns, of which seven still stand. The Sanctuary is adjoined on the south by the Alexander Chamber, built by Tuthmosis III and adorned by Alexander the Great. The reliefs are of no great interest.

THE SOUTHERN BUILDINGS OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF AMÛN

We have now finished our survey of the main building of the great temple; but, besides the scattered remains of small temples and shrines which lie within the great *temenos* of Amûn, there is a very considerable southern extension which contains a number of reliefs and inscriptions of great interest. The best time to see this southern annexe is in the afternoon. We start from the Central Court of the great temple, between pylon III and pylon IV, and beside the obelisk of Tuthmosis I. The court which we enter is almost a complete ruin, its enclosing walls to east and west being badly wrecked, while the pylon (No. VII), which forms its south wall, is also ruined.

This court was once the site of a Middle Kingdom temple, and an early New Empire one of Amenophis I, which were both superseded by the work of Tuthmosis III, to whom the VIIth pylon is due. We are now on the site of the famous *Karnak Cachette*, now closed, from which Legrain, between 1902 and 1909,

drew an almost incredible number of works of art, greater and smaller. In six months, from 26th December 1903 to 4th July 1904, his bag was 456 stone statues, 7 sphinxes, 5 statues of sacred animals, and 8,000 bronzes; from 19th November 1904 to 25th July 1905, it was 200 stone statues and another 8,000 bronzes, without reckoning the decayed woodwork which was past preserving, and which formed a layer of considerable depth. The total catch amounted to 779 stone statues and 17,000 bronzes. Of course by far the greater number of these objects proved to be of only ordinary merit; but some of the pieces were of first-class importance, the most notable being the well-known green schist statue of Tuthmosis III, which is by far the most attractive likeness of that redoubtable Pharaoh. Now that the temple has actually yielded statues by the thousand in this fashion, it is quite easy to credit what seemed the incredible statement of the Great Harris Papyrus that Karnak possessed 5,164 divine images, and that the number of statues in the temple was 86,486.

On the north wall of this court is an historical inscription of Ramses II. On the east wall, near the main temple, is a scene of Menepthah kneeling between the paws of a ram-headed sphinx; while farther along the wall is an inscription of the same Pharaoh, referring to his wars with the Libyans and the Sea-Peoples, and a scene in which he slays his captives before Amûn. Pylon VII, which is now in front of us, is the work of Tuthmosis III, and bears a record of his victories in the usual form of cartouches of conquered tribes and cities, with a relief of the king slaying his enemies in the standard fashion. On either side of the doorway is a row of colossal red granite statues of unnamed Pharaohs. The noble doorway of the pylon was of granite, with lintel of alabaster. Notice, in the row of Pharaohs, the colossal statues of Tuthmosis III, wearing, in one case the White Crown, in the other the Double Crown, and the Osirid statues, usurped by Ramses II, of which one is headless, the head lying at its feet. Passing through the doorway into the next court, we notice on the south side of the pylon the lower parts of two colossal statues of Tuthmosis III, usurped by later kings, and, in front of the most easterly of these, the base of one of a pair of obelisks of the same king which once stood here.

On the left hand, as we pass through the court beyond pylon VII, is a small peripteral chapel of Tuthmosis III. It is much ruined. A little beyond it to the east lies the Sacred Lake, on

which the sacred barques were floated in part of the ritual of the temple. Mr. Weigall mentions that there is still a local tradition that a golden boat may sometimes be seen floating on this lake of Karnak (*Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, p. 111). The lake was once surrounded by terraces of hewn stone, with stair-cases leading down to the water. Traces of these are still visible. Near the lake, notice the pillar with the colossal granite scarabaeus of Amenophis III—a masterpiece in its own way.

Pylon VIII, which closes in the south side of this court, is the work of Hatshepsut, though the work upon it has suffered many usurpations. Hatshepsut's name was erased from the reliefs by Tuthmosis II. Akhenaten erased the figures of Amûn during his brief occupation of Thebes as his capital; and in the next dynasty Seti I restored what Akhenaten had erased, inserting his own cartouche. Before looking at these usurped reliefs, it will be worth while to pass out by the doorway in the south-east corner of the court and glance at the reliefs there, which are of great interest as a picture of the growth of priestly power in the later Ramesside period, before the complete usurpation of the royal power by the priests of Amûn in the XX1st Dynasty. On the inside of this doorway, to the left, is a figure of Ramses IX and the high-priest of Amûn, Amenhotpe, who is offering flowers to the king. Outside the doorway, and a little to the left on the outside wall of the court is another similar relief. In this the high-priest is again making offering to the king, with uplifted hands, and is being draped in fine linen by two servants, doubtless as a reward from the king, who extends his hand in favour towards his great subject. But the noticeable thing in both reliefs is that the high-priest is represented as being of the same stature as the Pharaoh, a thing previously unknown in Egyptian art. Manifestly the priesthood was getting to a position where the king counted for little, and only another step was needed to place the insignia of royalty upon the head of the too-powerful subject, and to abolish the puppet-king.

The reliefs on the north side of the pylon represent Seti I and Tuthmosis II (in place of Hatshepsut) offering to the gods. Priests carry the sacred barge, and Tuthmosis I appears before Amûn, Mût, and Khonsu. An inscription here refers to Queen Hatshepsut's accession. These are on the east side of the gateway. On the west side are similar reliefs of Seti, Tuthmosis (again superseding Hatshepsut), and Ramses III. Passing

through the doorway, we find on the south side of the pylon four more or less wrecked statues of different Pharaohs. The most complete is one of crystalline limestone representing Amenophis I. West of it are the remains of a colossal limestone statue of Tuthmosis IV, and east of it, next the doorway of the pylon, the wreck of a quartzite colossus of Tuthmosis II. On the eastern side of the doorway are the lower parts of another quartzite colossus of Tuthmosis II. The rectangular slots in the southern face of this pylon, which once held the great flagstaves, should be noticed. They bear the obvious traces of the action of fire, as the stones have been split in every direction. The flagstaves must have been burned, probably at the Assyrian sack of Thebes in 663 B.C. On the south face of the pylon, Tuthmosis II is seen slaying his enemies.

The open court before us contains nothing of interest. The Sacred Lake lies on our left, and in front of us is pylon IX, the work of Haremhab, and now almost completely ruined. It was partly built, as was also its companion pylon (X), of blocks taken from Akhenaten's shrine of the Aten, which was at once destroyed by the Amûnites on the collapse of Atenism at the death of the king. Passing through pylon IX, we have before us another court, on the left hand (east) of which is a small and much-ruined temple built by Amenophis II in celebration of his jubilee. An open portico with twelve square pillars leads to a colonnaded hall with twenty square pillars dividing it into five aisles, or rather four aisles and a central nave. On either side of this hall is a smaller pillared hall. The relief work in this temple is of fine quality, in low relief, instead of the relief *en creux* which came into favour so much at a later period. The remains of the east and west walls of this court have reliefs of Haremhab, mostly too much damaged to be worth inspection. Those on the east wall in the angle of pylon X are the best.

Of pylon X, which forms the southern front of the great temple, little remains but the granite gateway. The panels on the right-hand side of this fine gateway are still in fair preservation, and show Haremhab before Amen-Rê, Min, Mût, and Khonsu. On the north side of the doorway stand two headless limestone colossi of Ramses II, with the remains of a stele of Haremhab, giving his manifesto to the country after the Akhenaten revolution. On the south side of the doorway are the wrecks of colossi of Amenophis III (east) and Haremhab (west) with

the lower part of an Osirid figure. From pylon X, the eastern avenue of sphinxes of Amenophis III runs southwards to the gate of Ptolemy Philadelphus, before the temple of Mût in Asher, to which we shall return directly.

THE TEMPLE OF MÛT IN ASHER

This temple, dedicated to the goddess Mût, consort of Amen-Rê, is very picturesquely situated at the end of the eastern avenue of sphinxes, leading from pylon X of the southern buildings of Karnak. It is surrounded on the east, south and west by its horse-shoe-shaped Sacred Lake, and encloses within its *temenos* wall (or what is left of it) two other small temples: one of Ramesside times, which still remains to be cleared, in the north-east corner of the enclosure; the other, of Ramses III, in the south-west corner close to the Sacred Lake. The main temple of Mût was excavated in 1895-6 by the Misses Benson and Gourlay. It is very ruinous, most of the walls being destroyed to within a few feet of the ground; but it is still worth a visit.

Passing the *temenos* wall by the gate of Ptolemy Philadelphus, we have on the right hand the remains of a Ptolemaic shrine, human-headed sphinxes of Amenophis III, ram-headed sphinxes, and a ruined shrine of Ptolemy VI. On the left hand are red granite ram-headed sphinxes, and human-headed sandstone sphinxes, and beyond them, in the north-east corner of the enclosure, the Ramesside temple already noticed. We next reach the first gateway of the actual temple, which has on either side of it a figure of the grotesque god Bes, a bearded and hideous dwarf, who was closely connected with womanhood, the toilet, and maternity. Inscriptions of the Ptolemaic period are also found here, and an inscription of Ramses III, who did a good deal of restoration about the temple. It was originally built by Amenophis III, and work of Seti II is also found in it. Through this gateway we pass into a large open court, the central avenue of which was occupied by a colonnade, five columns a side. The columns are now ruined down to their bases. This court contains a number of seated statues of the lioness-headed goddess Sekhmet, dedicated here by Amenophis III, but some of them usurped by Sheshonq I. The goddess was the consort of Ptah, the creator-god of Memphis. She is here identified with Mût, as elsewhere with Hathor.

A ruined doorway (Ptolemaic and Ramesside) leads into another court, which has a ruined colonnade up the centre line, and the remains of a single row of square-sided pillars around it. In this court stands a black granite statue of Amenophis III, and a large statue of Sekhmet, with a dedication of Sheshonq I. From this court we rise into the Hypostyle Hall of the temple, now almost totally destroyed, but once an eight-columned hall, with columns of papyrus-bud form. Beyond this is the ruined sanctuary, with small ruined chambers on either side and behind it. On the right-hand (west) side of the sanctuary, two dog-headed apes in sandstone (out of an original four) guard a doorway leading into a corridor with figures of Sekhmet. Finally a Ptolemaic gateway, with two fairly well-preserved Sekhmet figures, leads down by steps to the Sacred Lake. During the excavations of 1895-6, a number of interesting statues and fragments of statues and inscriptions were found, including crouching statues of Senmût and Bekenkhons, the famous architects of Hatshepsut and Ramses II respectively.

OTHER TEMPLES WITHIN AND NEAR THE GREAT ENCLOSURE OF KARNAK

We now return to the *temenos* of Amûn, in order to visit the other shrines and small temples which surround the great temple. Most of these are of little importance or interest, but one or two deserve mention, and foremost of these, the small temple of Ptah and Hathor, which lies to the north of the great temple of Amûn, close inside the brick *temenos* wall.

TEMPLE OF PTAH AND HATHOR

We return, therefore, through the southern buildings of the great temple to the Hypostyle Hall, from the middle of the north wall of which a paved path leads to the temple of Ptah. Before reaching the Hypostyle Hall, the remains of a temple of Taharqa may be noticed on the right hand, between the north-west end of the sacred lake and the wall of the great temple. Passing into the pathway already mentioned, we notice on our left (west) hand, first the remains of a shrine built for King Psammetichus III and Queen Ankhnes-neferibrê (XXVIth Dynasty) by their major-domo Peteneit. The doorway shows Psammetichus III and

Ankhnes-neferibrê in the presence of Amûn. A four-columned hall stands before the sanctuary, and in it Ahmôse II may be seen with Queen Nitocris. Farther to the north is a shrine in mud-brick of no interest. Close to the left-hand side of the path, a little farther on, is a shrine of Prince Sheshonq, of the time of Ahmôse II, and farther on still a shrine of Osiris of Taharqa (XXVth Dynasty). The figure of this Pharaoh, along with that of the Princess Shepenôpet, is to be seen on the walls.

We now reach the temple of Ptah and Hathor, which is entered by no fewer than five gateways, of which the first is Ptolemaic, the second of Queen Hatshepsut (cartouches erased, probably by Tuthmosis III), the third Ptolemaic, the fourth again of Queen Hatshepsut (cartouches again erased). The fifth gate, which is Ptolemaic, leads into a little four-columned court, with screen-walls between the columns, which have elaborately carved open-flower capitals. Beyond this colonnade is the pylon, erected by Tuthmosis III, but bearing also the cartouches of Ramses III and Ptolemy Euergetes. This leads to a court which had two columns at its rear, forming a kind of vestibule to the sanctuary. In this court are three altars, of which the middle one is due to Tuthmosis III, the one on the southern side to Amenemhêt I, showing that a Middle Kingdom sanctuary must have existed here at one time, while the third is uninscribed. The reliefs show Ptolemaic royalties in some cases, in others Tuthmosis III, with the gods of the Theban triad, and with Ptah and Hathor. In the upper register of the north wall Ptolemy XI worships Ptah, Hathor, and Imhôtep, the ancient architect of Zoser (IIIrd Dynasty), who was deified, and extremely popular as the god of medicine in Ptolemaic times.

The sanctuary has reliefs of Tuthmosis III, and a headless statue of Ptah. In the chamber to the right hand of the sanctuary (south) stands a famous black granite statue of Sekhmet, about whose supposed malevolent powers an infinite amount of rubbish has been talked and written. It was smashed by a native who attributed his bad luck to its evil influence; but it has been restored, and neurotic tourists still continue to make fools of themselves in its presence, though not so ridiculously as was not infrequently the case a few years ago. Apart from this nonsense, however, the temple of Ptah has a distinct literary interest of its own, for it was here that Pesiûr, the Mayor of Thebes, in company with the king's butler Nesamûn, had his

famous interview with three of the members of the deputation of necropolis workmen in which he 'spake unadvisedly with his lips', and got himself into trouble with the commission which was investigating his charges of tomb-robbery in the Theban necropolis.

THE TEMPLE OF MONTU

We now pass through a gateway in the north *temenos* wall of the great temple, and reach the brick wall surrounding the precinct of the temple of Montu, the most ancient god of Thebes. Montu was a war-god, whose chief seat was at Armant (Hermonthis), 12½ miles south of Luxor, on the west bank of the Nile. Though superseded by Amûn, he always retained dignity and influence at Thebes, and was frequently appealed to by the Pharaohs of the conquering period. The foundation of the temple was due to Amenophis III, though no doubt an earlier shrine stood upon the site; it was restored and enlarged in Ptolemaic times. The temple is almost entirely ruined, so that only its ground-plan can be seen. It had two obelisks before its doorway, and their pedestals are still *in situ*. Various gateways open in the *temenos* wall. That on the north side is of sandstone, and was erected by Ptolemy III, Euergetes I. On the east side is an uninscribed limestone gateway, now wrecked down to a few feet above ground-level. In the south wall there is a series of gateways of Queen Amenartais, of the XXVth Dynasty. These led into a set of six small shrines of the same queen. The four easterly ones are completely ruined; but the two westerly ones still show sufficient remains to be intelligible. In the one of these two farthest from the west wall was found the famous alabaster statue of Queen Amenartais which is now in the Cairo Museum (No. 930, G. 30, centre).

Half-way along the west girdle-wall on the inside is a ruined Ptolemaic shrine, and on the outside of the west wall nearly opposite this ruin is the ruin of a small shrine of Amenemhêt II (XIIth Dynasty), re-inscribed by Haremhab and Seti I. We now leave the enclosure of Montu by the south-eastern gate, built by Nectanebis II, and re-enter the great enclosure of Amen-Rê and proceed eastwards, passing a shrine of the Ethiopian Pharaoh Shabaka, consisting of a twelve-columned hall, with tables for offerings ranged round its brick walls. On our way to

the little shrine of Osiris, which stands against the east girdle-wall, we pass the scanty ruins of a small shrine of Piankhy II and Queen Amenartais.

The temple of Osiris was built by Osorkon II (XXIInd Dynasty), his son Takeloth (Takerat) II, and the Princess Shepenôpet. Later, it was added to by Amenartais. Between the east wall of the great temple of Amûn and the east girdle-wall, lies, immediately beyond the temple wall, a temple or rather shrine of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut, later usurped by Ramses II. Its central chamber has a colossal group of the king and queen seated ; beyond it, to the east, is the ruin of a pillared hall, with Osirid statues of Tuthmosis III, usurped by Ramses II. East of this shrine again, or perhaps rather in continuation of it, lie the ruins of a small temple of Ramses II. This was entered by a gateway in its east end, which was apparently connected at one time with the great east portal of Nectanebis, to be mentioned directly, by a triple colonnade, with screen-walls between the columns. Entering through the east door, an eight-columned hall with two Osirid pillars is reached ; behind this are the ruins of a small Hypostyle Hall. To the north of the triple colonnade are more remains of a building of Ramses II. Lastly, we reach the east portal of the great temple of Amûn, a fine gateway 62 feet in height, which was begun by Nectanebis I, and finished by the Ptolemys. It makes a dignified conclusion to the vast and almost bewildering complex of sacred buildings which goes by the general name of Karnak.

Before leaving the great temple, attention should be called to the work of conservation which is so ceaselessly being carried on at Karnak. A temple so ancient and so huge as Karnak imposes a continual strain upon those who are charged with its maintenance. Like the ample old lady, there is so much of it that it can never be all well at once. The work of preserving the old, and discovering among its remains the fragments of the still older, was for long vigorously carried out by the late M. Georges Legrain. It is now in the hands of M. H. Chevrier, who in the course of his work has lighted upon various interesting relics of ancient and demolished features of the temple and its dependencies.

One of the main reasons for the need of ceaseless care at Karnak is the infiltration of water through the soil beneath the temple buildings during the period of the inundation. The flooding of the temple with clean Nile water would do little harm, and has,

indeed, been suggested as a remedy for the danger arising from the present state of affairs ; but the infiltration of water through the soil is another matter. The water which thus rises beneath the buildings is heavily charged with salts mainly derived from the soil through which it has filtered, and these act most destructively upon the foundations of the buildings, and upon whatever sculptured and inscribed blocks may be exposed to their action. Foundations crumble into mere sand, under the insidious action of the salt, and become incapable of supporting the weights which they are supposed to bear ; the outer surfaces of sculptured and inscribed blocks scale off, with consequent deterioration of the sharpness and gradual entire destruction of reliefs and hieroglyphics ; and the lower parts of statues and their pedestals are subjected to a gradual eating-away which, in some cases, presents an appearance as if the figures in question had been afflicted with a loathsome disease. Various remedies have been tried, and the whole problem has been dealt with in several reports to the Service of Antiquities, of which the latest is that of Mr. A. Lucas (*Annales du Service des Antiquités*, XXV, pp. 47-54). In the meantime hope is fixed on the huge drain which has been dug round the main group of temples with a view to carrying off the infiltration from the irrigated land to the south and east of Karnak, and it is to be hoped that this remedy will prove more or less effectual ; but other methods of dealing with the salt after it has made its appearance are also in use, and, between the two methods, one of the greatest dangers to Karnak will probably be greatly diminished, if not altogether removed. The difficulty does not occur at Luxor, whose drainage conditions are much better than those of Karnak, as it is situated on the river-bank.

The progress of the constant process of conservation and the work of excavation and clearing associated with it have been responsible for several discoveries of great interest. Of these, perhaps the most striking and important is the revelation in various particulars of the extent to which Akhenaten left his mark upon Karnak. The discovery (in the course of drainage operations) of the two extraordinary colossal statues of the heretic king has been followed by subsequent discoveries on the same site, giving parts, more or less complete, of no fewer than fifteen colossal statues of the king, which originally formed the front portions of a range of Osirid columns, which must have belonged to the court of a large building. M. Maurice Pillet, the

predecessor of M. Chevrier in the post of Director of Works at Karnak, has estimated that in the Hypostyle Hall of the great temple alone, there are to be found no fewer than 169,700 blocks of Akhenaten's work, utilized by succeeding and more orthodox Pharaohs as foundations for their own structures; and he concludes his calculation thus: 'Karnak, then, is the richest mine in existence of documents of this epoch of ancient art, so curious and so full of life.' We must conclude that the building work of Akhenaten at Karnak was on a much bigger scale than had been previously recognized.

The clearing out of the blocks used for foundations and packing in pylon III (Amenophis III), has led to various interesting discoveries, including great alabaster blocks belonging to a shrine of Amenophis II, and others, of red sandstone, belonging to a shrine of Hatshepsut, with blocks of black granite from a gate of Tuthmosis III, and alabaster blocks of Tuthmosis III, Tuthmosis IV, and Amenophis I. Most interesting of all, however, were the remains of a small sanctuary decorated with pillars in finely carved limestone. These fragments were discovered both in the heart of pylon III and in the Hypostyle Hall, and are very noteworthy for the excellence of the carving with which they are decorated. The remains of XIIth Dynasty work at Karnak are so scanty that this addition to them is to be welcomed.

Finally the work of taking down and rebuilding the single column of Taharqa, which was showing signs of insecurity because of the inadequacy of its foundations, and the insufficiency of its own masonry, has been a task of great difficulty. It is now completed, and this graceful column may now be looked upon as being more secure than it has been for centuries—perhaps even since it was built. It is a pity that no way has yet been found to accomplish a similar stabilizing process in the case of the obelisk of Tuthmosis I, which has a very decided list towards the Nile. 'It seems to be only a question of time until it also crashes down,' says Mr. Engelbach (*Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, p. 76). 'Nothing can be done to bring it back to the vertical, as it is badly cracked in the middle.' One may hope, however, that the resources of civilization will yet find out a way to preserve this precious relic of Ancient Egypt from its imminent doom—a doom the blame of which must, in fairness, be laid on the shoulders of Ineni, the old architect of Tuthmosis I, who did not provide better foundations for the huge weight which he laid upon them. Indeed, one

result of these conservation operations has been to increase our wonder, not only at the wonderful organizing power of the Ancient Egyptian builders, but also at what seems to us nothing less than the culpable carelessness which they displayed with regard to their foundations everywhere. Their temples have stood for many centuries ; but, humanly speaking, there seems no reason why they should not have stood almost for ever in the climate of Egypt, had reasonable care been taken as to the foundations on which they were built. That was not done, and so the modern conservators of Karnak and other Ancient Egyptian monuments have to pay the price.

CHAPTER XX

THE MORTUARY TEMPLES OF THE KINGS—I

HAVING completed our survey of Thebes of the Living, on the eastern bank of the Nile, we have now to survey the not less interesting Thebes of the Dead, on the western bank. We have already seen that the rule of life on the eastern bank and burial on the western is not by any means invariable, some of the most interesting series of tombs being situated on the east bank, e.g., the Middle Kingdom tombs of the nomarchs at Beni Hasan, and the Empire tombs of the Akhenaten period at El-'Amârna. But, in general, the rule of burial in the west holds good in fact as in the literature ; and if Giza and Saqqâra are the most notable instances of it in Lower Egypt, the Theban necropolis is the counterpart in Upper Egypt of the great necropolis of Ancient Memphis in the north. These two great cities of the dead are the complement of one another, not only in situation, but in date. The northern one is essentially an Old Kingdom city ; the Theban necropolis is just as essentially of the Empire, and largely, though by no means exclusively, of the period when the Empire was a great and prosperous reality, and Thebes was at the height of its glory. At this period, beginning with the rise of the Empire under the Pharaohs of the early XVIIIth Dynasty, and closing, roughly, with the death of Ramses III of the XXth, the western city must have been almost comparable with the eastern in greatness, and perhaps even more than comparable with it in splendour ; for, if it had nothing so vast as Luxor and Karnak to impress the eye, it had an unrivalled series of great mortuary temples stretching from El-Qurna on the north to Medinet Habu on the south. Of these, one, the Ramesseum, is a worthy companion to Luxor and Karnak in all respects ; while another, Medinet Habu, though scarcely worthy to rank along with these in architectural quality, is yet of extreme interest ; and the two terraced temples of El-Deir el-Bahari have no rivals on the eastern bank. Probably there never was a time when the whole long line of mortuary temples which stretches

along the western plain beneath the cliffs of the Libyan range was perfect and complete all at once, for dilapidation began very soon in some of the temples, and was hastened by the sacrilegious greed of some of the later Pharaohs ; but even when allowance has been made for this, the eastern face of the City of the Dead, which looked across the Nile to Thebes of the Living, must have been of surpassing magnificence.

THE ROYAL MORTUARY TEMPLES

The mortuary temple of the Empire is the natural and logical corollary of the rock-hewn tomb behind it and beyond the cliffs, in the Valley of the Kings ; and it was the result of the complete failure of the earlier methods of royal burial to secure for the Pharaohs the security which they craved. The pyramid-builders of the Old Kingdom endeavoured to secure themselves against disturbance and robbery after death by the mountains of stone which they piled around and over their resting-places. It was quite natural, therefore, that their mortuary temples should be manifestly and, so to speak, defiantly connected with their pyramids. Separation of the temple from the tomb, otherwise most inconvenient for the spirit of the dead king, when he came to receive in his temple the offerings made to him, served no purpose, since concealment of the tomb was no part of the scheme of defence. The less imposing pyramids of the Middle Kingdom Pharaohs sought to attain the same end of security, not by the expedient of sheer mass, which had failed, but by the complexity of their internal plan. To them also, therefore, there was no need to separate the temple from the tomb.

But by the time of the rise of the XVIIIth Dynasty, it was obvious that both these expedients had entirely failed to secure their object. The tangle of XIIth Dynasty passages had been threaded, just as surely as the mass of the Old Kingdom pyramids had been overcome. It was necessary, therefore, to seek some other expedient, if there was to be any hope that Pharaoh might be allowed to sleep in peace in his 'eternal habitation'. The plan finally adopted by the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and followed by their successors, was the rock-hewn tomb hidden away behind the cliffs in the Valley of the Kings, and the mortuary temple planted out in the open on the western plain, at a considerable distance from the tomb which it was supposed to serve,

but with its axis, roughly speaking, pointing towards the direction in which the tomb lay, though, of course, this orientation may not have been intended, and was, in any case, of the very roughest.

It will be easily understood that the resolution thus to separate the tomb and the mortuary temple which existed for the sake of the tomb and its occupant was only arrived at with the utmost reluctance. It involved the inconvenience that the spirit of the dead Pharaoh must leave its abode at the stated times of offering, and travel quite a distance down to the temple where the funerary rites were to be performed. But a mere question of inconvenience could not be allowed to stand in the way of the cardinal necessity—security; and security could only be gained, so the Pharaohs of the Empire and their advisers imagined, by secrecy. Amenophis I made a tentative move in the direction indicated; but the first Pharaoh who made up his mind frankly to abandon the old arrangement in which the temple advertised the position of the tomb, and to hide his tomb in the Valley of the Kings, was Tuthmosis I. Fortunately his architect and adviser, Ineni (Anena), has left us the record of the carrying out of this revolutionary departure from ancient practice, and we shall meet with his account in due course.

In the end, as we shall see, the new plan was no more successful than those which had preceded it; but for several centuries the Pharaohs of the Empire continued to believe in it, or, at least, to hope the best from it. And during this period, while they tried, with ever diminishing success, to believe that the bodies of their ancestors were resting securely and undisturbed in the valley where their own remains would finally be laid to enjoy the same untroubled peace, they went on building the long line of mortuary temples which faced their capital with its ever lengthening splendours.

Instead of following the example of the unfortunate Pharaoh, and travelling from tomb to temple, or from temple to tomb in order to keep up the connexion between the two, it will be more convenient to survey the whole line of mortuary temples before we visit the Valley of the Kings and the tombs for the sake of which the temples existed.

THE TEMPLE OF SETI I, EL-QURNA

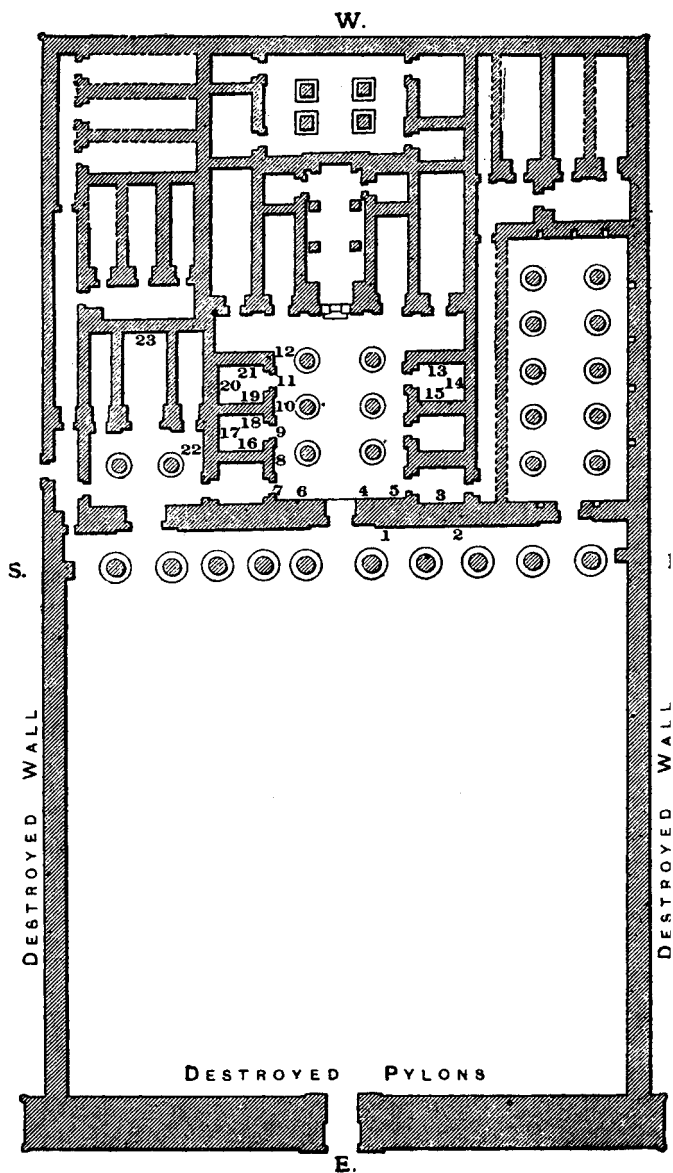
We begin our survey of the mortuary temples with this temple, which is situated at the north end of the line of temples, and not far from the point where the road to the Valley of the Kings enters the hills, so that it is very often taken as an item in the programme of a visit to the valley. The temple is a curious instance of the combination of filial piety and the spirit of grab which distinguished some of the Pharaohs. It is the funerary temple of Ramses I and also of Seti I, his son. The facts of its erection as usually stated are that Seti I built it for the mortuary service of his father Ramses I, whose short reign did not allow him to build a temple for himself. The temple being still unfinished at the death of Seti, his son Ramses II finished it, and dedicated it to the *manes* of his father Seti, as well as those of Ramses I. Ramses II does not forget to claim the credit for his piety in thus finishing his father's work ; but he has not escaped the suspicion that his zeal in associating his father Seti with the temple at El-Qurna may have been due to the fact that Seti had already begun the great temple which we now know as the Ramesseum for his own mortuary use, and that Ramses, wanting it for himself, relegated his father to El-Qurna, and a partnership with Ramses I.

Originally, the temple must have been an imposing structure, measuring about 520 feet in length along its main axis ; but its forecourts have entirely perished down to the foundations, leaving only the sanctuary, with its subsidiary chambers, and the papyrus-bud colonnade which constitutes the present façade. This colonnade has at present nine columns standing, with the stump of the tenth. Behind it is the wall of the rear chambers, pierced by three doors, of which the centre one gives access to the small Hypostyle Hall, that on the right to the Hall of Ramses II, and that on the left to a chapel dedicated to Ramses I. The reliefs on this wall show the provinces of Lower and Upper Egypt, in the form of Hapi, the Nile-god, bringing offerings. Above these figures to the right, Ramses II sacrifices to Amûn, and dances before Min, while to the left he offers to the barque of Amûn borne on the shoulders of priests.

Passing through the central door, we enter a small Hypostyle Hall with six bud columns. This hall is flanked on either side by three small chambers, and its decoration was mainly the work

of Seti I. In the passage-way to the right as we enter (3), however, Ramses II dances before Min. In the two scenes to the north (right hand) of the middle doorway (4, 5), Seti I appears before Montu and Atûm, and before Amen-Rê and Khnûm, receiving the *ankh* in the first instance, and the symbol of jubilees in the second. On the left side of the doorway, Ramses II manages to get his oar in again, and kneels before Amen-Rê and his father Seti I (6). On the upper part of the angle wall to the left of this scene, Seti, with the vulture-goddess Nekhebt above his head, offers to Amen-Rê (7). The walls of the three chambers facing the hall on the left hand show Seti offering to the gods, or nursed by them (8-12); while on the inside walls of the third chamber on the right hand (12, 14, 15) he makes offering to the Osirian triad, to the Theban triad, and to Osiris, who has Isis, Hathor and Nephthys behind his throne. The inside walls of the middle chamber on the left hand show (16, 17, 18) Wepwawet offering to the deified Seti, Horus and Thoth purifying Seti, and Seti, enthroned with Maet, and receiving offerings from Horus. The last room on the left hand has (19, 20, 21) Seti's sacred barque, with Thoth standing before it, Seti enthroned between Amen-Rê and Mût, and between Ptah and Sekhmet, the respective patrons of the two chief cities of Egypt, Thebes and Memphis, and Horus offering to Seti's spirit.

Beyond the hypostyle, a transverse hall at a higher level leads to the Sanctuary where the base for the sacred barge of Amûn is still standing. On the walls Seti is seen offering to the barques. Behind the sanctuary is a four-pillared room, much ruined, with reliefs of Seti I, on either side of which are ruined chambers. Returning now to the Hypostyle Hall, we pass by the first chamber on the right hand into the Hall of Ramses II. This hall originally contained ten columns, but these have been destroyed. The reliefs *en creux*, which show Ramses II offering to the gods, are not brilliant. We now cross the Hypostyle Hall again, and enter the Chapel of Ramses I, on the opposite side from the Hall of Ramses II. It has two bud-columns, and its reliefs show Ramses II, with the goddess Mût behind him, kneeling before Amen-Rê, who gives him the jubilee symbol. Behind Amûn are Khonsu and the deified Ramses I. From this little hall three sanctuaries open. The middle one shows Seti I offering to the sacred barques, and (23) Ramses I appearing twice on a stele in Osiris form in a shrine over which Isis as a hawk presides.



TEMPLE OF SETI I, EL-QURNA

Leaving this part of the temple by a side-door we enter the chamber behind these sanctuaries. It has sunk reliefs of Ramses II, showing himself and his father before various gods. Between this side of the temple and the *temenos* wall is a small sacred pool, and between the other side of the temple and the north *temenos* wall are the remains of mud-brick buildings, which were probably once temple storehouses.

THE TWO MORTUARY TEMPLES OF EL-DEIR EL-BAHARI

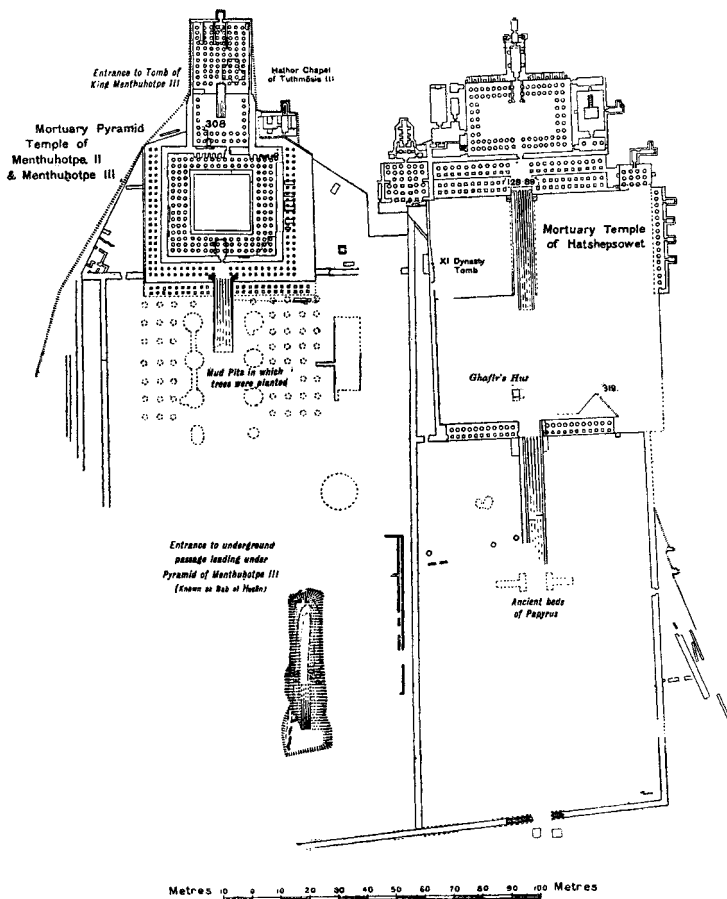
These two temples, of which that of Queen Hatshepsut is one of the most famous, as both are among the most interesting, temples in Egypt, lie somewhat back from the line of the mortuary temples, in a great bay of the Libyan cliffs. The usual practice is for tourists to visit the Valley of the Kings in the morning, to cross the hill separating the valley from El-Deir el-Bahari by the cliff path, lunch at Cook's Rest-house (available only for Cook's parties, and for visitors staying at the hotels of the Upper Egyptian Hotels Company), and then visit the temples in the afternoon. Certainly this arrangement enables the visitor to enjoy the very striking views from the cliff path, first, the backward view into the Valley of the Kings, then the great semicircular basin of El-Deir el-Bahari, surrounded by magnificent cliffs, with the green strip of cultivation area on either side of the Nile, and the temples of Thebes in the background, and the two temples crouching at the foot of the great rocks, to whose rich colouring their walls even still present a most effective contrast. But to combine the Valley of the Kings with El-Deir el-Bahari is to invite a surfeit of interest, and to ensure that neither the one nor the other gets the fresh and undivided attention which is the due of two of the most interesting sites in Egypt. Unless time be at a premium, it is far better to be able to see Hatshepsut's delightful temple, and its more ancient neighbour, when one is in a condition to do them justice.

THE TEMPLE OF THE PHARAOHS MENTUHOTPE II AND III

The original idea of utilizing the great bay in the cliffs—an experiment crowned with such complete success—came from the kings of the XIth Dynasty, Mentuhotpe II, Neb-hepet-rê, and Mentuhotpe III, Neb-hepu-rê, or Neb-kheru-rê. Their temple is

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thus at least a matter of seven centuries older than that of Hatshepsut, and therefore, although it is less imposing, and



MORTUARY TEMPLE OF MENTUHOTPE II AND III (LEFT)
AND OF QUEEN HATSHEPSUT (RIGHT)

generally gets much less attention than the building of the great queen, it is natural that it should be described first. Roughly

speaking, the XIth Dynasty temple must have been begun somewhere about 2200 B.C., and it is thus the earliest Theban temple of which any remains worth speaking about have survived.

It was unknown until recent days, having only been discovered when the Egypt Exploration Society started to explore this part of the necropolis, under the direction of Dr. Edouard Naville and Dr. H. R. Hall, in 1905-7. The Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of New York has completed, in 1922-9, the work of the Society, so that the plan and remains of the building have now been made intelligible. On our left hand, as we approach the two temples, lies the site of a temple of the Ramesside period, and the brick ruin of a tomb structure belonging to the XXIIInd Dynasty. The Mentuhotpe temple must originally have been a curious combination of the terrace-temple idea, which Hatshepsut's great architect Senmût developed in such masterly fashion in the later building, and the pyramid idea, which had not yet fallen entirely out of favour. A causeway originally led up to the first court of the temple, and on the right hand, as we pass up, lies the entrance to the underground passage known as *Bâb el-Hosân*, which was discovered by Howard Carter in 1900, and leads under the pyramid of Mentuhotpe II behind. The approach to the first terrace was bordered on either side by mud-pits in which trees were planted, so that an avenue of green must have added to the impressiveness of the white terraces.

From the lower court, a ramp, bounded on either side by a colonnade consisting of two rows of square pillars, leads up to a terrace, on which stands first a colonnade of two rows of square pillars, which runs across the front and along the two sides of the building. Then comes a narrow corridor, and beyond this a triple row of octagonal pillars, encircling the base of the pyramid on three sides, while the fourth side (rear) has only two rows. In all there are one hundred and forty of these octagonal pillars. Within their lines stands the base of a pyramid which was about 60 feet square, and was originally cased with fine limestone, though the filling was very rough. In the rear of this gallery round the pyramid were the sepulchral shrines of six ladies of the harem, whose tombs were in the court immediately below. It will be remembered that the sarcophagus of Kawit, one of these ladies, was mentioned in the description of the Museum at Cairo (No. 623, U 43). Next we reach an open court, with two rows of columns along its eastern face, and one row on the north and south sides.

In the eastern side of this court are the shaft-tombs of the harem ladies ; and from the centre of the court an underground passage nearly 500 feet long leads to the tomb of Mentuhotpe III under the cliff. The western end of the temple consists of a large pillared hall, with the bases of eighty octagonal pillars. In the western end of the hall is a shrine with an altar, and behind this a niche is hewn into the living rock against which the temple ends. The subterranean passage, already mentioned, led down to a rock-hewn chamber-tomb, lined with granite, and containing a shrine made of blocks of fine alabaster.

The temple thus described remained in use, more or less, up to about 1200 B.C., as an inscription of the Pharaoh Siptah was then cut upon the casing of the pyramid. In the time of Tuthmosis III a chapel of Hathor was added by that Pharaoh in the north-west angle between the back of the pyramid and the north wall of the open court with the tombs. Here Naville and Hall discovered the beautiful Hathor shrine, with the superb statue of the goddess as a cow, emerging from a papyrus thicket, which is perhaps the finest known example of Egyptian animal sculpture. Both shrine and statue are now in the Cairo Museum (Nos. 445, 446, G 12, east).

The inspection of the royal tombs carried out by the royal commission in the reign of Ramses IX reported that the pyramid-tomb of Mentuhotpe Neb-hepet-rê was intact ; but its immunity did not continue, for the modern excavators found neither coffin nor mummy. The chief importance of the XIth Dynasty building, which, with its curious mingling of terrace and pyramid, can never have been a satisfactory architectural composition, is that its terrace evidently gave to Senmût the idea which he sought for Queen Hatshepsut's temple, and which in his hands proved an unqualified success.

THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF QUEEN HATSHEPSUT

Hatshepsut's beautiful temple has always been, and still is, one of the most deservedly famous of Egyptian temples. Since the discovery of the XIth Dynasty building beside it, it has become the fashion to detract from the merit of the later building, and to suggest that all the credit for the design ought to go to the XIth Dynasty architect, and not to Senmût. ' Hatshepsut's temple was directly imitated from that of her predecessor,

to whom, and not to her or her architect Senmût, any praise for its supposed (not real) originality of design is due' (H. R. Hall, *Cambridge Ancient History*). In point of fact, the sole idea which Senmût adopted from the XIth Dynasty building was that of a terrace. The credit for his development of the idea, which was entirely different from, and infinitely superior to, the XIth Dynasty architect's extraordinary jumble of terrace and pyramid, is entirely Senmût's own. It is impossible to imagine that the earlier building can ever have been a good composition, with its impertinent little 60-foot pyramid perking its point up beneath the great cliffs of El-Deir el-Bahari. The credit for appreciating what was good in a lost opportunity, and divining that only long horizontal lines could live in presence of the overwhelming vertical lines of the background, does not belong to the man who missed his chance, but to the man who reared a building which every visitor to the place feels to be the only possible solution of the problem presented by a most attractive, but also most difficult, site.

The name El-Deir el-Bahari, which is applied to the site generally, means 'The Northern Monastery', and refers, not to any of its ancient associations, but to the Christian monastery which was erected on the site of Queen Hatshepsut's temple, not to its advantage, about the seventh century A.D. The ancient mass of the site was *Zosret*, 'The Holy', and when Hatshepsut erected her temple beside that of the XIth Dynasty Pharaohs she called it *Zoser-zosru*, 'The Holy of Holies'; the two temples together being known as *Zosreti*, 'The Two Holies'.

The history of the great building may be briefly summarized. It was begun by Queen Hatshepsut, and was intended to serve several purposes. Primarily, it was 'a Paradise for Amûn', and was dedicated to him; but like many other temples in Egypt, it had accommodation for other gods as well, and had also chapels sacred to Hathor and Anubis. But it was also destined to serve as a mortuary temple for its founder, and for her parents. Indeed, the original idea seems to have been that the sarcophagus-chamber of her tomb in the Valley of the Kings should lie immediately beneath the great temple, whose axis was arranged to be in line with that of the tomb beyond the cliffs of El-Deir el-Bahari. Unfortunately, however, the rock in the place which the Queen had chosen for her resting-place turned out to be bad, so that it was not possible to carry out the intention

of burrowing beneath the cliffs till a position beneath the temple was reached ; and the 700-foot corridor of the tomb had to be turned in a great curve away from its projected objective. Another object which the temple was destined to serve was that of propaganda in favour of Hatshepsut's claim to the throne. The disagreements in the royal family during the early stages of the XVIIIth Dynasty are sufficiently notorious, and the problem of the succession was sufficiently involved, though it may be questioned if the tangle resulting from competing claims were so complicated as is implied in some of the modern reconstructions of the history. It is sufficient for our purpose at the moment to notice that Hatshepsut's claim was contested, and that the queen naturally took all possible steps to secure her own position. Of these, the most important, and the most likely to succeed, was the creation of a theory of her divine origin, the divinity chosen as her father being, of course, Amen-Rê, the patron-god of Thebes and of the growing empire. The same idea, it will be remembered, was adopted at a later date by Amenophis III, and was illustrated in his reliefs at Luxor. It was carried out here in much the same way, as we shall see shortly.

The buildings at the temple show signs of the dynastic troubles of the time. In the main, the building is Hatshepsut's ; but the names of her father Tuthmosis I, and her brother and husband, Tuthmosis II, also appear, while her other half-brother and possible husband, Tuthmosis III is represented in addition, though in a very subordinate position. Then it becomes evident that Tuthmosis III, on finally succeeding to the throne after the queen's death, wreaked upon her work here, as elsewhere, his vengeance for the subjection to which he had been reduced during the reign of his masterful relative, and hacked out, so far as possible, her figure and her cartouches from the reliefs. Farther than this there is no need for us to go in the complicated problem of ' The Feud of the Thutmosids ', as it has been called. Nor was this the end of the mutilations which Hatshepsut's beautiful sculptures were destined to endure. When Akhenaten's religious frenzy against Amûn was at its height, El-Deir el-Bahari did not escape the visits of his agents, who carefully destroyed the figure of the hated god, and all references to him. Ramses II later restored the wrecked reliefs, but, as might be anticipated, with much inferior work. Hatshepsut's reliefs, therefore, have

suffered double mutilation, from family hatreds, and from religious prejudices; they still remain, however, among the finest extant specimens of XVIIIth Dynasty work.

After its strenuous youth, the temple had a long period of peace, which was scarcely disturbed by the restoration work of Ramses II, and the intrusion of Meneptah's cartouche. Interest was revived in Ptolemaic times, with results which could very well have been done without. The innermost shrine, at the extreme west end of the temple, was then entirely rebuilt, and the worship of two deified human beings, Imhôtep, the architect of the Step Pyramid, and Amenhotpe, son of Hapu, the architect of King Amenophis III, was intruded in a place which had no connexion with either. Nor does the quality of the Ptolemaic reliefs in any way compensate for their incongruity with the position in which they find themselves. They are clumsy and ill-proportioned, and serve only to underline the decay of Egyptian art. It has been possible, fortunately, to remove most of the impertinent Christian additions to Queen Hatshepsut's great building; but the barbarous wreckage wrought by the fanatics of early Christian times cannot so easily be made good. A certain amount of restoration has been found necessary in modern times to preserve the precious reliefs from weather.

The original approach to the temple was by an avenue of sphinxes leading up from the plain. This led up to the first portal, now almost completely destroyed. In front of it two Persea trees (sacred in Egyptian religion, as is seen in the famous story of Anpu and Bata) stood within a couple of walled enclosures. Passing through this gate, one entered a broad open court, which apparently, from surviving traces, had palm-trees and papyrus-beds as its adornment. The west end of the court was occupied by a colonnade, whose back wall formed the retaining wall for the first terrace. The colonnade had a row of square pillars in front, and a second row of sixteen-sided pillars behind. A ramp of gentle gradient leads up between the two sections of the colonnade to the terrace above. The colonnade in the northern (right-hand) section is badly wrecked, and but little remains of the reliefs which once adorned its back wall. In the north corner there are traces of a scene in which water-fowl are being caught in clap-nets. The southern section has preserved more. The visitor should especially notice the scene at the southern corner of the colonnade, in which the transportation

of two great obelisks by water is depicted. The obelisks are placed butt to butt along the deck of a great barge, which is being towed by boats. Below this there is a procession of soldiers carrying standards and branches of trees, for the feast of the dedication of the obelisks; they are met by a company of archers headed by a trumpeter who is blowing lustily. Near the middle of the line is a fine figure of Tuthmosis III dancing before Min. There are also the remains of several figures of Hatshepsut before Amûn, and a scene of the queen as a human-headed sphinx triumphing over her enemies, which must at one time have been a fine piece of work; but all are hacked out, either by Tuthmosis III, in the case of Hatshepsut, or by Akhenaten in the case of Amûn.

We now rise to the middle terrace, and have before us a picture of great beauty and interest. In front of us is the colonnade which stands in front of the retaining wall of the next terrace. It is divided into two sections as was its lower companion, by a ramp which leads to the upper terrace; its twenty-two pillars in each section are square. On the right hand of the northern section, the line of light and shade is continued by the four sixteen-sided pillars of the front row of the twelve-pillared vestibule before the shrine of Anubis, and on the right hand the north retaining wall of the court is faced by an unfinished colonnade which in its present state consists of fifteen sixteen-sided pillars of singularly graceful proportions. The southern section of the colonnade in front of the terrace is also prolonged to the south by the more or less ruined front of the Hathor chapel hall; while above the whole rise the great granite trilithon gateway, the ruined upper colonnade of the upper terraces, and the sadly wrecked buildings of the upper court. Egypt has many imposing buildings to offer as examples of her architectural genius; but at El-Deir el-Bahari, Hatshepsut's great temple offers beauty in addition to dignity.

The north section of the colonnade is known as the Birth Colonnade; the southern section as the Punt Colonnade, from the character of the reliefs which adorn their respective rear walls. It will be most convenient to cross the court to the north-western corner, and to examine the chapel of Anubis, with its pronaos, which has twelve sixteen-sided columns. The walls of the pronaos have fine reliefs, with wonderfully well-preserved colouring. The figures of Hatshepsut have been mercilessly

erased. Two scenes should be noticed. They are on the western wall of the hall, on either side of the doorway which leads into the shrine. In the one to the south (left-hand) of the door, Amen-Rê is enthroned before an immense mass of offerings which the queen is presenting to him. Hatshepsut's figure is erased, as usual ; but Amûn has in this case escaped the fanaticism of Akhenaten's agents. The specially noteworthy detail of the scene, however, is the vulture of El-Kâb which hovers above the head of the erased figure of Hatshepsut. Its colour is remarkably well preserved, and both as a design and as a piece of colouring the figure is very fine. The scene to the north of the doorway represents Hatshepsut (again erased) offering a similar mass of gifts before Anubis. The hawk of Edfu, which hovers above Hatshepsut is another example of fine design and colour, though its colour scheme is lower than that of the vulture.

The north wall has a small recess, on the right hand of which are figures of various divinities. Above the recess is a figure of Tuthmosis III offering wine to Sokar, a god of the dead. On the left hand of the recess another decorative vulture hovers above another erased figure of Hatshepsut. The south wall has an erased figure of Hatshepsut between Harmachis and Nekhebt, and again a finely coloured hawk, displayed, hovers above the queen. The end wall of the inner chamber of the shrine has a fine scene of Hatshepsut (erased) between Anubis and Hathor, with above the usual couchant jackals, and over all the winged sun-disk.

We now return to the north, or Birth Colonnade, the reliefs on the rear wall of which represent the state fiction by which Hatshepsut was regarded as the actual child of Amûn by the Queen Ahmôse, the wife of Tuthmosis I. The series has suffered considerably both from family jealousies and religious prejudices ; and Ramses II has not improved things by the crude colouring with which he has bedaubed the delicate reliefs. The scenes begin at the south end of the colonnade, next the ascending ramp, with a council of the gods in the presence of Amûn. Then we see Thoth leading Amûn (both almost entirely erased) into the chamber of Queen Ahmôse, and next Amûn seated face to face with the queen, and impregnating her with the *ankh*, the divine breath of life, which is held to her nose. The seats on which the god and the queen are seated are borne up in the heavens, as in the parallel scene of Amenophis III at Luxor, by

two goddesses who sit upon a lion-headed couch. Then we see the ram-headed creator-god Khnûm, getting instructions from Amûn, and (partly erased) shaping Hatshepsut and her *Ka* upon his potter's wheel, while the frog-headed goddess Heqt puts the breath of life into the nostrils of the newly created babe. Thoth appears to Queen Ahmôse, and warns her of her approaching accouchement; and Khnûm and Heqt lead the queen to the birth-chamber.

The scene of the birth is very remarkable, and is handled with great reticence and delicacy. The queen sits on a chair, with her women attending on her. The chair is placed on a lion-headed couch, which is upheld by various gods, and stands in turn upon another lion-headed couch, also supported beneath by gods. Among the deities in the scene are Bes and Thouëris (Taurt), the hideous patrons of child-birth. Hathor next presents Hatshepsut to Amûn, and twelve goddesses suckle the twelve *Kas* of the divine child. Next Thoth and Amûn hold the child and her *Ka* (erased in both cases). Finally Hatshepsut and her *Ka* (both erased) are seen in the hands of various goddesses, and Saffkhet, the recording goddess of history, writes the record of her birth. The remaining scenes of the north colonnade refer to the queen's presentation to the gods of Egypt, her presentation by her earthly father, Tuthmosis I, to the magnates of the land, and her coronation.

We now return to the middle court, and go round the end of the ramp in order to reach the southern colonnade, on whose walls are the famous scenes of the voyage to Punt. These reliefs are, as Breasted has said, 'Undoubtedly the most interesting series of reliefs in Egypt'. Their primacy is not altogether due to their artistic qualities, for there are other reliefs, both of the Old and the Middle Kingdom, which at the very least equal, if they do not excel, those of Queen Hatshepsut; but when to their artistic merit, which is great, is added the vivacity with which they picture the incidents of the voyage and sojourn in a strange land, and the fact that they do for the land of Punt what no other Egyptian records do, Breasted's comment is amply justified. For they are, as he goes on to remark, 'our only early source of information for the land of Punt'—that land to which the Egyptians seemingly looked back with reverence, and with some obscure idea that their own ancestry was somehow derived thence. Punt was apparently the Somaliland coast at

the southern end of the Red Sea. The Egyptians habitually spoke of it as 'God's Land', or 'The Divine Land', and it was never mentioned with anything of the contempt with which they spoke of 'vile Kush', or 'wretched Retenu'. Indeed in the Deir el-Bahari reliefs Amûn himself says of it: 'It is a glorious region of God's Land; it is indeed my place of delight. I have made it for myself, in order to divert my heart.'

In her great inscription the queen tells us that she sent the expedition to Punt by divine inspiration: 'A command was heard from the great throne, an oracle of the god himself, that the ways to Punt should be searched out, that the high-ways to the Myrrh-terraces should be penetrated.' There had, of course, been several previous expeditions to Punt; one sent by Sahurê in the Vth Dynasty, and another by Isesi of the same dynasty, which brought back a pigmy dancer. In the VIth Dynasty one of the officials of Pepi II was killed by Arabs while superintending the building of a ship for the voyage, and a second expedition was made in the same reign; in the Middle Kingdom Henu conducted an expedition for Mentuhotpe III, and other voyages were made under Amenemhêt II and Sensusret II of the XIIth Dynasty. But none of these adventures have been described for us with anything like the fullness of detail, to say nothing of the wealth of illustration, with which Hatshepsut has published the particulars of the voyage of her squadron. Besides, the practice of sailing to Punt had apparently ceased since the time of the Middle Kingdom. 'No one trod the Myrrh-terraces, which the people knew not; it was heard of from mouth to mouth by hearsay of the ancestors', says Amûn in Hatshepsut's inscription. So the queen's expedition had, for her and her subjects, all the interest of novelty, or at least of the renewal of an old adventurous habit.

The reliefs begin at the south angle of the colonnade, with the lowest scene on the west wall, which shows with admirable clearness of detail the build and rig of the small squadron of Egyptian ships, which is either leaving for Punt, or just arriving at Punt. The inscription suggests the former; but the illustration itself seems to indicate the latter. In any case the matter is of no moment. The inscription begins: 'Sailing in the sea, beginning the goodly way towards God's Land, journeying in peace to the land of Punt, by the army of the Lord of the Two Lands' (Hatshepsut). The next scene is in the lowest row on the south wall.

Here the Egyptian envoy, Nehsi, 'the negro', has landed, with an officer and eight heavily armed soldiers, and is standing in front of his little pile of 'trade goods', which consists of strings of beads, an axe, a dagger, some bracelets, and a wooden coffer—pretty much the immemorial selection with which civilization has beguiled the guileless native of Africa from the beginning. On the other side of the bundle stands the chief of Punt, with his hands raised in salutation or wonder. He is called Parihu, and his wife, who originally stood behind him, and was of enormous proportions, is called Aty. The block which bears her portly figure is now in the Cairo Museum (No. 452, G 12, north), together with that containing the little ass which had the onerous load of this mass of royalty (No. 453). Both of these blocks were stolen from the wall, and subsequently recovered. Behind the royal pair are the houses of their subjects, built on piles beneath the trees and accessible by ladders. Cattle are grazing, a dog squats on his haunches, and looks lazily over his shoulder, and another walks beside his negro master. The inhabitants are of mixed race, some, like the chief Parihu; brown and slender, others genuine and characteristic negroes. The inscription tells of the surprise of the Puntites at seeing the Egyptians: 'They say, as they pray for peace: "Why have ye come hither unto this land, which the people [of Egypt] knew not? Did ye come down upon the ways of heaven, or did ye sail upon the waters, upon the sea of God's Land? Have ye trodden the path of the Sun? Lo, as for the King of Egypt, is there no way to His Majesty, that we may live by the breath which he gives?"'

Above this scene, trade is going on. The Egyptians have pitched a tent, in which, as the inscriptions tell us, they are going to 'receive the chiefs of the country. There are offered to them bread, beer, wine, meat, fruit, according to that which was commanded in the court.' Parihu and his colossal wife are again in evidence. Behind them is the Puntite landscape as before. The two top rows, cut off from the lower ones by a belt of water, show the incense trees which were one of the main objects of the expedition, being carried off with their roots done up in baskets of earth by the Egyptian sailors. We now return to the second row of the west wall nearest the angle. Here the ships are being loaded for the return voyage; men walk up the gangways with trees in baskets, and bundles of all sorts; the vessels are already pretty deeply loaded, and several dog-headed

apes are seen squatting on the deck cargo, or walking cautiously along the great cable which, strained from stem to stern, prevented 'hogging' in the Egyptian ship. Above are representative Puntites who are making the voyage to see the wonders of Egypt, and more sailors carrying the incense trees. The inscription tells us that this is 'The lading of the ships very heavily with marvels of the country of Punt. . . .' To the right of this scene we have another with three ships in full sail for Egypt, 'sailing, arriving in peace, journeying to Thebes with joy of heart'. Notice the stiffening of the ships near bow and stern by strong ropes lashed round them—'frapping', as in the case of St. Paul's ship. 'We used helps, undergirding the ship.' Above these two scenes, we have a relief of the Puntites who had made the voyage bowing down and offering the tribute of Punt, which is carried by other Puntites and by Egyptians. Both negroes and pure Puntites are represented among the bowing figures.

Next, in the middle of the west wall, is a great scene, in which (left) the queen, whose figure has been defaced, offers to Amûn the products of her expedition. These are to the right in two rows: the lower consisting of three sample incense trees out of the thirty-one brought back; the upper, of panthers, a giraffe, electrum, panthers' skins, cattle, and bows. Then comes a double row of scenes: the lower consisting of the measuring of the great heaps of incense gum in bushel measures (above the heaps a row of seven more incense trees planted in tubs); the upper, much defaced, of the weighing of gold rings against weights in the form of oxen. Safkhet, the recording goddess, keeps the tally, and the inscription reads: 'recording in writing, reckoning the numbers, summing up in millions, hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, thousands, and hundreds. Reception of the marvels of the South countries, for Amûn, Lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak.'

In the large scene (two rows) which occupies the rest of the west wall, the queen (erased) offers to the enthroned figure of Amûn (also erased) her formal announcement of the success of her expedition, and the god replies, blessing Hatshepsut and promising encouragement to the trade to Punt, now happily revived. The long inscription occupies the space between the queen and the god. Behind this scene is another in which Tuthmosis III (as usual, in a subordinate position) offers incense before the barque of Amûn. The barque, with its attendant

priests, has been erased by Akhenaten ; but Tuthmosis remains perfect, a characteristic figure, with the prominent nose which we have learned from the green schist statue to associate with his masterful character. Above him hover the figures of the vulture of El-Kâb and the hawk of Edfu. Last of all, on the return wall which forms the south side of the ramp, comes a scene in which Hatshepsut makes her announcement of the results of her expedition to representative officials of her court. The middle figure of the three who stand before the queen is the great Senmût, Hatshepsut's most prominent supporter. The queen's figure, and those of her nobles have been most mercilessly hacked out, so that only the shadows of them remain ; but the inscription is of extreme value, as giving the date, ' year 9 ', in which the expedition returned to Thebes. It closes with what we may almost call a sigh of contentment on the part of the great queen : ' I have made for Amûn a Punt in his garden, just as he commanded me, in Thebes. It is big enough for him to walk about in.' So we may leave the colonnade with this impression of the queen satisfied with the result of her piety, and picturing her god ' walking in the garden in the cool of the day ', as the Hebrew writer pictured Jehovah centuries later.

Altogether these reliefs produce an impression such as is made by few other examples of Egyptian work in this kind. They have about them a savour of reality and enjoyment, as though the artist felt that he was doing a good thing, and commemorating an event worthy of commemoration. ' They are as beautiful in execution as they are important in content.'

To the south of the Punt colonnade stands the partly ruined shrine of Hathor, corresponding in position to the chapel of Anubis at the end of the north colonnade. The shrine was originally approached by a separate door and a ramp or staircase outside the south wall of the central court. The actual shrine is preceded by a pronaos consisting of two separate colonnades. The first of these had, in front, four square pillars with Hathor capitals, and behind these a double row consisting of eight sixteen-sided columns, with four square pillars in the centre. The second colonnade had round Hathor-headed columns, of which three partly survive, and sixteen-sided columns (six partly preserved). The north and west walls of this inner section of the pronaos have some interesting reliefs. On the north wall is a festal scene with a procession of soldiers in gala

equipment, and above them two rows of state galleys, with canopies, thrones, fan-bearers, and adornments, waiting for the king and queen. Further on Tuthmosis III offers a sacred oar to Hathor. On the south wall is a scene with Hatshepsut (usurped by Tuthmosis III) dancing before Hathor, and also a scene in which Hathor, as a cow, licks the hand of the Pharaoh. This scene is repeated on the other side of the doorway into the inner shrine.

We now enter the first of the chambers of the shrine proper, a small two-pillared hall from which four little shrines open off. It has its roof decorated with stars on a blue ground, and is adorned with reliefs representing Hatshepsut (erased) or Tuthmosis III offering before Hathor. We rise one step, passing through a fine doorway with Hathor emblems, into the Outer Sanctuary, which has on either side of it a fine scene of the Hathor cow standing under a canopy on the sacred barque, while Hatshepsut (erased) makes offerings to her. In front of Hatshepsut stands the little nude figure of Aha, son of Hathor, shaking a sistrum. The Innermost Sanctuary has a vaulted roof. It has two fine reliefs of the Hathor cow, with Hatshepsut drinking from its udder, and Amûn standing in front of its head. On the end wall is a beautiful relief of Hatshepsut between Amûn and Hathor, Amûn holding the *ankh* to the queen's nose.

We return to the central court, in order to get access to the foot of the ramp which leads up to the highest terrace. As we pass across the upper end of the court we notice on our right hand the tomb of Queen Nofru of the XIth Dynasty. The sarcophagus-chamber may be inspected (lights necessary) (see plan). This tomb was cleared by the Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of New York in 1924-5.

Ascending the ramp, we reach the upper court. A colonnade formerly ran along the face of this court, on the upper level. It consisted of two rows, the front one of twenty-two Osirid statues of Hatshepsut, subsequently converted into square pillars by Tuthmosis III, the back row of the same number of sixteen-sided columns. This is now in almost complete ruin. Beyond it we pass through the magnificent granite trilithon portal, on which the cartouche of Tuthmosis III has everywhere replaced that of its original builder, Hatshepsut, and enter the wreck of a large court or hall with the remains of a double row of columns round it. Across the court, we are faced by a set of wall niches,

with the door leading to the sanctuary in the middle. To these we shall return ; meanwhile we turn to the right, and enter, by a door in the north-east corner of the court, a small vestibule, once adorned by three sixteen-sided columns. On the inside of the doorway, left side, is a relief of Hatshepsut (replaced by a figure of Tuthmosis II), standing between Harakhte and Amûn. In a niche on the wall opposite the door, the end-wall has a figure of Amûn, defaced but not irretrievably, and the side-walls have scenes of Hatshepsut at table, with the erased figure of a priest at the other side. Here, most unusually, Hatshepsut's figure has escaped mutilation. A well-rendered vulture of El-Kâb overshadows her.

We now pass by a door on the left into the Altar Court of this series of chambers. The centre of the court is occupied by a large limestone altar, dedicated by Hatshepsut to Harakhte of Heliopolis. It was approached by ten steps from the west side, so that the officiating priest faced the sun whom he was worshipping. On the right hand (north) of the altar, there is a small funerary chapel, which was apparently dedicated to the worship of Hatshepsut's ancestors. Hatshepsut's figure here was erased by Tuthmosis III, and the figures of all the gods were erased by Akhenaten, so that comparatively little is left of the figure-work in the fine relief. Tuthmosis I survives on the end wall of the first chamber ; and on the north wall of the little chamber leading off this, there are well-preserved and coloured figures of Tuthmosis I and his mother Senosonb ; while on the wall opposite is a figure of Hatshepsut's mother, Ahmôse. We re-enter the open court and pass along to its western end, where a door on the right admits us to the Hall of Amûn, or North-western Hall of Offerings. In this hall Amûn is identified with Min, as is often the case. The reliefs, which mostly represented Hatshepsut offering gifts to Min-Amûn or Amûn, have been cruelly mutilated ; but one figure of Tuthmosis III, with his characteristic profile, survives.

Crossing the upper court to the doorway at its south-eastern corner, we notice that the east wall of the court has on its southern half reliefs, only partially preserved, of a procession of soldiers in gala equipment, carrying standards, and leading panthers. while the thrones of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III are carried on poles in the midst. Above are scenes (mutilated) in which barges are transporting a colossal royal statue, wearing the Red

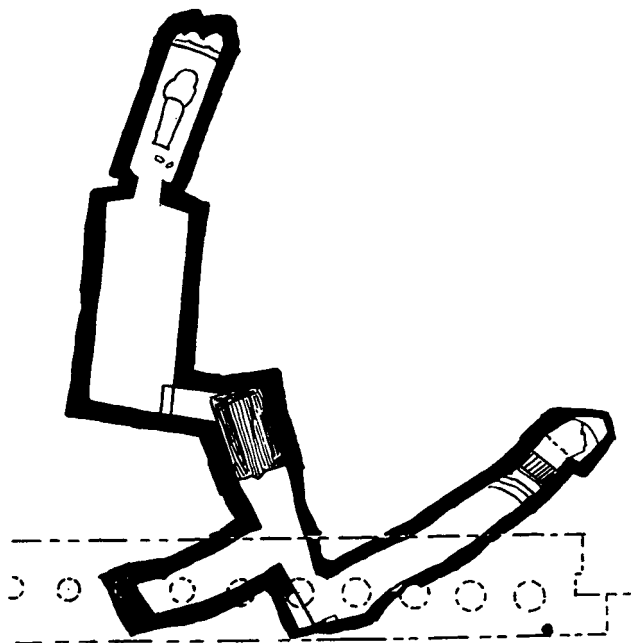
Crown of Lower Egypt. We now enter the chambers on the south side of the court, which have much ruined reliefs. They lead to the Mortuary Chapel of Hatshepsut, or Southern Hall of Offerings. The reliefs to the right and left of the entrance show butchers slaying and preparing the sacrificial offerings. On the north and south walls are processions of servants bringing offerings, after the style of the Old Kingdom reliefs at Saqqâra. The figure of the priest carrying a crane, with its neck and bill firmly held together in his right hand, and the other figure of a crane walking, with its beak tied back to its neck—the object in either case being to prevent the bird from struggling or flying, are noteworthy. The figure of Hatshepsut is, as usual, erased.

Returning to the court again, we pass along to its south-western corner, where is a door leading to a small chamber dedicated to Amen-Rê. Here are reliefs of Hatshepsut (usurped in favour of Tuthmosis I and II), making offerings to Min-Amûn and Amen-Rê.

We now turn to the Sanctuary. The niches in the west wall have reliefs on their walls, with the usual representations of Hatshepsut and her substitutes offering to the gods. Statues of the queen once occupied these niches. The entrance to the Sanctuary is by a granite doorway in the middle of the west wall. This is approached by a Ptolemaic portico, and is adorned with much defaced reliefs. The sacred shrine has three chambers. On the southern wall of the first, at the foot, is a scene of the temple garden, with birds flying about papyrus thickets, and ducks and fish swimming in a piece of ornamental water. Above, Hatshepsut and her daughter Nefrurê, make offering to the barque of Amen-Rê. On the opposite wall, Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III and the Princess Nefrurê offer to the boat, behind which stand defaced figures of Tuthmosis I, Queen Ahmôse, and the little princess Bit-nefru. The second chamber has nothing to note; but the innermost sanctuary, as we have already seen, was taken over by the Ptolemaic artists, who decorated it with two processions of gods—those on the right-hand wall being led by Amenhotpe, son of Hapu, the deified factotum of Amenophis III, and those on the left hand by Imhôtep, who occupied a similar position in the reign of Zoser (IIIrd Dynasty), and shared the same destiny. The contrast between the delicate and beautiful work of the XVIIIth Dynasty to which we have grown accustomed, and the clumsy and ill-proportioned figures

of the Ptolemaic artists, with their bulging muscles and rolls of fat, could not be better exhibited than here, where the Ptolemaic work is seen in close relationship with that of Hatshepsut.

In the valley to the south of the temples of El-Deir el-Bahari, and only a matter of 110 yards or so in an air-line from the south-west angle of the pyramid platform of the XIth Dynasty



TOMB OF QUEEN MERITAMÛN, EL-DEIR EL-BAHARI

(For description, see p. 428)

temple, lies the c ache in which the great collection of royal mummies was stored until their discovery in July, 1881. A few yards to the north of the lower court of Hatshepsut's temple was the great common tomb in which one hundred and sixty-three mummies of priests were found ten years later than the Pharaohs. The XIth Dynasty tombs which lie immediately

north of Hatshepsut's temple will fall to be dealt with along with others in this portion of the necropolis.

We must mention here, however, the great discovery made in February and March, 1929 by the Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum, under Mr. H. E. Winlock, of the rock-hewn tomb of Queen Meritamûn, who was apparently the daughter of Tuthmosis III and Queen Meritrê, and probably the wife of her brother Amenophis II; but who seemingly died early in the reign of this Pharaoh, without issue. The tomb opened to the north of the north portico of Hatshepsut's great temple (see plan on previous page) and actually ran underneath the portico for a part of its length. Mid-way it was interrupted, as often in the royal tombs, by a deep well, and on the edge of this pit the excavators found an intruded burial, that of the Princess Entiu-ny, daughter of King Pinûtem of the XXIst Dynasty. Having crossed the pit, it was found that Queen Meritamûn's gigantic outer coffin, over 10 feet high, still lay in the sarcophagus-chamber, and that inside it was the disproportionately small inner coffin, with the mummy of the queen within it. These coffins have been dealt with in their places in the Cairo Museum, where they are Nos. 6150 and 6151, U46/51, centre, and U 51, centre (east).

CHAPTER XXI

THE MORTUARY TEMPLES OF THE KINGS—II

FROM the front of the temples of El-Deir el-Bahari, a path leads southwards by El-'Asasif, crossing the spur of the hills which here forms the great cemetery of El-Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna. It leads between the upper and lower enclosure of this cemetery, and brings us out on the plain at the back of the row of mortuary temples, and between the temple of Tuthmosis III and the Ramesseum.

THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF TUTHMOSIS III

Of this temple, which was excavated in 1895 by Mr. A. E. P. Weigall, so little remains that the building is scarcely intelligible. It is now protected by a modern wall; but its own girdle-wall consisted of the natural rock, which was quarried away to give level ground for the courts, leaving the rock-face as the *temenos* enclosure on the south and south-west sides, while on the north and north-west sides a wall of crude brick enclosed the courts. The temple was oriented due east and west. It had apparently three courts, of which the first was reached through a gateway of crude brick. A pavement of limestone slabs led up to the doorway into the second court, and from this court an inclined causeway of brick leads up to the third court of the building. The actual temple buildings stood in the middle of this court, which had been laboriously levelled by cutting down the natural rock. The temple buildings were partly of sandstone and partly of limestone; but little of them now remains, except the base of a sandstone doorway, and a section of the lower courses of a wall on the south side of it, two or three bases for limestone columns, and the pedestals of two colossal statues, with a single fragment of a colossal crown of one of them. Such fragments of reliefs as have been preserved are of excellent workmanship and have even retained their colour well in some cases. It cannot but be regretted that time and the cupidity of his descendants have

left to the great conqueror even less than his own spite left to Hatshepsut.

Between the temple of Tuthmosis and the Ramesseum lay two other little temples, with a small shrine or chapel of Ramesside date. A few yards south of the enclosing wall of the temple of Tuthmosis, lie the foundation trenches of the little temple of King Siptah, who was married to Tausret, one of the royal heiresses of the closing days of the XIXth Dynasty, and whose tomb is No. 47 in the Valley of the Kings. The place was excavated in 1896 by Sir Flinders Petrie, in the course of his work on the smaller funerary temples (*Six Temples at Thebes*); but it yielded little save the foundation deposits, nothing above the gridiron-like foundation trenches being left.

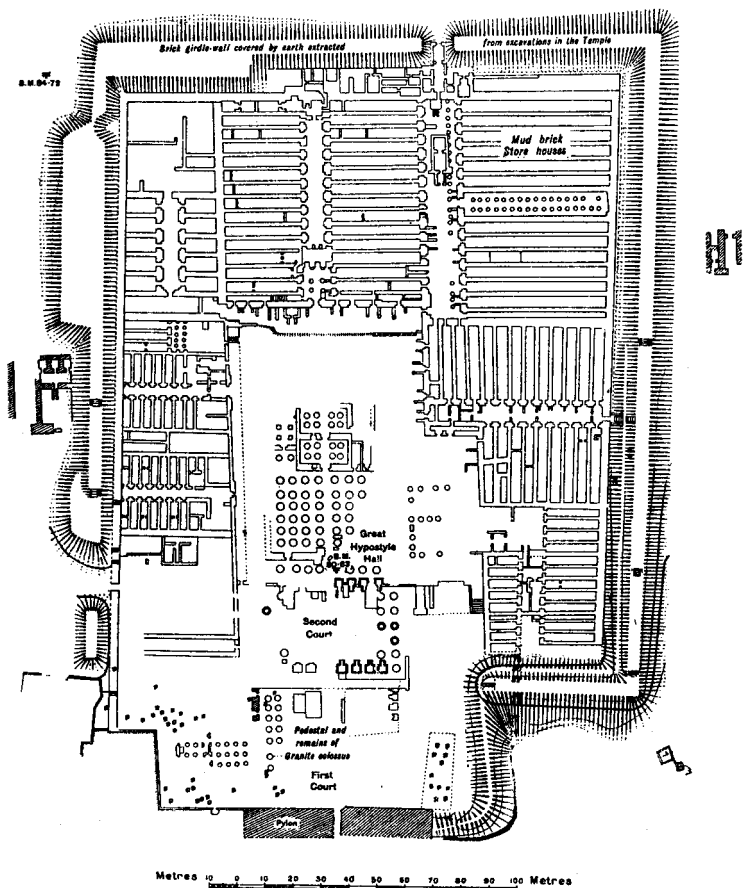
Farther south, and close to the north enclosure wall of the Ramesseum, are the almost equally scanty remains of the mortuary temple of Amenophis II. These were also excavated by Petrie in 1896, and yielded little to repay the labour. The pillared court of the temple, whose stone foundations are almost all that can be certainly dated to Amenophis II in the ruins, was 140 feet by 120, and had a single row of square pillars round it. The building had been largely remodelled in the reign of Amenophis III, possibly for his daughter Sitamûn, and additions had also been made to it in the XXIIIrd Dynasty.

Behind Amenophis's ruin, and closer to the north wall of the Ramesseum, lay a little funerary chapel, which was named by Petrie, who excavated it in 1896, 'The White Queen's Chapel'. The title is due, not to *Through the Looking-Glass*, but to the beautiful bust in hard white limestone of a princess or queen whom Maspero considered to be a daughter of Ramses II, though she has also been put as late as the XXVIth Dynasty. This very attractive piece of later Egyptian sculpture is now in the Cairo Museum (No. 741, G 15, Case A).

THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF RAMSES II, KNOWN AS THE RAMESSEUM

This great temple, though unfortunately largely ruined, is of such importance as to deserve a visit to itself, in which case it is most easily approached by the pathway which leads across the cultivation from the Memnon colossi and the landing-place on the west bank of the Nile; though it can also be easily reached

by those who have been visiting El-Deir el-Bahari by taking the path across the hill of El-Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna, already described.



MORTUARY TEMPLE OF RAMSES II, KNOWN AS THE
RAMESSEUM

The Ramesseum is the mortuary temple of Ramses II (1292-1225 B.C.). Unlike most temples of the New Empire period, its

history is comparatively simple, for, though Menepthah, the son and successor of Ramses, and Ramses III, of the XXth Dynasty, made some additions to the subsidiary buildings which surround the temple on three sides, in the main it is still what it was meant to be in the beginning—a memorial to the pride and valour of the Pharaoh who created it. The reputation of Ramses II stands at present by no means so high as it did even fifty years ago, for a great deal of the work which bears his name all over Egypt, and which contributed to the overwhelming impressions of his greatness, has been proved to be the work of other Pharaohs which he converted to the service of his own vainglory by the simple process of chiselling his cartouche upon it; yet even so, though other names have risen in proportion as his has sunk, the name of Ramses still remains the most universally known in the land, and has sufficient legitimate glory attaching to it.

The Greeks knew our temple either as the Memnonium, or as the Tomb of Osymandias. The former title was derived from the association of the colossus at the temple with the legendary Ethiopian hero Memnon, son of Tithonus and Eos—an association which may have been transferred from the local Memnon of the two colossi of Amenophis III, not far away. The latter seems to have arisen from a corruption of *User-maet-rê*, the probable pronunciation of which as *Usimarê* may conceivably have led to such a corruption. Anyhow, by the first century B.C. we find Diodorus comfortably settled in his belief that the temple was the work of Osymandias, and also in the association of the name of Memnon with the colossal statue, though in this case the tradition has come to him in a curiously mangled form, coupled with the name of an imaginary sculptor of Syênê (Aswân). 'Of the first sepulchres', says Diodorus, '(wherein they say the women of Jupiter were buried), that of king Osymandias was ten furlongs in circuit; at the entrance of which, they say, was a portico of various-coloured marble, in length two hundred feet, and in height five-and-forty cubits; thence going forward, you come into a four-square stone gallery, every square being four hundred feet, supported, instead of pillars, with beasts, each of one entire stone, sixteen cubits high, carved after the antique manner. . . . At the entrance stand three statues, each of one entire stone, the workmanship of Memnon of Sienitas. One of these, made in a sitting posture, is the greatest in all Egypt, the measure of his foot exceeding seven cubits. . . . This piece

is not only commendable for its greatness, but admirable for its cut and workmanship, and the excellency of the stone. In so great a work there is not to be discerned the least flaw, or any other blemish. Upon it there is this inscription: 'I am Osymandias, king of kings; if any would know how great I am, and where I lie, let him excel me in any of my works'' (i, 47).

From his description, it is apparent that, though Diodorus does not seem to have seen the Ramesseum or the colossus himself, he had been told of both by a picturesque, though somewhat inaccurate person who undoubtedly had seen them, but brought a vigorous imagination to the describing of what he had seen.

Within the brick girdle-wall, which at present is covered by an embankment consisting of the earth excavated from the site, the great building measures roughly 900 feet by 550; but the greater portion of this large area was covered by subsidiary buildings, store-chambers and the like, and the actual temple measured almost 600 feet by 220. Even this reduced measurement means a very large building; the area of the Ramesseum is over 130,000 square feet, or considerably more than the area of any cathedral in the world, except St. Peter's, Rome.

The great eastern pylon which formed the entrance to the First Court is now a ruin; but it was originally 220 feet across the front of its twin towers. Some of the reliefs which adorned its west face (next the court) are still in fair preservation, though a field-glass is necessary to make much of them. They relate to the Syrian campaign which was waged by Ramses in the year 1288, the fifth year of his reign, and especially to the great feat of arms which the Pharaoh believed himself to have personally performed in his encounter with the Hittite army at the battle of Kadesh on the Orontes—a feat on the memory and reputation of which his vanity subsisted during the remaining sixty-two years of his reign and life. On the north pylon, as we look eastwards, we have at the left the list of the eighteen towns captured by Ramses in a later campaign, and a scene of prisoners being led into captivity. Next come scenes from the Hittite campaign of the fifth year, which are continued on the south tower. Briefly the history of the campaign was as follows. Ramses had as his objective in this campaign the capture of the Hittite stronghold of Kadesh on the Orontes—a stubborn enemy of the Egyptian power in Syria, which had cost Tuthmosis III a good deal of effort in his time. Ramses apparently encountered

little resistance until he approached Kadesh, which was strongly placed on the river Orontes. His Intelligence Department brought in prisoners who declared that Muwatallish, the Hittite king, had retreated to Aleppo in fear of the advance of the Egyptian army, and Ramses accordingly marched on Kadesh in headlong haste, neglecting the most elementary precautions. His army was divided into four brigades, Amûn, Rê, Ptah and Sûtekh, and may have numbered about 25,000 men. It was all strung out in four long successive columns in the order named. The Brigade of Amûn reached the north-west of Kadesh, and pitched camp in a position which enabled it to cut off any retreat from the city, or any relief from the north. Meanwhile the Hittite king had arranged a pleasant surprise for Ramses. The report of his flight had been specially conveyed to the Pharaoh by his own spies, and was entirely false. He was actually concealed, with his whole army, behind the town of Kadesh, and kept his forces carefully out of sight of Ramses in his headlong march northward. As soon as the Egyptian king had fairly settled down to pitch camp, Muwatallish struck his blow by making a fierce attack on the flank of the Brigade of Rê, which was taken completely by surprise and scattered at the first shock. The torrent of fugitives rushed for safety to the camp of Amûn, and swept that brigade away in helpless rout along with themselves. Half of the army of Ramses was thus out of action, and the remaining two brigades were far from the field, and marching slowly up without the least idea of the muddle which they were approaching.

Fortunately for Ramses, Muwatallish seems to have been as hesitant on the field as he had been cunning in planning his battle. He did not push his advantage at once, and Ramses with his household troops succeeded, by successive headlong chariot charges, in driving back the triumphant Hittite chariotry, and in holding them back until the Brigade of Ptah reached the field. Muwatallish never put his strong force of infantry into the fight at all, though their appearance at the critical moment could scarcely have failed to make the Egyptian defeat decisive. He paid the penalty by seeing the final loss of his great opportunity, and the complete repulse of his chariot force, with severe loss. He ought, by all the rules, to have annihilated the Egyptian army; but at the most he managed only to get perhaps rather the worse of a fairly drawn battle in which neither commander

had shone, though the Hittite preparation for victory had been admirable, had it been followed up by equal promptitude on the field when once the chance was offered.

Ramses returned home with his sorely reduced army, having entirely failed to accomplish his object, for Kadesh does not appear to have been molested. But, once back in Egypt, he conveniently forgot all about that, and remembered nothing but his own personal valour in the emergency which he had brought about by his own bad generalship. A poem was written about his feat of arms, pictures of it were standardized, and poems and pictures were repeated on every possible opportunity, until the Egyptian court, one imagines, must have been slightly weary of the whole business. Ramses, however, was not weary of seeing and hearing of his prowess; and it was Ramses who called the tune, though the unfortunate soldiers of Amûn and Rê had paid the piper.

Here, at the Ramesseum, we have it all over again, as on the pylon at Luxor. In the middle of the north pylon, high up, we have the unlucky Egyptian camp, with its shield-wall, and all sorts of military and unmilitary scenes taking place. The king holds a council of war to discuss the sudden emergency, and to scold his officers for what was his own blame; the second batch of spies is being persuaded, by the familiar method of the bastinado, to tell the truth at last; and the Hittite attack is developing.

On the south tower, we have Ramses charging the Hittite chariotry, who flee in confusion before his shafts, and fall into the Orontes. On the opposite bank of the river Muwatallish stands in fear, along with the massed columns of his spearmen. Fugitives swim for their lives across the Orontes; the unlucky King of Aleppo is given rough first-aid by his friends, who hold him upside down that he may disgorge the water he has swallowed in his hasty retreat by way of the river. Above the massed Hittite spearmen is the town of Kadesh within its strong walls and its moat. On the right half of the southern tower is the familiar scene of the king grasping his enemies by the hair and clubbing them. The series of scenes is not without vivacity; but taken as a whole it is too complicated, and is in consequence confused.

The First Court is a complete ruin. It had once a double colonnade on the south side, and was possibly connected with what appear to have been the ruins of a palace to the south.

Opposite us as we cross the court to the west side lie the remains of the hugest of Egyptian colossal statues—probably the largest block of stone ever handled by man, not even excepting the famous stones at Baalbek. The tumbled masses of granite are all that remains of the Osymandias whom Diodorus, or his informant, saw in 60 B.C. sitting in majesty above his apocryphal inscription, and without 'the least flaw or any other blemish'. Would that he were so still! To-day the great statue is completely shattered, and it seems that the patience needed to accomplish its destruction must have been almost as great as that which originally compassed its setting-up. The face has entirely disappeared, and even the legs, which were still standing when Shelley's 'traveller from an antique land' saw the great figure in the early years of the nineteenth century, are now completely shattered.

Nevertheless, even in ruin, the great statue remains sufficiently imposing. It stood originally between 57 and 58 feet in height; from shoulder to shoulder it measured $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or $23\frac{1}{2}$ across the breast; its arm at the elbow measured $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet in circumference, its forefinger is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, the length of the nail on its middle finger is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the area of this talon is 35 square inches; its foot measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet across the toes; its face between the ears is, or was, $6\frac{1}{4}$ feet; and the length of its ear $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Compared with such measurements, those of our aspirants to the heavyweight championship are insignificant; and when there is added that the computed weight of the statue is over 1,000 tons, and that this 'mountain' (as Hatshepsut ridiculously called her little 323-ton shaft at Karnak) was floated down the Nile from Aswân, 135 miles away, dragged across the fields from the river-bank, and set up on its base by men who had never dreamed of the hydraulic jack, or any other magical engineering device save the lever and the inclined plane, one ought to conceive a considerable respect for Ancient Egyptian ingenuity and powers of organization.

Shelley's famous sonnet may be quoted here to save the traveller the trouble of looking it up, though the legs of which he wrote are now shattered, and the face, with its 'frown, and wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command', is now obliterated:

I met a traveller from an antique land
 Who said: 'Two vast and trunkless legs of stone
 Stand in the desert. . . . Near them, on the sand,
 Half sunk, a shattered visage lies, whose frown,

And wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command,
Tell that its sculptor well those passions read
Which yet survive, stamped on these lifeless things,
The hand that mocked them, and the heart that fed.
And on the pedestal these words appear :
‘ My name is Ozymandias, king of kings :
Look on my works, ye Mighty, and despair ! ’
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,
The lone and level sands stretch far away.

Looking to the situation of the colossus, Shelley's traveller, if the poet ever met any other but Diodorus, was scarcely more accurate than the Greek himself or his informants ; but poetry is not tied to mechanical accuracy.

The Second Court, which we now enter, though badly ruined, is in better condition than the First. On the north and south sides it had a double row of columns, on the east a row of square pillars, faced on the side next the court with Osirid figures, and on the west a raised terrace, with a row of square Osirid pillars facing the court, and a row of papyrus-bud columns behind them. The Osirid figures, of which only four in each row now remain, represented Ramses II, and they are probably the figures to which Diodorus referred in his description : ‘ Supported, instead of pillars, with beasts, each of one entire stone, sixteen cubits high, carved after the antique manner.’ The Osirids are, of course, not monoliths, and Ramses would not have been flattered by being mistaken for a beast ; but the description can apply to nothing else in the temple.

On the west face of the front wall of this court is another series of scenes from the battle of Kadesh. These are more or less a repetition of the pylon scenes, but are better preserved. In particular the scene by the river Orontes, with the city of Kadesh, the Hittite king and his infantry, and the rescue of the King of Aleppo, which are scarcely distinguishable on the pylon, may here be clearly made out. Early afternoon light is the best by which to distinguish the details. Above these warlike scenes are others representing the Egyptian harvest festival of Min. Notice the scene in which priests let four birds fly, to carry to the ends of the earth the news that Ramses has ascended the throne. Fragments of colossal statues lie in the court ; in particular the head of a fine black granite statue of Ramses.

Three flights of steps lead up to the raised terrace on the west side, where stand the four remaining Osirid pillars corresponding to those on the east side. The wall on the south side of the terrace, which formed the vestibule to the Great Hypostyle Hall, is still preserved. On its east face Ramses is seen kneeling before the Theban triad, while Thoth, the god of writing and wisdom, records his name for eternal remembrance. To the left the king is led forward by Montu, the war-god, and by Atûm. The bottom row of reliefs depicts a selection of the innumerable sons of Ramses. In the top row Ramses offers to Min, to Ptah, and to a goddess.

We now enter the Hypostyle Hall, which had originally three great doorways placed at the top of the three flights of steps already mentioned. This is a hall of the same type as the Great Hypostyle at Karnak, and, though much smaller, is better proportioned, and possesses more graceful columns. The taller calyx columns, of which twelve ranged in two rows form the nave, with twelve papyrus-bud columns bearing imposts above their architraves to take the ends of the roofing-blocks (as at Karnak), measured only 36 feet in height, or not much more than half the height of their gigantic brethren on the east bank; but they are more satisfactory examples of their type, and are well preserved. The side columns are 25 feet high, and windows in the clerestory of the nave lit the whole chamber, which measures 103 feet in depth and 136 feet in width. The views obtained from the nave of the hall either to the western hills or eastwards through the ruins across the plain to the Nile are very striking.

On the western face of the east wall of the hall (south half, all that is left standing), is a vigorous scene of the storming of the town of Dapur, in Galilee. Ramses, of colossal size, charges from the left with his chariot and its rocking-horses, overthrowing an enemy chariot, and trampling on the slain. On the right the fortress is being assailed with scaling-ladders and by sapping. Sherden guardsmen (Sardinians?) distinguished by their horned helmets, assist in the attack, and the sons of Ramses are busily employed in slaying in the open field, and in the assault on the town. At the opposite end of the hall, the king receives the insignia of royalty from Amûn, behind whom is Mût. On the opposite (right) side of the doorway, he receives the *ankh* from Amûn, who is supported by Khonsu and Sekhmet. Beneath both scenes are the inevitable princes.

We next come to the Small Hypostyle Hall, whose roof, in good condition, is supported by eight papyrus-bud columns. It is decorated with astronomical figures, and representations of the king before the gods. On the east wall, to right and left of the doorway, are processions of the sacred barques of the Theban triad. On the west wall is a large scene of Ramses seated among the leaves of the Tree of Life, while Sakhmet and Thoth write their names upon its leaves, to keep it in eternal remembrance. Behind this hall is a second small hypostyle hall, now much ruined, only four columns remaining. Its reliefs are the usual offering scenes, and are of no great interest. The rest of the sacred enclosure is occupied by the remains of brick buildings, of the time of Ramses II, which appear to have been used as temple storehouses. These were originally vaulted, and the vaults in some cases still survive, and are of interest.

Immediately south of the great enclosure wall of the Ramesseum lies the ruined chapel of Prince Wazmôse, of the XVIIIth Dynasty. It was partly cleared by Daressy in 1887, and cleared by Petrie in 1896; but no results of outstanding importance were gained, though it appeared that Amenophis III had restored the chapel. The ruins are of no importance. South of the chapel of Wazmôse are the ruins of what was once a much more important building, the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis IV, father of Amenophis III. The scanty ruins of two massive pylons, a vestibule, a large pillared hall, and other buildings behind were excavated by Petrie in 1896; but the ruins have been destroyed practically down to the foundations, and do not repay a visit, though the temple must at one time have been almost comparable to the Ramesseum, measuring nearly 500 feet from its eastmost pylon to the back wall. Close beneath the south enclosure wall of the temple of Tuthmosis IV, nestled the chapel of Khonsartais, goldsmith of the temple of Amûn in the XXVIth Dynasty. Fragments of painted coffins were recovered from its three tombshafts; but nothing else of any significance.

A little farther south still, come the foundation trenches of a not inconsiderable temple which was erected for Queen Tausret, daughter of Menepthah (XIXth Dynasty), a lady who appears to have reigned in her own right for a time during the troubled succession after the death of Menepthah, and to have legitimized the reign of Siptah by her marriage with him. Her tomb is No. 14 in the Valley of the Kings (afterwards usurped by

Setnakht). The temple lay within a scarped area which had been cut out of the Nile gravels. It was also excavated by Petrie in 1896; but there are no remains of any interest.

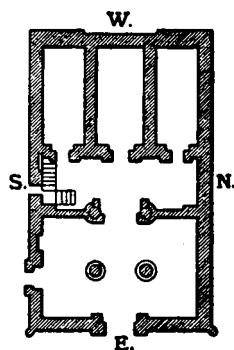
South of Tausret's temple lie the poor remains of what was once a large mortuary temple belonging to Menepthah, son and successor of Ramses II. It seems to have been originally planned on a scale of two-thirds of the size of the Ramesseum, so that it must have been a building of some importance. It had a large forecourt, a second court with Osirid figures, two hypostyle halls, one with twelve and one with eight columns, several chambers behind these halls, one of which, in the north-west corner had an altar, whose foundation could still be traced, and a number of subsidiary brick buildings within the girdle-wall. A sacred tank or lake occupied a part of the area south of the temple within the *temenos* wall. Little is now left of all this, and the condition of the ruins is not improved by the fact that the road from the Ramesseum to Medinet Habu passes right across them. One's disappointment at the lamentable condition of the mortuary temple of a great Pharaoh is, however, mitigated by the fact that Petrie in 1896 found that practically the whole building had been constructed out of stolen materials, and these the materials of what must have been at one time the most splendid of all the mortuary temples on the west bank—that of Amenophis III. Few of the Pharaohs ever had any scruples about pillaging the foundations of their ancestors to save themselves trouble, and Menepthah had, of course, been trained in a bad school, for his father Ramses II was the most notorious usurper of the monuments of other men; still the case of Menepthah's temple was a bad one, even for his times, and one has the feeling that it has been a case of 'ill-gotten goods' which never prosper—all the more because the temple which he pillaged is precisely the one which we should most have wished to see intact.

Menepthah's temple, however, has attained posthumous fame in another way, for it was here that Petrie unearthed in 1896 the famous Menepthah stele, with the Triumph Song which makes that reference to Israel which archaeologists had so long desired to find, and which, now that it has been found, has only made confusion worse confounded with regard to ideas respecting the children of Israel and their relations with Egypt. The Triumph Song was another instance of stolen goods, being engraved on the back of a beautiful black granite stele of Amenophis III,

which Menepthah had 'conveyed' from the ravaged temple of the XVIIIth Dynasty Pharaoh. A comparison of the back of the stele, the comparatively feeble work of Menepthah, with the front, and the fine clean-cut figures and inscription of Amenophis III, is eloquent as to the decay of art in the interval of a century and a half between the two Pharaohs.

THE TEMPLE OF DEIR EL-MEDÎNA

This small but beautiful temple, of Ptolemaic date, lies about half a mile west from the Ramesseum, and may be reached from that temple by the path which passes to the right of the German House, and skirts the north side of the hill of Qurnet Mura'i, or, if the visitor comes straight from Luxor, by the path which runs from the landing-place past the Memnon colossi, passes between the Chicago House and the Antiquities House, and then skirts the southern side of Qurnet Mura'i, sending off a branch to the Tombs of the Queens. Indeed the visit to the little temple is often combined with that to the Tombs of the Queens; but that is a matter for individual taste or convenience, and the Tombs of the Queens are as conveniently reached from Medinet Habu.



TEMPLE
OF DEIR EL-MEDÎNA

The present building, which is entirely surrounded by a high brick wall, built with wavy courses according to a not uncommon Egyptian custom, is entirely Ptolemaic; but it was doubtless erected upon the site of a more ancient foundation, though the idea which was probably held by the Ptolemys, and which has since been revived by modern Egyptologists such as Maspero and Weigall, that the temple occupies the site of the original tomb-chapel of Amenhotpe, son of Hapu, the wise man who served Amenophis III, and was deified in later days, may not be capable of proof. The building was certainly erected partly in honour of the deified wise man, and his earlier deified companion sage, Imhôtep, of the IIIrd Dynasty. Their figures appear on the two Hathor-headed pillars which abut on the end

of the screen-wall in front of the Pronaos, and one of the inscriptions in the temple says of Amenhotpe : ' His name shall abide for ever, his sayings shall not perish.'

The girdle-wall is pierced by a stone doorway, through which we gain access to the enclosure, of which the actual temple occupies but a small part, towards the northern side. Steep rocks rise immediately behind the enclosure, and on the south side of the temple, within the girdle-wall, are the remains of a Christian monastery. The façade of the temple has the usual cavetto cornice, and above the lintel of the door is an entablature with the winged sun-disk, and another small cavetto cornice above it. Passing through this doorway, we enter the vestibule of the little building. Its roof was supported by two flower columns, but has now mostly fallen in. Across the vestibule, we are faced by a screen composed of two elaborate foliage-capitalized columns, united by screen-walls to two Hathor-headed pillars. The screen on the north-east side has now disappeared, but that on the south-west still remains. On the foliage columns are the representations of the deified Imhôtep and Amenhotpe, son of Hapu, already mentioned.

Passing through the doorway in the middle of the screen, we enter the Pronaos. On our left, a staircase, now destroyed, once led up to the roof, and was lighted by a small window. Before us are three chapels. Over the door of the middle one, above the cornice, are seven Hathor heads. The reliefs in the right-hand and middle chapels need not detain us, as they show merely the usual scenes of the Pharaoh, Ptolemy IV, Philopator, or Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II (Physcon) making offerings to various deities—scenes of which the visitor is probably getting somewhat tired by now. Attention might be given, however, to the scene above the inside of the door of the middle chapel, where the eight sacred apes worship the scarab of the rising sun. The decoration of the left-hand chapel is more worthy of notice, offering, as it does, a late, but fairly complete picture of the great scene of the Weighing of the Heart, so often depicted in the vignettes of the *Book of the Dead*. This scene is on the left wall of the chapel. At the left end of the scene appears the dead man, followed by Maet, the goddess of truth. He is met, face to face, by another figure of Maet, behind whom stand the scales in which his heart is being weighed against the Feather of Truth. Beneath the scales, Horus and Anubis test the scales, and Horus tests the

plumb of the balance. To the right, Thoth records the result of the weighing. In front of him, the young Horus sits on a crook, the symbol of rule, and in front of him again a fearful monster, sometimes called a hippopotamus, but obviously of diversified breed, awaits the result of the test. If the heart proves satisfactory, he goes hungry; if it is unsatisfactory, he devours it. At the extreme right of the scene, Osiris, with crook and scourge, sits on his throne, and in front of him grows an opened lotus-flower, on whose petals stand the so-called 'Children of Horus', the guardian genii of the Canopic jars in which the internal organs of the deceased are placed. Above sit the forty-two judges of the dead. The chief variation here from the usual *Book of the Dead* vignette is that the 'Devourer of the Unjustified', usually represented as part crocodile, part hippopotamus, and part panther or leopard, is here a creature of quite indeterminable breed, though sufficiently fearsome.

The scene above the door on the inside of this chapel is of some interest, representing the god of the four winds, a four-headed ram, with the vulture-goddess Nekhebt hovering above, while four goddesses adore. The remaining scenes are of no special interest. South of the temple, beside the track to the Tombs of the Queens, lie the mud-brick remains of a New Empire settlement of priests and necropolis workmen and artists. On the hills to the west lies the cemetery of Deir el-Medina, which will be described in due course. To the left of the hill track to the Tombs of the Queens several steles of Ramesside times are cut in the rock-face. Three of these date from the reign of Ramses III, one of them showing this Pharaoh with his father Setnakht, the founder of the XXth Dynasty. One of the steles dates from the reign of Ramses II, and is thus the earliest of the series.

THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF AMENOPHIS III

Perhaps the greatest loss which Thebes has suffered, both from the archaeological and the artistic point of view, is the almost total destruction of this great temple, which was brought about, as we have seen, by the cupidity and vandalism of Menepthah of the XIXth Dynasty, after it had stood only for about a century and a half. The fact that another mortuary temple of imposing size still survives in a fair state of completeness at Medinet Habu, does not in the least console us for the loss of the

work of Amenophis III ; one would willingly give Medinet Habu twice over to the destroyer if the earlier temple could be given back to us. We need not take at its face value the whole of the grandiloquent inscription of its builder ; but knowing what we know of Amenophis III and the art of his time, it can scarcely be doubted that the exchange of a XXth Dynasty temple for an XVIIIth Dynasty one would be a good bargain. We have to content ourselves, however, with Amenophis's own description of his great temple, and with these battered remnants of antiquity, the Memnon colossi.

Amenophis's description of the temple which he built for Amûn and himself, or himself and Amûn, is given on the splendid black granite stele, 10 feet 3 inches high, 5 feet 4 inches broad, and 13 inches thick, which Menephtah stole from the great temple along with other things, that he might cut his own inscription on the back of it. Before the theft, it had already suffered at the hands of Akhenaten, who almost entirely obliterated the inscription of his own father, in his iconoclastic zeal. It was patiently, but not with entire accuracy, restored by the pious Pharaoh Seti I ; only to be outraged once more by Seti's grandson, and to remain in obscurity in the ruined temple of the spoiler, until Petrie rescued it in 1896. The inscription refers to many of King Amenophis's building activities ; the portion actually dealing with the present building runs as follows :

' Behold, the heart of His Majesty was satisfied with making a very great monument ; never has happened the like since the beginning. He made it as his monument for his father Amûn, Lord of Thebes, making for him an august temple on the west of Thebes, an eternal, everlasting fortress of fine white sandstone, wrought with gold throughout ; its floor is adorned with silver, all its portals with electrum ; it is made very wide and large, and established for ever ; and adorned with this very great monument. It is numerous in royal statues, of elephantine granite, of costly gritstone, of every splendid, costly stone, established as everlasting works. . . . It is supplied with a " Station of the King ", wrought with gold and many costly stones. Flagstaves are set up before it, wrought with electrum ; it resembles the horizon in heaven when Rê rises therein. Its lake is filled with the great Nile, Lord of fish and fowl. . . . Its storehouse is filled with male and female slaves, with children of the princes of all

the countries of the captivity of His Majesty. Its storehouses contain all good things, whose number is not known. It is surrounded with settlements of Syrians, colonized with children of princes, its cattle are like the sand of the shore, they make up millions.'

This inscription has been quoted at such length because it gives us the best contemporary picture extant of the magnificence of an XVIIIth Dynasty temple. Even although we may not take all its boastings quite literally, we have sufficient evidence, in the splendour of the stele itself, and in the gigantic ruin of the colossi, that there is comparatively little exaggeration in the description. Floors overlaid with silver, and gates overlaid with silver-gold alloy seem to us like dreams from the Arabian Nights ; but we have to remember that Amenophis III was the king to whom the kings of Babylon, Mitanni and Assyria were writing, reminding him with anxious importunity that, 'in my brother's land gold is as common as dust', and showing by the scale of their demands for gifts that they believed what they said.

And now all this magnificence of Egypt's super-Solomon is gone ; and all that can testify to his vanished greatness is the melancholy pair who have seen thirty-two centuries come and go while they have sat, not altogether unmoved, staring across the Nile to Thebes and the sunrise. They are sufficiently great to maintain the reputation of their creator, even in the absence of any other relics of his glory. In actual stature, they somewhat exceed the great granite colossus of Ramses II at the Ramesseum, though they probably weighed about 100 tons less in each case. They measure at present 64 feet from the foot of the pedestal to the top of the head ; when the vanished crowns were still in place, they must have measured 69 or 70 feet in height. Each foot is $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet long ; and the lower leg, from the sole to the knee, measures $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet ; the shoulders are 20 feet broad, the arm, from the tip of the middle finger to the elbow measures $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the length of the middle finger is $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

Both statues, of course, are monoliths ; though this fact is somewhat obscured in the case of the southern statue by the excessive weathering of the quartzose sandstone conglomerate of which they are composed, and in that of the northern by the fact that the entire upper part of the figure was overthrown by the great earthquake of 27 B.C., and was clumsily repaired with

sandstone blocks by Septimus Severus in or about A.D. 200, so that visitors may sometimes rather fail to realize the greatness of the immense blocks. They represent, or represented, Amenophis himself; while on the right side of his legs, in either case, stands his wife Queen Tiye, and on the left side his mother Mutemwia. A third figure stood between his knees, but has vanished as so much else of the detail of the great statues has done. The groups of the Niles, binding together Upper and Lower Egypt on the sides of the throne are still visible and impressive; otherwise, whatever artistic merit the colossi possessed has vanished with the total departure of the original surface through weathering.

These gigantic twins originally sat before the pylon of Amenophis's temple; and by their greatness they enable us to estimate what the magnificence of the vanished building behind them must have been. After its disaster in 27 B.C. the northern colossus rose to a fame which it never possessed before; for a curious noise proceeded at dawn from the broken surface of the stone. The statue was identified with Memnon, son of Eos and Tithonus, who led his Ethiopians to the assistance of the Trojans at the siege of Troy, slew Antilochus, the son of Nestor, and was himself slain by Achilles. The sound which was emitted at dawn was held to be the dead hero saluting his mother Eos as she appeared over the eastern horizon; and tourist parties came regularly to hear Memnon sing at sunrise. With touching fidelity to type, they have scrawled their opinions of his performance, sometimes in prose, sometimes in verse, all over his pedestal; the first transgressor being a gentleman of the reign of Nero. Thereafter it became the regular thing to leave an epigram, or the nearest thing to it that one could compass, on the pedestal; but the dignity of the past is saved, and these performances are delivered from a dishonouring kinship with similar modern scrawls by calling them *graffiti*. Eight governors of Egypt, who might have known better, have recorded their names, and the Emperor Hadrian and his wife Sabina actually camped for several days before the statue in the hope of hearing him sing. The explanation of the phenomenon has been variously attempted, not with convincing success; though it appears to have been connected with the exposure of the broken surface of the colossus to the rays of the rising sun, and to be a phenomenon connected with the well-known singing sands which occur in many places. The fact that the song ceased when Septimius Severus patched up

the broken statue, seems to point to such an explanation as has been suggested.

An enormous stele of sandstone, over 30 feet high and 14 feet wide, which still lies, broken in two and despoiled of its adornments, behind the colossi, is probably the ' " Station of the King " ', wrought with gold and many costly stones ' mentioned in the inscription. It has two scenes in relief, showing Amenophis and Tiy before Sokar-Osiris on the left, and before Amen-Rê on the right. It has also an inscription of twenty-four lines. The remains of another colossal statue lie some distance from the Memnon figures. Beyond these scanty fragments, the great temple has left ' not a wrack behind '.

THE MORTUARY TEMPLES AT MEDINET HABU

About three-quarters of a mile from the Memnon colossi lies the southernmost group of the long line of mortuary temples which extends along the whole eastern face of the Theban necropolis. It goes by the general name of Medinet Habu ; but there is a whole group of buildings comprehended under that title, and these have to be distinguished from one another. The earliest building at Medinet Habu dates from the dawn of the XVIIIth Dynasty. This is the smaller temple within the enclosure, which, in spite of Ptolemaic and Roman additions, belonged originally to the reign of Amenophis I, whose mortuary temple it may conceivably have been. It was usurped, according to the amiable Pharaonic custom, by Tuthmosis I, and considerably added to by Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, so that the main part of the rear of the existing building is of mid-XVIIIth Dynasty date. Ramses II and Ramses III also did work upon the temple, and the outside reliefs are the work of the latter Pharaoh. A Saite court, and a court of Nectanebis, with a gate of Taharqa of the XXVth Dynasty carry on the complicated history of the building, and the last work is of Ptolemaic and Roman date, and includes the whole of the present beautiful façade. In short, the smaller temple of Medinet Habu is almost as much an epitome of Egyptian history as is its greater neighbour across the Nile at Karnak.

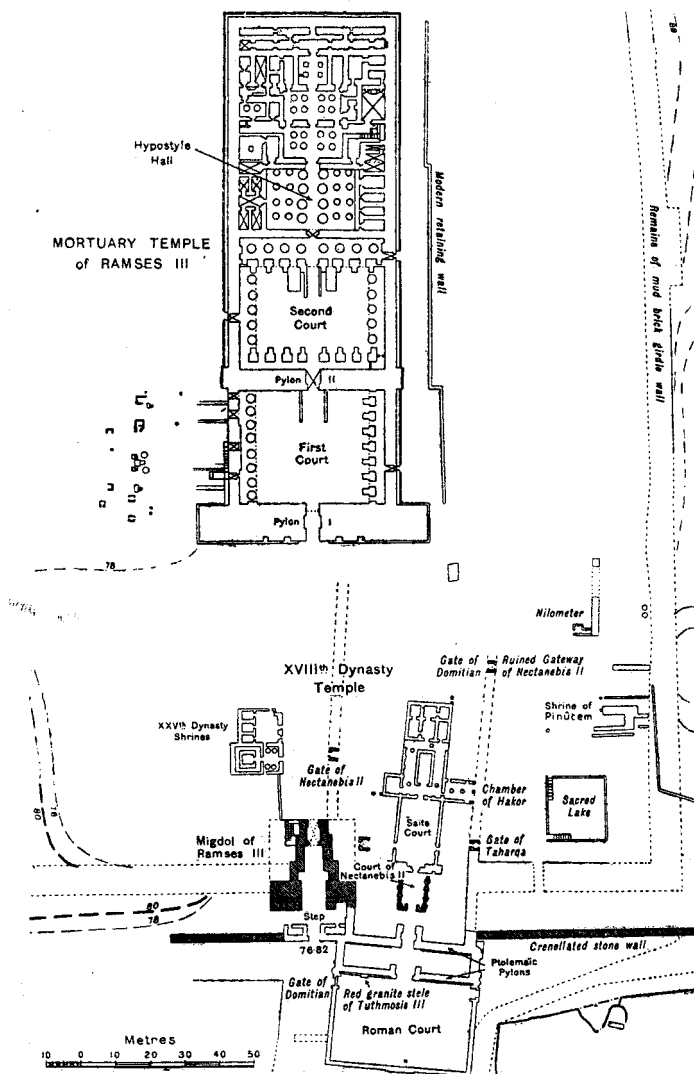
Besides this temple, there are at Medinet Habu three other more or less important buildings, all of them of a mortuary nature. These are : the pavilion of Ramses III, the small

mortuary temple of Amenartais, and the great temple of Ramses III.

THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF RAMSES III

This is, of course, the supreme object of interest at Medînet Habu, and to it most of our attention must be devoted. In approaching it, however, we have first to pass the pavilion of Ramses III, and the small temple of Amenartais, and it will be best to deal with them in their order, and then proceed to the great temple, leaving the XVIIIth Dynasty building for later notice. The *temenos* at Medînet Habu was enclosed, as usual in Egypt, by a wall of crude brick—in this case of the great height of 59 feet. Before this, on the south-eastern face, was a crenellated stone wall 13 feet high, with a gate flanked by two porters' lodges. Passing this gate, we are confronted by a remarkable building, of a kind unique in Egypt. This is the pavilion of Ramses III, known also as the High Gate. It is neither more nor less than an Egyptian version of a Syrian fortress, one of the *Migdols*, which the Pharaohs of the Empire had so often to storm or starve out during their campaigns in Syria. The main building consists of two crenellated towers, with a gateway between them; and no doubt Ramses amused himself here by representing in Egypt the kind of thing which had more than once given him enough trouble in Palestine. The pavilion sits astride the great mud-brick *temenos* wall, and forms the actual entrance to the sacred enclosure and the possible palace south of it.

From the style of decoration within the building, it may be supposed that Ramses himself occasionally visited it with his harem ladies; but, on the other hand, these harem scenes may have a mortuary significance, and may represent the pleasures of home life to which his soul would return in the underworld, as the king had returned to them in life from his campaigning in foreign lands. The external decoration, however, is of a different sort. On the two faces of the towers, Ramses (left) slays his enemies of Nubia and Libya before Amen-Rê, and (right) does the same thing before Harakhte; the foes, in this case being the Sea-Peoples who threatened Egypt during his reign—Tuirsha (Tyrrhenians), Zakru, Sherden (Sardinians?), Shakalsha (Sicilians), Peleset (Philistines), Hittites and Amorites. In the court between the towers we have on either hand representations of



THE TEMPLES OF MEDINET HABU

Ramses leading prisoners into the presence of Amen-Rê. Two seated black granite figures of the lioness-headed goddess Sekhmet suggest martial exploits, as Sekhmet was the goddess to whom Rê, in the ancient legend, entrusted the slaying of the rebellious children of men. Behind the two Sekhmet, the king appears before Sakhmet, Ptah, Atûm, Anhûret, and other gods. Passing on to the inner doorway, Ramses is seen (right) smiting down his foes, assisted in the slaughter by his pet lion—a feature in which he imitated his model, Ramses II; and (right) bringing prisoners before Amûn. On the rear face of the building he presents his prisoners of war to the gods.

We now ascend the south tower by a modern staircase, and reach a chamber which was originally separated by a ceiling and floor from the chamber above it. Floor and ceiling have now disappeared, so that the upper room is seen from the one below. It is upon the walls of this upper room that the famous Harem Scenes are depicted. These are often spoken of as indicating a life of Oriental profligacy; actually they are quite innocent, unless chucking a little lady under the chin has become a crime. The harem ladies are not overdressed; but overdressing is not usually conspicuous in Egyptian festal scenes anywhere. The ideas of Ramses as to the employment of his soul after death were not of the most spiritual type—contemplation of his martial triumphs, the sight from his windows of the capital where he had reigned in life, and, on his inner walls, the vision of the frivolities of his palace; but if he was no better than most of his fellow-country men, he was no worse, except in having greater opportunity.

One of the curiosities of the pavilion is the set of consoles which project from the outer walls of the tower below the window, and which are carved into the representation of foreign captives lying upon their faces, and pinned down by the weight of the masonry above them. It has been suggested that the open spaces above the brackets were the living tombs of actual captives, who were built into the wall so that King Ramses might always have the comforting thought in death that his enemies were still the slaves of his soul; but the Egyptians were not, on the whole, needlessly cruel, and what we know of the conduct of Ramses from such incidents as his behaviour to the guilty parties in the harem conspiracy does not incline us to accuse him of such pitiless vindictiveness. The brackets more likely carried royal statues, which would thus trample continually on the necks of

the Pharaoh's enemies. Pharaoh frequently had such representations of enemies on his footstool, and even on his sandals; it pleased him, and did not hurt them.

We now pass out of the pavilion into the sacred enclosure. On our right is the XVIIIth Dynasty temple, to which we shall return; on our left the small Temple of Amenartais. This great lady, whose alabaster statue we have already seen at the Cairo Museum, was daughter of Kashta, the Ethiopian ruler, and wife of Piankhy II. Her reign was about 700 B.C., but was more ecclesiastical than secular. A four-columned hall leads us into the vaulted sanctuary, which is surrounded by an ambulatory. On the left side of the doorway Amenartais makes offerings to Anubis, and Princess Shepenôpet, daughter of Piankhy II offers to Hathor for Amenartais. On the right Amenartais is led by Thoth and Anubis, and Shepenôpet makes offering to the queen's *Ka*. Three small chapels adjoin the main temple, and are dedicated to Queen Nitocris, granddaughter of Amenartais, to Shepenôpet, and to Queen Mehtienusekht. The last of these chapels had a sort of crypt, now visible, as the flooring above it has broken down.

Before us there now lies the Great Temple of Ramses III, which, alone of the great temples of the New Empire, the native period of Egypt's glory, survives in a state of reasonable preservation. There are, of course, other temples, such as Dendera and Edfu, which are in even better condition than Medînet Habu; but they are of a much later period, while the temple of Ramses III is a genuine survival of the glorious period of the Empire. Accordingly it has become almost customary to regard Medînet Habu as the typical temple of the Empire, and this idea has produced disastrous results upon the estimate which is held with regard to Egyptian architecture generally. It seems almost impossible to dispossess some art-critics' minds of the idea that the Egyptian architect must always be judged by Medînet Habu, which is actually a building, not of the Empire's prime, but of its full decadence; and its heavy columns, which have lost all resemblance to the clustered papyrus stems and buds in which they had their origin, and are more like swollen sausages than anything so light and graceful as the papyrus, are continually reproduced as the type form of an Egyptian column. It would, of course, be quite as just to accept the bulging muscles of the Farnese Hercules as typical of Greek sculpture of the great period.

From this point of view Breasted's comment is undoubtedly justified. 'The Medinet Habu temple', he says, 'is unique, and we must intensely regret that it was a Twentieth rather than an Eighteenth Dynasty temple which survived.' Indeed, the visitor should go to Medinet Habu prepared for the fact that what is to be seen there is typical, not of Egyptian art at its summit, but of the same art when it was already far down the hill on the way to its inevitable death. It is still impressive, after its own fashion; but the impression is one of mere bulk and weight, and owes nothing to real artistic skill. In point of plan, the temple is quite a satisfactory piece of regular Egyptian practice; indeed it is almost an exact copy of the Ramesseum in its details, and this, doubtless, with intent, as Ramses III consciously set himself to imitate Ramses II in everything, even to the details of his cartouche. But the clearness of its plan is the only merit that the building can claim. 'The lines', says Breasted, 'are heavy and indolent, the colonnades have none of the old-time soaring vigour, springing from the pavement, and carrying the beholder's eye involuntarily aloft; but they visibly labour under the burden imposed upon them and clearly express the sluggish spirit of the decadent architect who designed them. The work also is careless and slovenly in execution. The reliefs which cover the vast surfaces of the Medinet Habu temple are with few exceptions but weak imitations of the fine sculptures of Seti I at Karnak, badly drawn and executed without feeling' (*Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II, pp. 179-80) To this criticism there is nothing to add.

If, however, on the other hand, the visitor will be content to regard Medinet Habu, not as the architectural type which it never was, but as one of the most interesting historical records in Egypt, he will be amply repaid for his trouble in visiting it. For the temple, whatever its artistic faults, is simply the great illustrated page which tells the not unworthy story of how Egypt, fallen into the descending vale of years, yet roused herself, under a really great Pharaoh, from her senile slumbers, and shook off, for a time, the buzzing clouds of enemies who had presumed on her decay. The awakening, it is true, did not last; but all the same Medinet Habu has a fine story to tell, though it must be admitted that she tells it with less energy than her creator had displayed in its acting.

Leaving the pavilion, and the other temples to right and left

we pass straight across the court to where the great pylon still rises to an impressive height, though its upper portion, with the overhanging cornice, has vanished. Four long slots in the masonry of the towers show where the four great flagstaves were reared against the face of the building and held in position by clamps of wood and copper which projected from the windows which are still to be seen in the upper part of the left-hand tower (one also survives on the right tower). To the right of the slots in the right wall, Ramses, wearing the Red Crown, smites his prisoners before Ra-Harakhte; on the left of those on the left tower he wears the White Crown, and smites the captives before Amen-Rê. Both gods lead forward groups of captives. Between the slots of the right pylon is a smaller scene of the same kind, and beneath this is a long inscription which tells in very bombastic language how Ramses overthrew the Libyans in the eleventh year of his reign. Below this again, is a scene in which Ramses kneels among the leaves of the sacred tree before Amûn; Ptah stands behind Amûn's throne, and Thoth inscribes the king's name on the leaves, while Sakhmet stands behind the last-named god.

Entering the First Court of the temple, we notice that it has a colonnade with calyx capitals on the south side, while the gallery on the north side has Osirid figures, sorely ruined by early Christian fanaticism. On the inner face of the south tower of the pylon is a huge battle picture, showing the defeat of the Libyans in the eleventh year of the reign of Ramses III. The Libyans are distinguished by their beards and long hair, with the heavy side-lock. The Egyptian infantry is supplemented by Sherden (Sardinian?) and Philistine mercenaries, the Sardinians wearing their usual horned helmet, the Philistines their feather-crested helmets, which resemble somewhat the headdress of a Red Indian brave. The king charges with his chariotry into the midst of the Libyans, who are overthrown before him. At the end of the south wall next the pylon, Ramses is seen walking in procession with his fan-bearers. The colonnade on the south side was intended to form the portico to a royal palace which lay immediately south of the temple, and which is at present being excavated by the Expedition of Chicago University. Communication between the palace and the temple was maintained by three large doors which open under the south colonnade, and there is also a large window, on the right and left of which the king stands on a bracket of enemy heads, and slays his foes.

Below this are scenes of dancers, wrestlers and fencers, the details of which are of considerable interest. The sculptor, it is almost needless to say, contrives always to make the Egyptian wrestler appear victorious over his negro or Asiatic opponent. The king's soldier son Ramses watches the games. Farther along we see the king inspecting his horses, with one of the grooms blowing a call on the trumpet.

The rear wall of the first court is formed by the Second Pylon of the temple. On the face of the south tower Ramses presents his prisoners to Amûn and Mût. There are three rows of captives, Shakalsha (Sicilians or Sagalassians of Pisidia ?), Danaana (Danaoi), and Peleset (Philistines). The face of the north tower is occupied by one of the most important historical inscriptions in Egypt, or indeed in the world, which tells the story of Ramses' victory, in the eighth year of his reign, over the great league of the Sea-Peoples. The record is of great interest, of course, in the history of Egypt, as being the story of the last triumphant assertion of Egyptian power against the new forces which were coming to the front in the Mediterranean world ; but it is also of a value which can scarcely be over-estimated in connexion with the movements of the nations at this time (c. 1196 B.C.).

Passing round to the north side of the court, behind the Osirid pillars, we have the king presenting more prisoners to the Theban triad, driving prisoners before him, as he rides in his chariot, with his pet lion running by his side, attacking an Amorite city, and shooting arrows into it, while his grooms hold his chariot behind him, standing on a balcony of his palace, with his fan-bearers, and addressing his nobles who bring more captives, and finally, on the back of the north tower of the first pylon, receiving the heaps of severed hands by means of which the Egyptians reckoned the number of enemy dead in their battles.

We now approach the Second Court by an inclined pathway which leads through the granite gateway of the second pylon. This court again shows a double arrangement in its colonnades. On the north and south sides it has single rows of bud columns, five in each row ; on the east and west sides it has Osirid pillars, eight in each row, the west row having a row of bud columns behind it, and thus forming a terrace vestibule to the First Hypostyle Hall. If the plan of this court be compared with that of the second court of the Ramesseum, it will be seen that the Medînet Habu court is almost an exact copy of the earlier one,

save that the Ramesseum has doubled colonnades on three sides, instead of one; but the resemblance of the two temples is throughout so close as to show that Ramses III was only following the plans of Ramses II, whom he greatly admired, though, judging by results, he himself was actually a far more capable man than the Pharaoh whom he chose as his model. This noble court, 125 feet by 138 feet, was appallingly wrecked by the early Christians, who used it for a church, and have entirely ruined the Osirid figures. They covered the reliefs with plaster, and roofed the court in, putting up columns which used to encumber the ground of the court till comparatively recent days.

We turn to the left and begin with the scenes on the back of the south tower of the second pylon. In the upper row is seen a number of priests bearing boats, images of the gods, etc., while the king stands behind. This is the beginning of a procession for the festival of Ptah-Sokar. Beneath are warlike scenes in which the king drives prisoners and slays enemies, as usual. Turning to the south wall, we see priests (upper row) with an emblem of Nefertûm (son of Ptah), while Ramses holds a cord which is pulled by his courtiers. Farther along, the king follows sixteen priests who carry the boat of Sokar; then, on the wall of the terrace, he offers before the sacred barque and appears before Khnûm and the hawk-headed Sokar-Osiris. Below these scenes, the king returns from battle in his chariot, with three rows of captive Libyans in front of him, and fan-bearers behind, leads his captives before Amûn and Mût, and, seated in his chariot with his back to the horses, receives more captives, and the report of the severed members of the slain. The remainder of the south wall is taken up with a long inscription giving details of the war.

Turning now to the scenes on the north and north-east of the court, we have a series of scenes from the festival of the god Mîn, which are obviously imitated from those of the corresponding court in the Ramesseum. Some of these are striking, particularly one in which the king is borne in his palanquin, with his pet lion beside him, on the shoulders of soldiers in gala dress, while other soldiers, similarly decked out with feathers, march in front of him, and priests offer incense. The scene in which priests loose four birds, to bear the report of the festival to the four quarters of the globe, is a copy of the similar scene in the Ramesseum, as is also that in which the Pharaoh cuts with a

sickle a sheaf of corn for an offering to Min. The lower row of scenes shows the familiar, and, truth to tell, by now rather wearisome sequence of processions of the sacred boats.

The slope which leads up to the terrace at the west end of the court is flanked by two pedestals which once bore colossal statues of the king, now entirely destroyed. The rear wall of the terrace, behind the second row of the colonnade, shows Ramses III in the presence of various gods. Along the lower row are figures of his sons and daughters, as in the Ramesseum. From this point onwards, the building is much more ruined.

We now enter the First Hypostyle Hall, whose extraordinary appearance is due to the fact that part of the Coptic village of the place was built above it. All columns which interrupted the ground level were ruthlessly destroyed, so that the Hall now looks as if it had never got beyond the first stages of the rearing of its columns, of which only the bases and the first or first and second drums are left. There were originally twenty-four columns arranged in four rows of six columns each. The nave had as usual two rows of columns, each four in number, of considerably greater bulk and height than the other sixteen, and we may conclude that the complete hall followed the regular hypostyle rule, and had calyx capitals for its central rows of tall columns, and bud capitals for the lower rows at the sides, the difference in height between the tall columns and the first row of lower ones on either side being made up by impost blocks above the architraves of the smaller columns, so as to enable them to take the ends of the roofing-blocks of the nave. The scenes on the walls are of no great interest, being merely the usual formal pictures of the king in the presence of various gods. There is one exception on the south side of the hall, where Ramses is seen, bow in hand, leading up a number of captives; but perhaps this departure from the ordinary rule was considered legitimate in view of the fact that he is also offering an elaborate set of Asiatic vases to the Theban triad along with the prisoners. On either side of the hall were small chapels. The four on the north side were dedicated to the deified Ramses III, to Ptah of Memphis, to Osiris, and to Ptah again. Beyond these there is another chapel of Amen-Rê, with a scene of the offering of bulls in sacrifice. The rooms on the south side of the hall formed the Treasury of the temple, and have reliefs relating to the royal gifts of treasure to Amûn.

We now pass into the First Small Hypostyle Hall, which had eight columns, and thence by a doorway on the left into a series of small rooms which bear scenes relating to the king's life in the underworld. One interesting scene shows Ramses ploughing and reaping in the fields of Ialu, in the style familiar from the vignettes of the *Book of the Dead*. We come back and enter the Second Small Hypostyle, like its predecessor an eight-columned chamber. On the right hand is a red granite group showing Ramses seated with the ibis-headed Thoth, the god of wisdom; while on the left a similar group shows him with Maet, the goddess of truth, thus emphasizing his fellowship with wisdom and truth. The remaining chambers have nothing of sufficient interest to be worth examination.

There still remain the scenes on the outside walls of the temple, which, as usual, are of much greater interest than the ritual scenes within. Passing back through the outer courts, we leave the temple by the first pylon, and turn to the north, walking round to the back of the pylon, which projects beyond the line of the temple wall. Here, in the upper register, is a scene showing the king in his chariot attacking two Hittite cities, and below it is a scene from the Libyan campaign, in which Ramses, alighting from his chariot, binds two Libyan captives, while his troops attack the foe. Next on the north wall of the first court are scenes from a war with the Amorites, in which cities are attacked, and prisoners taken and offered to Amûn. Below these are scenes from the Libyan war, in which Ramses charges the enemy, and is supported by Egyptian archers who shoot from the walls of two fortresses. Then the king, with his fan-bearers, inspects three lines of prisoners, and says to an officer: 'Say to the vanquished chief of the Libyans, "See how thy name is blotted out for ever and ever"', which would seem to indicate that the Egyptians, though not a cruel people, were by no means a chivalrous one either. Farther on, Ramses drives the usual procession of captives before Amûn and Mût.

Passing the projection of the second pylon, we have before us the scenes relating to the memorable conflict with the Sea-Peoples—the great event of the reign which for a time held back the development of the new age in the eastern Mediterranean. It is best to view these scenes beginning at the east, or farther end of the north wall. The king, on the balcony of his palace, reviews recruits, and distributes arms, sets out in his chariot for

the war, with his Sardinian guard and native infantry, and charges the enemy, who consist in this scene mainly of Philistines, with their feathered helmets. The two-wheeled ox-carts of the enemy's transport wait near the battlefield. Next comes what is perhaps the most interesting scene in the whole series—the first picture of a naval battle extant. It is a pity that the relief is so indistinct that it can only be well seen by oblique light, and also that the complicated scene of ships ramming one another, being capsized and turning their crews out into the water, and so forth, was rather too much for the powers of the artist who was responsible for the work. Still, with all its defects and inconveniences, this is a remarkable historical document, if its artistic merit is small. Next, the king receives his prisoners, and presents them to the Theban triad, and receives the sword of victory from Amûn, to whom he offers three rows of captives. The lower row has scenes from the Libyan campaign.

The west wall of the temple has scenes from the Nubian war, much damaged. Passing to the west end of the south wall of the temple, we have first lists of temple gifts, with the king in the presence of the gods. Outside the first court is a stairway leading up to the window which we have already seen from the inside of the court. On the sides of it the king slays a negro and an Asiatic. Finally we have, on the back of the south tower of the first pylon, one of the finest inspirations of the Egyptian sculptor of the Later Empire, and one of the few instances in which Egyptian relief-sculpture can show anything in the way of the depiction of violent action which can be compared with the masterpieces of Assyrian art in this kind. The hunting scenes here, particularly that in which Ramses is spearing wild bulls, are among the finest things which were ever done in this kind in ancient days, in spite of the fact that tradition still constrained the artist to depict his chariot horses with the action of a nursery rocking-horse.

South of the first court are the remains of the palace which Ramses built for himself, with what seems to us curious callousness, in the closest connexion with his own mortuary temple. The existence of this building, long suspected, was demonstrated by the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1913, and the Chicago Expedition is now completing the work. Two palaces, or traces of them, have been found, both dating from the time of Ramses III. The alabaster dais of the throne-room

of the later palace, with its columns and stepped approach, is one of the interesting results of the excavations, and corresponds pretty closely with the results reached for the throne-room of Menepthah by the Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Beside it are the royal bedroom, with a dais in a recess for the bed, bathrooms, rooms for the harem, with a place for the throne, and three suites of rooms for the harem ladies, each with two living-rooms, a dressing-room, and a bathroom. The water-supply of the palace was secured by a well which was reached by a staircase, whose walls bear the names of Ramses and figures of water-gods.

We now pass out towards the High Gate on our way to the XVIIIth Dynasty temple, and notice on our way the remains of a small gateway of Nectanebis II leading into its sacred enclosure.

THE XVIIIth DYNASTY TEMPLE, MEDINET HABU

This, as we have already seen, is the oldest (and also the newest) building at Medinet Habu, dating from the time of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, and embodying in its structure parts of a building of Amenophis I, but coming down, in its later portions, to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, the latest inscription on its walls dating from the reign of Antoninus Pius. Entrance to the building is gained by a gate within the High Gate, and leading into the Second Court of the temple, and as we thus are enabled to see first the most ancient part of the building it will be best to proceed westwards from this point, leaving the more modern parts to the east to be seen later. Passing out of the Second Court, we find ourselves in a gallery surrounding the sanctuary. This is the most ancient part of the temple, having been begun by Amenophis I and carried on by Tuthmosis I and II, Hatshepsut, and Tuthmosis III. The reliefs on the sanctuary are of some interest. Menepthah (XIXth Dynasty) has an inscription on the doorway, stating that he had given orders for the repair of the temple. On the right-hand side of the doorway, Tuthmosis III receives life from Amen-Rê. Within the building the reliefs are of Tuthmosis III, restored and added to by Seti I. At the west end of the sanctuary, left hand, Tuthmosis is led by Hathor and Atûm before Amûn, who writes on the leaves of the sacred tree; while above this scene he dances before Amûn. Outside the sanctuary there are some sorely damaged reliefs relating to the foundation of the temple, the cutting of

the first sod, moulding of the first brick, etc. The chambers behind the sanctuary contain nothing of special interest, except an unfinished shrine of red granite in the last room on the right. The king is seen in the presence of various gods, and is embraced by Amen-Rê. Additions were made to this part of the temple by Hakar (400 B.C.) and by Ptolemy Physcon, Euergetes II.

Returning to the Second Court, we see that it had originally a row of nine columns on either side, and was, in fact, really a hypostyle hall. It was probably originally the work of Tuthmosis III, but was, as we see it, due to the later restoration of Hakar. On the north side of the court is a gateway of granite, leading out to the Sacred Lake. This is the work of Petamenôpet, a famous official of the XXVIth Dynasty, whose tomb at El-'Asasif (No. 33), has the distinction of being the longest in the Theban necropolis, and longer than any of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings (860 feet). The east wall of this court is also the back of the second pylon. It bears inscriptions of the time of Tuthmosis III, Haremhab, Seti I, Ramses II, and Pinûtem I, the last of whom (*c.* 1026) claims to have found 'The Splendid Throne of Amen-Rê' in ruins and to have restored it. Taharqa, of the XXVth, or Ethiopian Dynasty, is represented on the back of the pylon in the usual attitude of slaying his enemies. The pylon owes its present condition to rebuilding by Shabaka, also of the XXVth Dynasty, and to subsequent restorations by the Ptolemys. Beyond this pylon is a small court or vestibule of Nectanebis II, with four bud columns on either side, and a portal at the east end, the columns are connected by screen walls.

East of this vestibule rises the First Pylon, which is a piece of Ptolemaic work, and is largely built of blocks stolen from earlier buildings, the Ramesseum, in particular, having contributed. While it may be merely poetic justice thus to see the robber of so many temples robbed in his turn, it is sad to think of the irreparable damage which was thus wrought by the Pharaohs themselves to the great edifices which are still, even in their ruin, the glory of their country. In front of this pylon there was erected, in Ptolemaic and Roman days, a shallow vestibule, with eight beautiful flower columns, of which two still survive complete. The columns were connected by screen-walls, which were never finished. One of the screens incorporates a red granite stele of Tuthmosis III. In front of this vestibule

was laid out in Roman days a large forecourt with enclosing wall and gateways.

It will thus be seen that all the east end of the temple, which is what is seen and admired at once by the visitor to Medinet Habu, is of comparatively late date, in fact, a matter of the day before yesterday, so far as Egyptian chronology is concerned. In addition, the work, using up as it does so much material from earlier temples, is often very rough. Yet undoubtedly the impression produced by the façade of the temple, with its two graceful flower columns, and the great gateway behind, and the touches of colour which are still to be seen in the capitals of the columns and the winged disk above the gate, is a singularly pleasing one. It may not be as characteristically Egyptian as are the façades of some other temples; but it is quite delightful all the same.

Thirty yards or so north of the temple, the Sacred Lake lies in a corner of the enclosure. It was constructed of masonry, and was about 60 feet square, with two flights of steps, one at each of its southern angles. A short distance west of it is a ruined shrine (brick) dating from the time of Pinûtém I, and a little farther west again is a nilometer, whose doorway bears the name of Nectanebis I. The doorway leads to a chamber, beyond which is a corridor, from which the staircase of the nilometer goes down to a depth of 65 feet. South of the nilometer, and between it and the smaller temple, is a gateway reconstructed in modern times of blocks with inscriptions of Domitian (A.D. 81-96).

Leaving the temples, and passing southwards for a short distance, we come to the remains of a small Ptolemaic (Euergetes II) temple to Thoth. It consists of a vestibule and three chambers, one behind the other; but it was never completely finished, and its reliefs are only outlined in some instances. It is now known as Qasr el-'Agâz.

Proceeding still farther southwards, we reach the ruins of what, historically, is one of the most interesting sites about Thebes—the palace of Amenophis III. The tourist will long ago have noticed that, while temples have abounded in the land, even though most of them are in ruins, palaces have been conspicuous by their absence. The reason for this fact is one creditable to the good sense of the Ancient Egyptians, however disappointing its result may be to the student of ancient life.

The temples, in a word, were built for eternity ; the palaces of the kings, and the houses of the people were built to last for a single generation, and no more. The Egyptian did not see why he should tax himself, and burden his successors, by building a house which would last as long as a temple, and which the succeeding generations, who had to live in it, might quite possibly detest. So he built his house, palace, mansion, or cottage, of mud-brick, which could be covered with whitewash or plaster, and made as beautiful as you liked with paint ; but which would only last his time, and leave his son to build according to his own taste in his turn. Consequently palaces, mansions and common houses have long since gone back to the soil out of which they were made.

Thus the palace of even so great a Pharaoh as Amenophis III has nothing to show that can interest anybody but an enthusiast for the history and the historical sites of the great Empire period. All that is left is a few crude-brick outlines of walls, which enable portions of its ground-plan to be traced. We know that the palace was beautifully decorated, for fragments of its frescoes have survived, showing once more the Egyptian's natural love for the open air, and for nature ; but only enough has remained to show us how much we must have lost. The site has been successively excavated by various explorers, Grébaut, Daressy, Tytus, and finally by the Metropolitan Museum of New York ; but nothing remains that can interest the visitor, though the plan of the living-rooms, the reception-hall, and the apartments of Queen Tiy can be traced. The great ornamental lake which was dug on the east of the palace is still traceable by the mounds of earth which were thrown up during its creation. It was made for the diversion of Queen Tiy by her devoted husband and lover Amenophis, and is now called *Birket Habu*. On its completion, which occupied only fifteen days, it was the scene of the famous water-festival in which the Pharaoh and his wife sailed on the lake in their gilded barge 'Aten-Gleams', one of the first fore-shadowings of the coming religious revolution under their son Akhenaten, when Amûn of Thebes was dethroned in favour of the Aten.

CHAPTER XXII

THE VALLEY OF THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS

‘WE came to a part that is wider,’ says Pococke, the early Eastern traveller, writing in 1743 of his visit to the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, ‘being a round opening like an amphitheatre, and ascended by a narrow step passage about ten feet high, which seems to have been broken down thro’ the rock. . . . By this passage we came to Biban el-Meluke, or Bab el-Meluke, that is, the gate or court of the kings, being the sepulchres of the Kings of Thebes.’ This is the first modern mention of the most famous gathering of royal tombs in the world, though in Greek and Roman days the valley used to be quite a favourite resort of tourists, some of whom, like their successors of to-day, came from quite a distance to see its marvels. Like some of their successors, also, they have left their scribbled comments on what they saw, with their undistinguished names, for the benefit of posterity. Two tourists who thus gained a kind of bastard immortality, Dionysios and Poseidonax, came from distant Marseilles; Januarius, a Roman official, came with his daughter Januaria, and having ‘seen and marvelled’, made his parting bow to the royal ghosts of the valley with the cheery words: ‘Farewell, all of you!’; while perhaps the most idiotic example of an idiotic practice reads: ‘I Philastrios the Alexandrian, who have come to Thebes, and have seen with my eyes the work of these tombs of astounding horror, have spent a delightful day.’

The main approach to the valley is still by the way which Pococke followed with his ‘Sheik’, that is to say it proceeds north-westwards past the temple of Seti I at El-Qurna, and then sweeps round westwards among the hills and finally dips south-westward to the actual resting-place of the Pharaohs. Another way leads from El-Deir el-Bahari over the hill to the valley, and this is often used in the reverse direction by visitors, who approach the valley by the main route, and leave it by the bridle-path, which brings them conveniently down to Cook’s Rest-house and

lunch at El-Deir el-Bahari. Two other foot-paths from El-Deir el-Bahari to the valley are not to be recommended; and the length of the hill-track from Deir el-Medina rules it out, so that there is practically only the one convenient way of approach. The valley itself is naturally one of the most desolate places imaginable. 'Although only screened from the teeming life of the Nile valley by a wall of cliffs, it seemed to be infinitely remote and unearthly—a sterile, echoing region of the underworld or a hollow in the mountains of the moon.'

It was, however, precisely this loneliness and comparative inaccessibility which recommended the valley to the Pharaohs of the early XVIIIth Dynasty as the ideal place for the carrying out of the experiment in a new method of concealment for the royal burials. We have already seen the reasons which induced them to make the sacrifice of convenience to necessity, and to separate the royal tomb from the royal funerary temple because only so could the tomb be hidden and unknown. The thing was a regrettable necessity; but, since it was a necessity, no more suitable spot than this desolate valley could be found for the purpose of hiding the royal tombs. It was near to Thebes, and yet it was almost as much out of the way, and as unattractive as heart could desire. Nobody in Thebes would dream of going to the valley unless he was obliged; what better hiding-place could be found for the tomb of a Pharaoh who had seen all the most elaborate contrivances for safeguarding the tombs of his ancestors fail precisely because the tomb advertised its splendour, and invited attack.

The earlier Theban Pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom had been buried in various localities. We have seen that Mentuhotpe II of the XIth Dynasty had his tomb at El-Deir el-Bahari in close connexion with his mortuary temple. The XIIth Dynasty Pharaohs had their resting-places at Lisht, at Hawâra, at Dahshûr, at El-Lâhûn—all near the centre of gravity of the re-united kingdom. In the troubled Second Intermediate Period the 'Princes of the Southern City', as the Theban kings were known to their Hyksos overlords, had their tombs once more in the neighbourhood of Thebes, at Dirâ 'Abu el-Naga. But with the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty came a desire for change, and Amenophis I made an attempt to break with the old tradition by having his tomb at Dirâ 'Abu el-Naga at some distance from his funerary temple, whose scanty remains lie south of the east end of this

part of the Theban necropolis (though Weigall believes that both tomb and temple of Amenophis I are farther south, the tomb behind Deir el-Medina, and the temple the oldest part of the smaller temple at Medinet Habu (*Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, pp. 223, 230)).

It was Tuthmosis I, however, who first took the bold step of putting his tomb right away up in the deepest recesses of the Valley of the Kings, in spite of the inconvenience which this arrangement would entail upon his spirit. Fortunately we have the actual record of the making of the tomb in the tomb-inscription of Ineni (Anena), who was a high official and clerk of works during the reigns of Amenophis I, Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis II, and Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. Ineni says: 'I attended to the excavation of the cliff-tomb of His Majesty [Tuthmosis I] alone, no one seeing, no one hearing', and then he goes on to tell us how diligent he was over such work, and how he tried experiments with different kinds of plaster, so as to secure the best results in the decoration of the tombs. 'It was a job such as the ancestors had not done,' he remarks, 'which I was obliged to do there.' And he adds: 'I shall be praised for my wisdom in after years, by those who shall imitate that which I have done.' The point which excites one's curiosity about the old clerk of works' bragging is: How did he secure the silence of his workmen? Such a job as the excavation of even the very humble cliff-tomb of Tuthmosis I must have needed the services of at least some scores of labourers, to say nothing of a few skilled workmen; how did he shut the mouths of all these? One simple solution suggests itself; but it seems hard to charge a worthy man like Ineni, who tells us that he never swore in his life, with the wholesale slaughter that it involves. Besides, if he slew his labourers, who were probably foreign slaves, what did he do with the skilled workmen who were almost certainly native Egyptians?

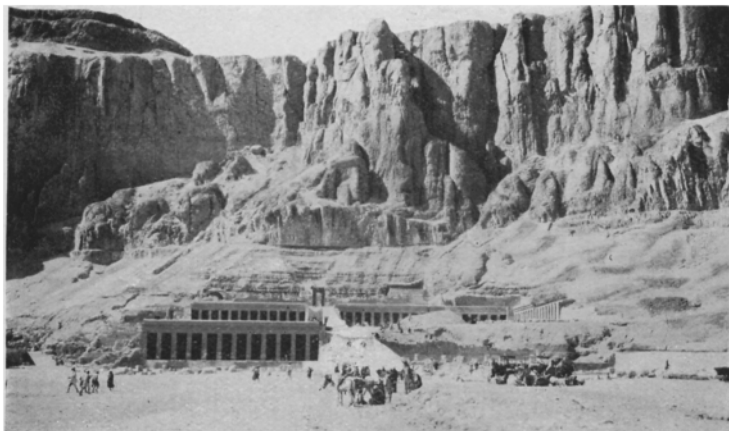
The tomb of which Ineni was so proud (No. 38) is a very modest specimen of a royal hypogaeum; and, indeed, though his forecast was justified, and the kings of after years did imitate what he had done, it will be noticed that the general rule is that the earlier tombs in the valley, in accordance with what was the essence of the plan, are on the whole inconspicuous, as regards their outward aspect and entrance, compared with the later ones. It was only in the XXth Dynasty, when sad experience had taught the Pharaohs that concealment of their tombs did not

give the security they had hoped for, that the kings of the Rameside time abandoned the idea of concealment and made the entrances to their tombs conspicuous, preferring to trust the security of their mummies to enormous blocks of hollowed stone. In general the principle is: early tombs, inconspicuous entrances, decoration confined to the inner chambers, the sarcophagus considerably less in size than the later specimens; later tombs, more imposing entrances, decoration from the very entrance, the sarcophagus a huge mass of granite weighing several tons. Thus the breakdown of the system of concealment may be traced.

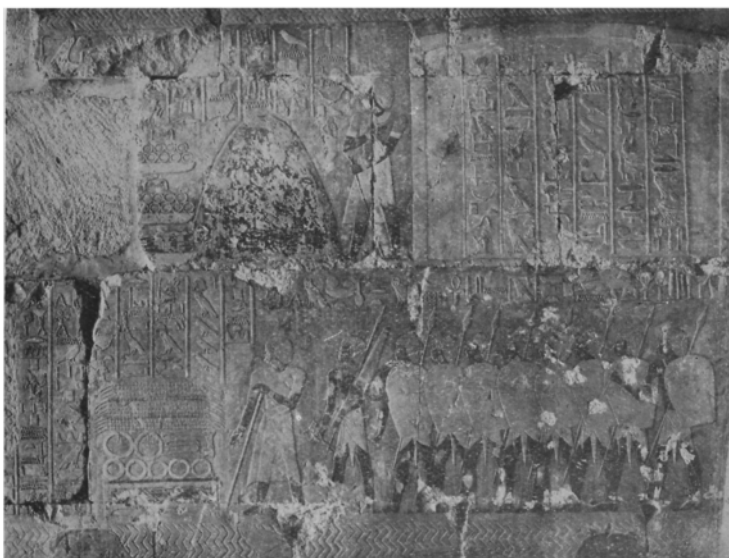
The royal tombs in the valley are those of the XVIIIth, XIXth, and XXth Dynasties. With the Ramesside Pharaohs of the XXth Dynasty, the record, so far, stops. It is noteworthy, however, that the mummies of some of the priest-kings of the XXIst Dynasty were found in the great c ache at El-Deir el-Bahari in 1881, so that it seems likely that they were originally buried at no great distance from Thebes. There still remains, therefore, the possibility that the burial-place of this line of Pharaohs may be discovered, and that another find on the scale of that of the tomb of Tutankham un may reward some fortunate excavator; though it should be remembered that by the time of the XXIst Dynasty Egypt was far on the way downhill, so that it is improbable that anything like so much treasure was buried with each Pharaoh as had been the case in the more prosperous days of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

There must have been a time when more wealth, both in sheer bullion and in artistic craftsmanship, was stored away in this desolate valley than in any other spot in the world; but it is highly improbable that it lasted for very long, or, indeed, that even all the treasures of a single dynasty remained intact at its close, or for more than a few years after. We have seen how scheme after scheme failed in its turn; the gigantic pyramids of the Old Kingdom, the elaborate puzzle-passages of the modest pyramids of the Middle Kingdom, alike proved powerless against the hereditary skill of the native Egyptian tomb-robber. It was not long before the new scheme of the concealed tomb in the Valley of the Kings and the mortuary temple on the western plain proved as futile as its predecessors.

How rotten the whole system of concealment had become was fully proved in the later days of the XXth Dynasty. It must be



GENERAL VIEW



DETAIL OF RELIEF SCULPTURE

TEMPLE OF EL-DEIR EL-BAHARI

PLATE XIII



CENTRAL AREA



ENTRANCE TO THE VALLEY

THE VALLEY OF THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS

remembered that by this time, and indeed for long before, the Thebes of the western bank had become a great city, not only peopled by the dead, but by a large and peculiarly turbulent population of labourers and craftsmen, whose whole occupation was confined within the walls of the necropolis, and by a considerable number of priests whose work was to carry on the funerary rites of the various tombs of the nobles and such commoners as could afford the endowment of their tombs. The reputation of these priests, as is evident from the records, was by no means savoury, and altogether the western city needed careful looking after, as its police, however numerous they might be, were always open, like true Orientals, to wink at irregularities which promised to yield them a reward for their complacency.

It is possible that during the period of the early XVIIIth Dynasty the strong rule of the hard-hitting Pharaohs of the time kept the valley and its treasures fairly safe, though the fact that Queen Hatshepsut had shifted the sarcophagus of her father, Tuthmosis I, to her own tomb does not encourage such a belief. But once the bonds of society had been loosed by the crisis of Akhenaten's time, tomb-robbing once more became a laudable and lucrative occupation in Thebes. Tutankhamûn's tomb was entered, though apparently only with haste and with little result, within ten or fifteen years of his death ; a few years later, in the eighth year of Haremhab, that Pharaoh had to issue instructions to an official ' to renew the burial of King Tuthmosis IV, justified, in the Precious Habitation in Western Thebes ', which shows that the robbers had been meddling even with the Pharaohs of the great time of the Empire. It is possible that the stronger rule of Seti I and Ramses II may have brought greater security to the valley for a while ; but when Ramses III had passed away, and the Ramesside line was dribbling to its inglorious close, conditions became rapidly worse.

The revelation of how bad things were was due to municipal rivalry. The mayor of Thebes of the Living had a quarrel with the mayor of Thebes of the Dead, and, having secured some rather unreliable evidence of the state of things on the western bank, brought an accusation against his rival's tolerance of the robberies of the royal tombs. The conduct of the commission which was appointed to look into the matter did little credit to Egyptian fairmindedness and integrity ; but at last the evidence of unquestionable facts proved too strong, and a number of

the robbers were convicted and sentenced. The details which the robbers gave, with quite unblushing impudence, of their treatment of the royal mummies are somewhat grisly reading. It is evident that by this time even the tombs of the greatest of the Pharaohs, such as Amenophis III, Seti I, and Ramses II, were being broken into; and the conviction of the robbers did little to check the nefarious trade. By the next dynasty, the helpless priests had given up the attempt to safeguard the bodies of the kings, and in frantic terror were hustling the mummies of the greatest Pharaohs of Egypt from one hiding-place to another in a vain attempt to save them from the plunderer and the torch with which he often completed his gruesome work. Most of the mummies which were found at El-Deir el-Bahari and in the tomb of Amenophis II bear upon their wrappings a docket stating that they had been reburied in this way. Ramses III, we know, was thus reburied three times! Finally thirteen royalties were packed together into the tomb of Amenophis II, and something like forty more were huddled into the great *câche* in an unfinished tomb at El-Deir el-Bahari. There for nearly thirty centuries they found the security and peace which had been denied them in their own tombs, until in the early seventies of the last century it became evident that some of the indefatigable tomb-robbers of Thebes had discovered their resting-place.

The proceedings taken by the authorities against the 'Abd el-Rastîl family, which was suspected of guilty knowledge, may not have been in accordance with Western ideas of justice, being, indeed, strikingly similar to the primitive modes of punishment with which the Egyptian reliefs have made us familiar; but they were effectual, and the result was the greatest discovery of royal mummies which has ever rewarded any archaeologist (July, 1881). Emil Brugsch did not, indeed, find anything like the quantity of funerary furniture along with his forty royalties as did Howard Carter in the tomb of Tutankhamûn, for the El-Deir el-Bahari *câche* had been created for the single purpose of preserving royal immortality by preserving the mummy; but his find contained the very cream of the Egyptian kingship—Tuthmosis III, Seti I, Ramses II, and many others only less distinguished than these. Hatshepsut was missing, nor has the whereabouts of the great queen's body ever been disclosed, though it is not unlikely that she is one of the royal ladies who have not been identified owing to the muddling up of the mummies

in the panic of the priests. Nor was Meneptah present ; a fact which careless readers of the Bible—who believed, as everybody did at that date, that he was the Pharaoh of the Exodus—attributed to the fact that he was drowned in the Red Sea.

A few years later (1898) M. Loret, acting on information secretly supplied from native sources, discovered the tomb of Amenophis II, which is now No. 35 in the valley. It had been plundered ; but to make up for the loss of much of its funerary furniture, it had another treasure of royal mummies. Amenophis II was found resting in his sarcophagus, the solitary Pharaoh who had been so found up to the time of this discovery ; and with him lay the famous bow, of which he boasted that no one else of his army or of the foreign princes could draw it. Keeping him company were Tuthmosis IV, and his son, the magnificent Amenophis III, two great Pharaohs coupled with such nonentities as Ramses IV, V, and VI ; while the missing Meneptah also put in an appearance, though he had in the interval lost much of the interest which he would have excited in 1881, owing to the fact that Petrie had discovered in 1896 the Triumph Stele which went far to depose him from the ' bad eminence ' of being the Pharaoh of the Exodus. The experiment was tried of leaving Amenophis II to rest in his sarcophagus as he was found, under the blue gold-starred roof of his tomb ; but the result was not encouraging. In 1901 the tomb was attacked by armed robbers, the guards driven off, after putting up, according to their own testimony, a stout resistance, and the great king was ruthlessly tumbled out of his sarcophagus on to the floor, while most of what was left of his funerary equipment was stolen. It was fairly well known where the guilt of this sacrilege lay ; but it was not found possible to secure a conviction from the native court, which possibly regarded the attempt to secure such a thing as an indefensible infringement upon the ancient right of tomb-robbery. The commission of Ramses IX, three thousand years before, had held much the same opinion, judging from the fishy character of its proceedings.

In 1902, a wealthy American, Mr. T. M. Davis, united forces with the Egyptian Department of Antiquities in a series of excavations which proved highly successful. Mr. Davis provided the necessary funds for the work, which was conducted by skilled servants of the Department, such as Mr. Quibell, Mr. Howard Carter, Mr. Weigall, and the late Mr. Edward Ayrton ; while

Mr. Davis found his reward in becoming the instrument without which this valuable work might not have been done at the time. Under this convenient arrangement Mr. Howard Carter in 1903 discovered the tomb of Tuthmosis IV, which, though long since rifled, still contained some valuable work, including the front of the royal war-chariot. In 1905 Mr. Weigall discovered for Mr. Davis the tomb of Prince Yuya and his wife Thuyu, the father and mother of Amenophis III's favourite wife, Queen Tiye. Though, strictly speaking, not a royal tomb, this unpretentious sepulchre contained the finest equipment of funerary furniture which had ever been discovered up to this date. In 1906 the tomb of Siptah, one of the less-known Pharaohs of the end of the XIXth Dynasty, was discovered by Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Davis; and in 1908, the tomb of Queen Tausret, Siptah's wife—queen also in her own right—was discovered, with some valuable jewellery, by the same workers. In 1907, Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Davis came upon an undecorated tomb of little apparent importance, which proved to have been used as the tomb of Queen Tiye, and to have been subsequently employed for the interment of a royal mummy which was to all appearances that of Akhenaten, the queen's unfortunate son. The identification of the mummy with Akhenaten has been questioned; but the balance of evidence seems to be in its favour. Finally in 1908 Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Davis lighted upon the rifled, but finely-painted tomb of Haremhab, the usurping Pharaoh who restored order to Egypt after the dislocation wrought by the religious revolution under Akhenaten. They also discovered a burial-pit which they took to be the tomb of Tutankhamûn; but in this belief they were fortunately mistaken, the pit having been used simply as a hiding-place for some of the loot taken from the real tomb of Tutankhamûn when it was rifled soon after the young Pharaoh's interment.

Writing in 1912 the preface to his account of the finding of the tomb of Haremhab, Mr. Davis remarked: 'I fear that the Valley of the Tombs is now exhausted.' Belzoni, nearly a hundred years before, had been of the same opinion: 'It is my firm opinion that in the valley of Beban el Malook there are no more tombs than are now known in consequence of my late discoveries.' Fortunately, just as Mr. Davis had himself disproved Belzoni's verdict, so in turn his own opinion was to be overthrown by one of his own collaborators. In 1916 Mr. Howard Carter rescued from the hands of tomb-robbers the earlier tomb which Queen

Hatshepsut had constructed for herself, before she made the large tomb in the valley which has long been known, and which was cleared by Davis and Carter in 1903. This early tomb lay high up in the face of a cliff on the western side of the mountain overlooking the Valley of the Kings. It contained nothing but a fine unfinished sarcophagus of crystalline sandstone, which was removed with considerable difficulty from its lofty perch to the Cairo Museum (No. 6024, G. 33, west). In June 1914 the concession to Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Howard Carter to dig in the valley was signed by Sir Gaston Maspero, who frankly remarked that he did not believe that the area would reward further investigation. It was not till 1917 that work actually began, and for five years it yielded comparatively poor results. Indeed the winter of 1922-3 was to be the final season of the two excavators in the valley. It had only begun when (November 4, 1922) the first indications were reached of a discovery which was to surpass, in the quantity and variety of its artistic results, anything that had previously been attained in the valley, and to become a world's wonder even for a little longer than the usual nine days. With the story of the finding of the tomb of Tutankhamûn the modern history of the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings closes for the present, though we have no warrant for the belief that the interruption is more than a temporary one. Since Pococke's visit in 1737 (account published in 1743), it had been a chequered story. Bruce, the famous Abyssinian traveller, who visited the valley in 1769, found the tombs partly occupied by a most intractable set of rascals, whose behaviour showed that Pococke's sheikh, a quarter of a century before, had ample warrant for his haste to leave the habitation of these bandits. Bruce made copies of the figures of harpers in the tomb (Ramses III) which still goes by his name; but on his departure from the valley he and his servant had to stand off the native population with a musket and a blunderbuss. Napoleon's savants had to get the help of the army and to drive out the natives with artillery and burning brush-wood before work on the tombs was practicable. Nowadays the *fellahîn* have learned that there are more profitable ways than highway robbery of utilizing the harmless tourist; but perhaps the results are much the same to the tourist. In Belzoni's time, 1815-20, the danger had shifted, and while the excavator had more to dread from his fellow and rival excavators, who as Mr. Howard Carter has put it, 'laid for

him with a gun ' on the slightest difference of opinion, the main risk was now to the tombs and their contents, and arose from the somewhat summary methods of the early explorers of the valley. Of these, Belzoni, was perhaps the best, and Mr. Carter has given him the certificate that ' on the whole his work was extraordinarily good ' ; but when we remember that this work included the opening of sealed tomb-doors by means of a battering-ram of palm logs, and testing whether the hair of mummies was real or supposititious by the simple process of tugging it until it came away in the hand, it is evident that ' on the whole ' , like charity, covers a multitude of sins. Salt, Drovetti, Passalacqua and others were Belzoni's contemporaries in these great days ; and in spite of the defects of their methods their work has filled the galleries of European museums with many of the best specimens which adorn them.

The dawn of the scientific period came with Champollion, and was distinguished by such names as those of Hay, Rosellini, Wilkinson (the first to number the royal tombs), and Rhind. Then in 1844 the great German Expedition under Lepsius made its elaborate survey of the valley, and its partial clearance of the tomb of Ramses II and that of Meneptah. With the thoroughness of Lepsius, it seemed to be taken for granted that the possibilities of the valley had been exhausted, and investigation slumbered for thirty years until the prosperity of the ' Abd el-Rasûl family led to the discovery of the c che at El-Deir el-Bahari which had been the family bank for years. With that resounding discovery we are in touch with modern days.

The number of tombs in the valley has been very variously estimated in different ages. In Strabo's time the estimate was that forty tombs were open ; Diodorus speaks of seventeen, and mentions that the priestly register of tombs recorded forty-seven ; Napoleon's Expedition mentions eleven ; Belzoni's account admits that there may be eighteen, if some of the lesser tombs, which he does not allow to be royal, be reckoned ; Pococke enumerates fourteen, most of which are still recognizable from his careful description. The present numbering goes up to sixty-two ; but of these a certain number are not in any sense royal tombs, and some are only small and uninscribed burial-pits. The number of tombs at present accessible is only seventeen ; and while the enthusiast may wish to inspect all of these, the ordinary visitor will probably feel that he is satisfied with the sight of

**-Sketch Map-
VALLEY OF THE TOMBS
OF THE KINGS**

Map showing the Valley of the Kings and Valley of the Queens, with various tombs and structures labeled. The map includes a scale bar (0 to 100 feet / 0 to 30 meters) and a north arrow.

Tombs and Structures:

- Valley of the Kings:** KV 45 (Userhet), KV 44 (Not identified), KV 28 (Not identified), KV 27 (Not identified), KV 21 (Not identified), KV 20 (Queen Hatshepsut), KV 19 (Prince Mentherkopshe), KV 43 (Tutmosis II), KV 34 (Tutmosis III), KV 32 (Not identified), KV 37 (Not identified), KV 31 (Not identified), KV 30 (Not identified), KV 26 (Not identified), KV 25 (Not identified), KV 24 (Not identified), KV 23 (Not identified), KV 22 (Not identified), KV 21 (Not identified), KV 20 (Queen Hatshepsut), KV 19 (Prince Mentherkopshe), KV 18 (Late Ramesses II (Engine room)), KV 17 (Seti I), KV 16 (Ankhesen), KV 15 (Seti II), KV 14 (Sethankht), KV 13 (Chancellor Bay), KV 12 (Ankhnes), KV 11 (Ankhesen), KV 10 (Ramesses II), KV 9 (Ankhesen), KV 8 (Merneptah), KV 7 (Ramesses II), KV 6 (Ramesses II), KV 5 (Ankhesen), KV 4 (Ankhesen), KV 3 (Ankhesen), KV 2 (Ankhesen), KV 1 (Ankhesen).
- Valley of the Queens:** KV 20 (Queen Hatshepsut), KV 19 (Prince Mentherkopshe), KV 43 (Tutmosis II), KV 34 (Tutmosis III), KV 32 (Not identified), KV 37 (Not identified), KV 31 (Not identified), KV 30 (Not identified), KV 26 (Not identified), KV 25 (Not identified), KV 24 (Not identified), KV 23 (Not identified), KV 22 (Not identified), KV 21 (Not identified), KV 20 (Queen Hatshepsut), KV 19 (Prince Mentherkopshe), KV 18 (Late Ramesses II (Engine room)), KV 17 (Seti I), KV 16 (Ankhesen), KV 15 (Seti II), KV 14 (Sethankht), KV 13 (Chancellor Bay), KV 12 (Ankhnes), KV 11 (Ankhesen), KV 10 (Ramesses II), KV 9 (Ankhesen), KV 8 (Merneptah), KV 7 (Ramesses II), KV 6 (Ramesses II), KV 5 (Ankhesen), KV 4 (Ankhesen), KV 3 (Ankhesen), KV 2 (Ankhesen), KV 1 (Ankhesen).

Scale: 0 to 100 feet / 0 to 30 meters.

North Arrow: Pointing towards the top of the map.

34 TUTHMOSIS III

34 TUTHMOSIS III

perhaps eight of them. Mr. Weigall's list of the seven tombs best worth seeing is as follows (*Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, p. 185) :

- No. 35. Tomb of Amenophis II as an example of a mid-XVIIIth Dynasty tomb, in which the royal mummy still lies in its sarcophagus.
- No. 16. Tomb of Ramses I, shows the development of the entrance and passage, and of the painting.
- No. 17. Tomb of Seti I, the finest tomb in the valley, with admirable XIXth Dynasty relief work and paintings.
- No. 8. Tomb of Menepthah with the beautiful sarcophagus.
- No. 11. Tomb of Ramses III, imposing, though of inferior workmanship to the earlier work of the tomb of Seti I.
- No. 9. Tomb of Ramses V, usurped by Ramses VI, good example of late Ramesside work.
- No. 6. Tomb of Ramses IX, one of the latest tombs of the valley.

These tombs are all lighted by electricity, so that they are seen under the best conditions. The tomb of Tutankhamûn (Baedeker No. 58, Government Survey No. 62) is also lighted, and should, of course, be added to the above list, as being of exceptional interest in view of what is left *in situ*, even after the removal to Cairo of the most precious of its treasures. Of the remaining accessible but unlighted tombs, Nos. 1-4 may be disregarded, as being of little interest; 14, 15, 19 may also be omitted unless there is plenty of time to spare, though 19 is an interesting example of a princely tomb. No. 34, the tomb of Tuthmosis III, is worthy of a visit, were it only for the sake of Egypt's greatest Pharaoh; but it is somewhat difficult of access. No. 47 has the remains of a finely painted ceiling and other good painted work, but is otherwise of no great interest.

It will at once be noticed that the decoration of the royal tombs is of a totally different type from that with which we have become familiar in the mastabas of the Old Kingdom, and the rock-tombs of the Middle Kingdom, or that which we shall shortly see in the mortuary chapels of the Theban nobles. In these it had been and was the custom to cover the walls of the tomb-chapel with scenes representing the routine of daily life, its labours and pleasures, the idea being that the presence of these

representations on the walls secured the continuance to the dead man of all his activities. But in the tombs of the kings at Bibân el-Meluqe, all this is changed entirely, and, instead of the lively pictures of life in Egypt which have helped us so greatly to realize and understand the Egyptian and his conception of what life should be, we are confronted with an endless series of gloomy and often monstrous texts of a sacred nature, which were supposed to ensure for the Pharaoh a complete and triumphant life in the underworld. By the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, the ancient funerary texts, such as the *Pyramid Texts*, which had been inscribed within the pyramids of the later days of the Old Kingdom, had been superseded by the much more elaborate formulae of the *Book of the Dead* and its kindred volumes, *The Book of That which [or Him Who] is in the Underworld*, *The Book of Gates*, and *The Sun's Journey through the Underworld*; while recourse was also had, to make assurance doubly sure, to two other magical books, *The Book of the Litanies of Ré*, and *The Book of the Opening of the Mouth*. The scenes on the walls of the royal tombs consist almost entirely of representations of the incidents in these books, and especially from the *Book of the Underworld*, the *Book of Gates*, and *The Sun's Journey*; the *Book of the Dead* being only used as an additional security in a few cases such as the tomb of Seti I and that of Tuthmosis III, where several chapters of the book were inscribed, in the former case, upon the sarcophagus, and in the latter one important chapter was written upon the swathings of the mummy.

The reason for this departure from ordinary Egyptian funerary practice is twofold. In the first place, Pharaoh, being himself a god, 'The Good God', had no need, as his subjects had, for pictured representations of earthly life, to secure for him the continuance of these creature comforts in the underworld. All that he needed was the complete ritual and mythology of the spirit world into which he was now entering as upon his own inheritance; and therefore he had no pictures of his ordinary life painted upon his tomb. It has been held that this confidence went to the extent of not having any material comforts of life, such as are often found in the tombs of commoners, buried along with him; but the finding of the chariot of Tuthmosis IV, and the bow of Amenophis II indicates that this was not so, and the opposite has been conclusively proved by the discovery of the extraordinarily rich provision in the tomb of Tutankhamûn.

Egyptian religious practice was obviously not entirely consistent in this detail, any more than in other aspects of belief and practice. The other reason is that the rock-tombs of the Valley of the Kings do not correspond to the tomb-chapels of the nobles in any respect. What they really correspond to is the actual burial-shafts of the tombs of the nobles, which are not decorated at all. The royal mortuary temple on the plain is the thing which corresponds to the mortuary chapel of the courtier ; and on the walls of the mortuary temple, the royal hero is represented either in his warlike aspect, as on the outside walls, or as communing with his fellow-gods on the inside. So that there is no really vital discrepancy between the two systems, the real difference being that the Pharaoh's needs in the underworld are of a more heroic type, as might be expected from his divine nature, and are therefore met by the more sacred scenes of the temple, while his security in the underworld is more thoroughly secured by his pictured tomb, whereas the burial-shaft of his noble contained no such provision, and he had to secure himself by carrying with him a manuscript of the *Book of the Dead* or some kindred volume.

Accordingly the pictures which we meet with in the royal tombs are simply the translation into pictorial form of the religious conceptions and theories of the books which have been mentioned. They relate in the main to two ideas : first a solar belief, in which the dead king is identified with Rê the sun-god, and, second an Osirian belief, in which he is identified with Osiris. As the sun disappeared at night beneath the horizon, so the Pharaoh on his death disappeared from the world ; as the sun was believed to journey in his barque by night through the twelve divisions of the underworld, which were marked by the twelve hours, so the dead Pharaoh, absorbed into or identified with the sun, journeyed in the solar barque through the twelve realms of the dead, bringing life and light to them as he passed ; finally, as the sun rose again in the morning, so, in theory, the Pharaoh would return to life when the eternal morning came. In the meantime he had to be possessed of all the knowledge and all the magical formulae which would enable him to pass the twelve portals of the divisions of the underworld, and to overcome the serpents by which they were guarded ; and the easiest way to secure this was to depict and inscribe it all upon the walls of his tomb.

The other belief was that of the Pharaoh's identification with Osiris—a belief which was gradually democratized till it applied, not only to royalty, but to every dead person. Osiris was unjustly slain, and after his death unjustly accused before the gods, and justified in their presence. So the king passed under the power of death, and was justified (of course merely a formality in his case, as he was a god already) ; and thereafter he entered, as Osiris, into his eternal kingdom. It is to satisfy this latter conception that we find some of the chapters of the *Book of the Dead* inscribed in the tombs, insisting on the Osirian view, rather than on the solar.

While all this has its own interest from the point of view of the development of Egyptian religious thought, it must be confessed that it makes the walls of the royal tombs singularly dull and monotonous—a sad contrast to the abounding life and interest of the mortuary chapels of the nobles. Nor is the dullness in any way lessened by the quite obvious fact that the ancient scribes who were responsible for the transcription of the religious texts and the choice of the scenes very often had not the least conception of the meaning of what they were writing or causing to be depicted, but regarded the meaningless jargon merely as a part of the magical hocus-pocus, all the more potent if unintelligible, which infallibly secured the royal blessedness in the world beyond. There is much that is of extreme interest in Egyptian religious conceptions ; but the Valley of the Kings is not the place to seek it, and the endless repetitions of uncomprehended and incomprehensible formulae, and of scenes which are as unintelligible as the texts they are supposed to illustrate induce a feeling of deadly monotony very different from the impression of vitality and human interest produced by the chapels of the nobles. A kind of morbid interest may be created for a while by the grim and weird representations of monsters, serpents, demons, headless enemies, and all the other paraphernalia of a world which never was nor will be ; but it soon gives place to mere weariness, and even the beautiful workmanship of a tomb such as that of Seti I cannot altogether atone for the uninteresting character of the subjects upon which it has been bestowed.

The valley is now kept in a state of complete order, which, while undoubtedly adding to the comfort of the visitor and the security of the priceless relics of antiquity which it contains, detracts no less certainly from the impression of wild and desolate

loneliness which it formerly gave. It is not altogether easy to reconcile dreams of the romance of the grim valley of the past with trim paths, sentry-boxes and iron gateways; yet such things are necessities of the case, and help to preserve for the future such a mass of extraordinary and wonderful work as is unparalleled elsewhere in the world. The lighted tombs are lit for visitors on three days a week, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, in the morning only. If possible, it would be well for those whose time is limited to take the tombs which they desire to see in the order in which they have already been classified, so that the progress of the development of the royal tomb of the Empire may be followed consecutively. If it is desired to visit any other tombs than those which have been mentioned as accessible, this may be done subject to permission being obtained from the Chief Inspector of Antiquities, Luxor; but the average visitor will probably find enough to satisfy, if not to satiate curiosity within the limits of the accessible seventeen, if not within those of the lighted eight. The tombs are now mentioned in the order of numbering of the 1/1000-scale map of the Egyptian Government Survey. The numbers coincide with those given by Baedeker, except in two instances. Tutankhamûn's tomb, which is numbered 58 in Baedeker, is numbered 62 in the Government Survey map, and No. 58 of the Survey map is the *câche*, close to the tomb of Haremhab (No. 57), in which Mr. Davis discovered the objects stolen from the real tomb of Tutankhamûn.

NO. 1. TOMB OF RAMSES X

This tomb lies on the right-hand side of the road, in a little valley which leads westwards from a point before the barrier at the entrance to the valley is reached. It is of no particular interest, though it is accessible. The scenes represent the Pharaoh worshipping Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and Atûm Harakhte. The priest who acts the part of Horus-the-Supporter-of-his-Mother at the funeral purifies the dead Pharaoh, who is represented as Osiris. The burial-chamber has a rough granite sarcophagus, unfinished, and a figure of Nût, the sky-goddess, on the roof. There are *graffiti* of the Greek period on the walls, so that the tomb was open at that time.

No. 2. TOMB OF RAMSES IV

Lies on right-hand side of road, just outside of the barrier. Ramses IV reigned for about six years, 1172-1166 B.C. His tomb was robbed at an early date, for his mummy must have been broken up before the priests removed the batch of Pharaohs to the tomb of Amenophis II, as they could only find his empty coffin, which they duly hid. The tomb, though not often visited, has interest from the fact that the architect's plan of it still exists in the museum at Turin, as readers of the literature of the tomb of Tutankhamûn will remember. Over the entrance is the sun's disk of Rê, and within it the Beetle of Khepri and the ram-headed figure of Atûm, thus giving the full emblems of the rising sun, the sun in his strength, and the setting sun. This device will be found elsewhere also, e.g., in the tomb of Seti I. Isis and Nephthys worship the disk on either side. The designs and inscriptions are much mutilated, having been executed on plaster, which has largely fallen off. The inscriptions were largely from the *Book of the Litanyes of Rê* and the *Book of the Dead*. The great granite sarcophagus still remains in the burial-chamber. It is over 10 feet long by 7 feet wide, and over 8 feet high. The left-hand wall of the chamber has inscriptions and scenes from chapters I and II of the *Book of Gates*; on the right-hand wall are portions of the chapters III and IV of the same book, with illustrations. The roof of the chamber has a figure of Nût, with the constellations marked upon her body. Beyond the burial-chamber is a corridor with chambers leading off from it. The scenes and inscriptions here represent the sun's journey through the underworld. There are Coptic scenes on the right-hand wall of the entrance-passage, one of them being the figure of 'Apa Ammonious, the martyr'; there are also many Coptic scrawls.

No. 3

This tomb, to the left of the road, was originally begun for Ramses III, but was abandoned; possibly because the rock was found to be of poor quality.

No. 4. A LATE RAMSES, POSSIBLY RAMSES XII, THE LAST
RAMESSIDE PHARAOH

The tomb is unfinished, and the decoration has advanced no

farther than a few outlines finely drawn in red paint near the entrance, where the king worships the God of the Four Winds, with his four rams' heads, Harakhte, and Mertseger ' the regent of the west ' (c. 1100).

No. 5

Not identified, on the left of the road, close to the barrier.

No. 6. TOMB OF RAMSES IX

This Pharaoh, sometimes reckoned as Ramses X, reigned c. 1156-1136. He was the Pharaoh in whose reign the famous commission for the investigation of the robberies of the royal tombs carried out its laborious and reluctant operations. All its labours did not, however, save him from the fate which had overtaken other monarchs at the hands of the thieves. His mummy was not found in either of the two hiding-places, though a part of his burial furniture was in the *câche* at El-Deir el-Bahari. The tomb is on the left hand immediately after the barrier is passed, and its entrance is an admirable illustration of the change which had come over the royal tombs since the first tomb was opened in the valley. It is now evident that the idea of concealment had been given up, and that the Ramesside Pharaohs were now trusting simply to the mass of the great sarcophagus to protect the mummy—a security which proved as futile as all the others which had preceded it. The tomb is lighted, and is approached by a flight of stairs, with an inclined plane in the middle for convenience in sliding down the sarcophagus.

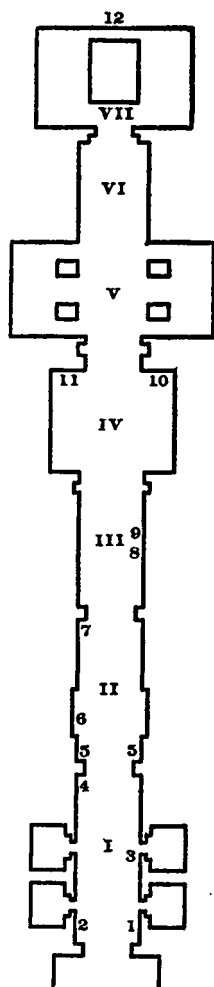
On entering the first corridor, we see (1) on the right a figure of the king offering to Amen-Ra-Harakhte, and to Mertseger, the goddess of the dead, ' the Lover of Silence ', while on the opposite wall (2) he stands before Harakhte and Osiris. A little farther on two pairs of undecorated side-chambers. On the right hand (3) notice nine serpents, followed by nine bull-headed demons, nine figures enclosed in a cartouche oval, and nine jackal-headed figures. These are enneads, or triple trinities of beings of the underworld, and illustrate the sun's journey through the underworld, part of the text of this book being given. On the left (4) is the text of chapter CXXV of the *Book of the Dead*, the so-called ' Negative Confession ' in which the deceased professes his sinlessness. Beneath the text a priest in the guise of

Horus-the-Supporter-of-his-Mother purifies the dead Pharaoh, now identified with Osiris. The priest in this case wears the side-lock of a royal prince, so that he is probably one of the sons of the dead king. The four chambers were probably used for the storage of funerary offerings.

The second corridor has on either hand (5, 5) a serpent guarding the door. The one on the right is said to 'watch the gate of Osiris', while that on the left watches the door 'for him who dwells in the tomb'. On the left (6) the king goes forward into the tomb, accompanied by Hathor; and farther on (7) an inscription from the *Book of the Dead* is followed by a figure of the king appearing in the presence of Khonsu-Neferhetep-Shu, who addresses him in these terms: 'I give thee my power, my years, my seat, my throne on earth, to become a soul in the underworld. I give thy soul to heaven, and thy body to the underworld for ever.' On the right hand, demons and spirits are enclosed in cartouche ovals. The roof of the corridor is decorated with stars.

We now enter the third corridor, which is guarded, as before, by serpents. On the right wall (8), the king presents an image of Maet (truth) to Ptah, the goddess Maet standing before the great god. Then (9) comes a symbolic representation of the resurrection, in which the dead Pharaoh, as Osiris, is stretched across the mountain of the world, with the sun rising above him, and the scarabaeus beetle coming forth from the solar disk to give new life to the earth. This is followed by rows of weird mythological representations, which contrast forcibly with the piece of simple symbolism just noticed, and show the hocus-pocus aspect of Egyptian priestly ritual at its worst. The left wall shows the journey of the sun through the second hour and part of the third.

In the chamber which we now enter, two priests (10, 11), right and left opposite us, make offering before a standard. The priests



TOMB OF
RAMSES IX (OR X)

wear the royal side-lock as before. We go on through a four-pillared chamber and a downward sloping corridor to the burial-chamber. The granite sarcophagus has disappeared ; but the cavity for holding it is to be seen. The vaulted ceiling has two figures of Nût, the sky-goddess, with constellations, etc. Behind the sarcophagus-cavity (12) the wall shows the child-Horus seated within the winged sun-disk—again a simple symbol of the uprising of new life after death.

NO. 7. TOMB OF RAMSES II

This tomb lies on the right-hand side of the road, opposite that of Ramses IX. The tomb of this famous Pharaoh is not accessible. It was of great length, and is decorated with figures and inscriptions in low relief ; but it is still partly choked with rubbish, and is not altogether safe. Ramses II shared the usual fate of the Pharaohs, and his tomb had already been robbed before the report of the royal commission in the reign of Ramses IX. His mummy was removed, about 1100 B.C., to the tomb of his father Seti I, its wrappings being removed. A generation later the great Pharaoh was supplied with a new coffin. He was removed, somewhere about 973 B.C. to the tomb of Anhapu, for greater security, and, about ten years later, to the tomb of Amenophis II. His wanderings finished with his transference to the c^âche at El-Deirel-Bahari, where he remained in obscurity and peace, until in 1881 he was removed to the Cairo Museum to be kept for a time in a publicity which even he would scarcely have relished. He has now ceased to be a show and a subject of unflattering comment. We now turn sharp to the right, away from the interesting group which includes the tomb of Tutankhamûn and other famous sepulchres, and a short path brings us to

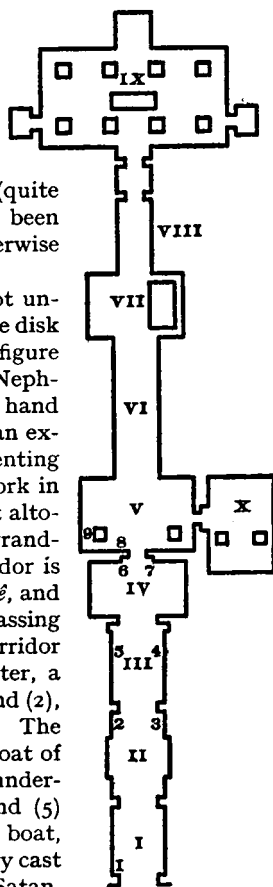
NO. 8

THE TOMB OF MENEPTAH (MENEPHTHES, OR OTHER VARIANT)

This is another of the lighted tombs, and is well worth a visit, especially for the sake of seeing the fine pink granite lid of the inner sarcophagus, which was disclosed when the tomb was cleared of rubbish. Meneptah, who succeeded his father

Ramses II about 1233 B.C., had no better fortune than he. His mummy was re-interred in the tomb of Amenophis II, and was there placed by mistake in the coffin of Setnakht—a proof of the flurry and haste with which the work was done. When it was discovered in 1898, the mistake was found out and rectified by means of the rough docketts on the mummy-bandages. Menepthah's position as the Pharaoh of the Exodus had by this time been shaken by the discovery of his Triumph Stele in 1896, so that the finding of his mummy was no longer such a shock to the people who (quite superfluously) believed him to have been drowned in the Red Sea, as it might otherwise have been.

The entrance has over the door the not uncommon triple representation of the sun, the disk for Rê, with the beetle and the ram-headed figure for Khepri and Atûm; within it Isis and Nephthys adore the triple symbol. On the left hand (1), immediately inside the doorway, is an exceedingly beautiful coloured relief representing Menepthah before Harakhte—a piece of work in itself sufficient to show that art had not altogether declined since the time of the king's grandfather Seti I (see Plate XV). The corridor is adorned with texts from the *Litanies of Rê*, and a symbolical scene shows the sun-disk passing between the two horizons. The second corridor has at its farther end, facing us as we enter, a figure of Isis, with Anubis, on the left hand (2), and another of Nephthys on the right (3). The third corridor has representations of the boat of the sun-god being towed through the underworld (4). In the scene on the left hand (5) notice the presence of Sêth in the solar boat, along with Horus. Sêth was not yet totally cast out and regarded as an equivalent of Satan. The use of the name Seti for two Pharaohs of the XIXth Dynasty indicates that he was still in favour.



TOMB OF
MENEPTAH

In the chamber which we now enter from the corridor, we are faced by two representations—one, to the left (6), of Anubis, with two of the so-called Children of Horus before him; the other, to the right (7), of Horus-Supporter-of-his-Mother, with the other two. The next chamber, which is entered by a short passage, has two pillars. Immediately on the left, as we enter, is the king in the presence of Osiris (8); to the left, again, a block of flint protruding from the roof shows the difficulties which the workmen often found of getting rock suitable for the fine surfaces required for the reliefs or other decorations (9). A stairway leads down from this chamber; and on the right hand another two-pillared chamber opens off from the one in which we stand. This last room is unfinished. Passing down the stairway, we enter another corridor, which leads into a chamber in which lies the great lid of the outer sarcophagus. It would seem that the workmen found difficulties in the way of conveying this great mass of granite into the burial-chamber, and left it where it now lies.

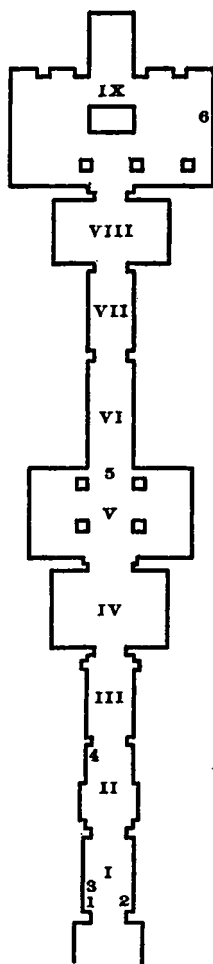
Another corridor brings us into the much-wrecked burial-hall, whose vaulted roof is supported by eight damaged columns. The only object of interest remaining here is the beautiful pink granite lid of the inner sarcophagus, shaped like a cartouche, with the finely carved figure of Meneptah resting upon it, as on a couch. The remainder of the sarcophagus has been destroyed; but this figure is in itself a sufficient demonstration of the quality of Late Empire art. The remaining chambers are inaccessible.

NO. 9. TOMB OF RAMSES VI

This tomb was begun for Ramses V, whose full titulary may be given here, together with that of Ramses VI, who usurped his tomb, as an example of the ridiculous titularies of these Rameside Pharaohs, the length of whose names was in inverse proportion to the strength of their reigns. Ramses V was User-maet-Rê, Sekheper-en Rê, Rameses-Amûn-khopshef-mery-Amûn; Ramses VI was Neb-maet-Rê-mery Amûn Ramesses-Amûn-hir-khopshef-neterheq-ôn! The first section of both of these centipede titularies was a copy of a famous Pharaonic titulary of earlier days: that of Ramses V, User-maet-Rê, of Ramses II; that of Ramses VI, Neb-maet-Rê, of a still more famous Pharaoh

of still earlier times—Amenophis III. Amenophis II, Nebmaet-Rê, was the Pharaoh whom the Greeks recognized as Memnon, as we have seen in connexion with the colossi. It was natural, therefore, for Greek tradition to associate this tomb also with Amenophis III, and to call it the Tomb of Memnon. A Greek *graffito* tells us that 'Hermogenes of Amasa had seen and admired the tombs, but this tomb of Memnon, after he had examined it, he more than admired'. It is not likely that modern opinion will subscribe to the enthusiasm of Hermogenes, for the reliefs, which are *en creux*, well preserved and coloured though they may be, are poor compared with such work as we have just seen in the tomb of Menephtah, and what we shall shortly see in that of Seti I. Nevertheless the tomb, which is lighted, is well worth a visit. It lies immediately above the tomb of Tutankhamûn, which must obviously have been forgotten and lost to sight before the later tomb was excavated, as it was covered up entirely with debris thrown out from the work above, and with the huts of the labourers of Ramses VI.

It has the usual three entrance corridors, of which the first has on the left wall a figure of the Pharaoh before Harakhte and Osiris (1), and on the right a similar scene (2); while the barque of the sun among the twelve hours of the night, a little farther on to the left (3), is quaintly turned upside down to show that the scene is in the underworld. In all these corridors are representations of the adventures of the sun in his journey through the underworld, and special notice may be given to the one in corridor two, where, above a figure of Osiris (4), is the boat of the sun, with a pig, always a detested animal, and here representing a wicked soul, being driven away from it by the sacred dog-headed apes. After the third corridor comes a chamber, from which we pass into a hall with four pillars. On



TOMB OF
RAMSES V AND VI

the ceiling is the goddess Nût, and to right and left the two-winged serpents of the underworld stretch downwards. On three of the pillars the king sacrifices to various gods of the dead ; and above the farther door he burns incense before Osiris (5). The next two corridors have representations of the underworld journey of the sun as recorded in the *Book of That which is in the Underworld*. These lead into an antechamber, which is adorned with inscriptions and scenes from the *Book of the Dead*. Chapter CXXV, the Negative Confession, is on the left wall. The burial-hall, which opens out of this ante-room, has in its midst the broken granite sarcophagus. The walls have texts relating to the underworld. On the right wall is a scene of the boat of the sun, with Khepri, the beetle, and the ram-headed Atûm, representing the rising and the setting sun (6). The sky across which the boat is being towed is upheld by two lions, while two human-headed birds, the souls of the gods of the sunrise and the sunset, worship the sun as he passes. On the ceiling are astronomical scenes, in which Nût, the sky-goddess, figures twice, as presiding over the day and the night. She is accompanied by the hours.

NO. 10. TOMB OF AMENMESSES

This Pharaoh succeeded Menepthah, *c.* 1215 B.C., but only reigned for a short time, and was not recognized later as having been in the regular line. The inscriptions and figures of his tomb were erased after his death, perhaps by Siptah, who succeeded him in virtue of his marriage with Queen Tausret. The tomb lies immediately opposite the southern end of that of Tutankhamûn. It was unwittingly broken into by Setnakht, the founder of the XXth Dynasty, who in the making of his own tomb drove his gallery into the earlier tomb, not knowing it was there—a fact which shows that concealment, in this case at least, had been a reality. Setnakht in consequence abandoned his newly begun tomb, which was afterwards continued and used by his son, Ramses III.

NO. 11

TOMB OF RAMSES III

Setnakht and Ramses III had both bad luck with their first tombs. Setnakht, as we have just seen, abandoned his on finding

that he had pierced the wall of that of Amenmesses. Ramses III began tomb No. 3, but abandoned it owing to the poor quality of the rock. Each solved his difficulty in his own fashion—Setnakht, by usurping No. 14, the tomb of Tausret; Ramses by taking up again his father's abandoned tomb, and changing its course, so that it should not interfere with the tomb of Amenmesses. He was buried here; but his body was carried off by the priests and was found in the *câche* at El-Deir el-Bahari. The red granite lid of his sarcophagus, 10 feet long by about 5 feet wide, is now at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. It bears the figure of the dead Pharaoh in high relief, with Isis (almost completely destroyed) on one side of him, and Nephthys on the other, and is a good example of the huge sarcophagus-lids of the Later Empire. The body of the sarcophagus is in the Louvre, Paris. The tomb is often called 'Bruce's Tomb' after Bruce the Abyssinian traveller, who was the first to reopen it (1769), and who made, under great difficulties from his native guides, copies of the two famous figures of harpers, from which the tomb derives its other name of 'The Harpers' Tomb'. The work of the tomb is much inferior to that of the earlier period; but it is striking, all the same, and the colour is well preserved. It is lit with electric light, so far as the first seven chambers are concerned.

The entrance is conspicuous, and marks the new idea of the royal tomb which is henceforth adhered to, concealment being no longer considered essential. The tomb is entered by the common flight of steps with an inclined plane in the middle to render easier the sliding-down of the great sarcophagus. Standards with bull heads are carved in the rock as pilasters on either side of the doorway. The lintel has the usual triple emblem of the sun-god, the disk, with Khepri and Atûm standing within it. Isis and Nephthys worship it. The first corridor has to right and left of its entrance kneeling figures of Maet, with sheltering wings. The walls have the text of the *Litanies of Ré* with a scene of the Pharaoh before Harakhte (1), and another of the sun passing between the two horizons. From this corridor open off, to right and left, two small chambers, the first two of a series of ten. In the one to the left are scenes of the cooking of provisions for the royal tomb (2); on the right are two rows of scenes representing the funeral procession across the Nile (or the voyage to Abydos), the boats in the upper row under sail, those in the lower with sails furled.

Corridor two continues the scenes from the *Litanies of Rê*, with figures of the sun-god, and of Isis and Nephthys. The side-chambers three to ten extend along both sides of the corridor, and contain scenes of interest. Chamber C (left) has figures of the gods of the harvest and fertility, with ears of corn upon their heads. The two Nile-gods, of Upper and Lower Egypt, figure prominently, and also the serpent-headed corn-goddess Napret. Chamber D (right) has military standards, arrows, bows, and the four tribal standards, which from time immemorial were borne before the Pharaoh on great occasions (3, 4, 5). Chamber E has Nile-gods and field-gods bringing offerings of fruit, flowers and birds. Chamber F has vessels of all kinds, including some 'false-necked' (stirrup) vases of Mycenaean origin, together with furniture of all sorts, couches, chairs, necklaces, elephants' tusks, etc. Here we have an exception to the rule mentioned at the beginning of this account, that the Pharaoh, being a god, did not need such representations of material things for his welfare in the other world; but, in fact, it is now seen that the rule is by no means invariable, and Ramses III evidently believed in making sure, however much he may have believed in his own godhead. Chamber G has representations of sacred animals and symbols, and also of the Pharaoh's guardian genius, who bears a wand topped with a king's head. Chamber H shows the canals of the underworld, upon which the king floats in his canoe through the Elysian Fields, where ploughing, sowing, and reaping are in progress. Chamber I, the last on the left, is the one with the famous scene of the harpers, who have given the tomb one of its names. The harper to the left (the better preserved figure) plays before Ankhret and Harakhte; he to the right, before Atm and Shu (6, 7). Chamber J, the last on the right, has twelve representations of Osiris.

The corridor from this point runs out into an apsidal termination, which represents the point at which Setnakht found that he was running into the tomb of Amenmesses, and abandoned his work. Ramses III made a deviation at right-angles to the original axis of the tomb, making a rectangular addition to the corridor which converted it into a kind of extra chamber, and enabled the work to continue parallel to its former line, but sufficiently distant from the earlier tomb to avoid any further risk. In the interrupted corridor are scenes of Isis with Anubis (left) (8), Nephthys (9) with Anubis (right) and the Pharaoh

before Atûm and Ptah (10). In the deviation-chamber we have (right) Ramses offering before Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, who is guarded by Isis with her wings (11). On the right wall, as we resume our original direction, is the king before Osiris and Anubis (12). We now enter the fourth corridor, which is illustrated with scenes from the *Book of That which is in the Underworld*, the scenes to the left representing the fourth hour and those to the right the fifth hour of the journey. The room into which this corridor opens has figures of the gods. The large room following, which has four pillars, has a sloping passage through the middle of its floor, leading to the remaining rooms of the tomb. On the left-hand side of the room are scenes from the *Book of Gates*, giving the sun's journey through the fourth section of the underworld; and on the right similar scenes from the fifth section. Notice on the bottom of the left-hand wall the representations of the four races of mankind recognized by the Egyptians (13). Another chamber leads off to the right from this hall. It has much blackened scenes of the king in the presence of Osiris, and being introduced to Osiris by Thoth and Harakhte (14, 15, 16), and also scenes from the *Book of the Underworld*. Beyond this point, the rooms are not lighted, and are much damaged. The great burial-hall has eight pillars, and four little annexes at its angles; and a triple corridor continues beyond it; but all these are scarcely worth the trouble of a visit.

NO. 12. UNINSCRIBED TOMB

This tomb, which has not been identified, lies about midway between the tomb of Haremhab and that of Amenophis II (57 and 35).

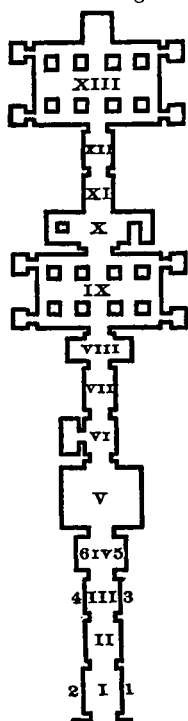
NO. 13. TOMB OF THE CHANCELLOR BAY

This tomb lies up the path to the south end of the valley, close to the tombs of Siptah, Setnakht, and Tuthmosis I. Burial in the valley was very rarely conceded to any who were not of royal blood; but Bay seemingly was so much a *persona grata* to Siptah and Queen Tausret, or at least was so indispensable to them, that this great privilege was accorded to him. The tomb is comparatively insignificant, and is not accessible.

NO. 14. TOMB OF QUEEN TAUSRET AND SETNAKHT

As we have already seen, this tomb, which lies close to that of the chancellor, was originally that of Queen Tausret. It makes

the apex of a triangle of which the tomb of Siptah (47) and that of Bay (13) are the other two angles. Queen Tausret reigned in her own right after the short reign of Amenmesses (*c.* 1220 or 1215). She married Siptah, thus giving him a legitimate title as Pharaoh, and in the first passages of her tomb Siptah is represented along with her; farther on in the tomb we see that Siptah



TOMB OF
TAUSRET AND
SETNAKHT

must have died, as Tausret's husband is now Seti II. Setnakht, on the failure of his first tomb, took possession of Tausret's, altering the cartouches, figures and inscriptions to suit himself. Either at the command of Setnakht, or as part of the loot of a band of robbers who had not opportunity to carry all their treasure out of the valley, some of Tausret's jewellery was stored in the unidentified tomb No. 56, where it was found in 1908 by Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Davis. The find embraced a diadem, a fine necklace, bracelets, rings, and various other articles of personal adornment belonging to the queen and her second husband Seti II, and her first husband Siptah. These are now at Cairo (Nos. 4192 sq., U 3, Case 14). The queen's mummy was not moved, apparently, and it was evidently mistaken by the priests for that of Setnakht, which had seemingly been destroyed by robbers. It was placed by the priests in the empty coffin of Setnakht, and removed to the *câche*, to be found on unrolling to be that of a woman, who must have been Tausret, as other queens of this period were buried in the Valley of the Queens. Tausret thus, in a sense, came to her own again, in spite of Setnakht's usurpation.

The tomb is not lighted by electricity, but is accessible, and is, as the plan shows a fairly elaborate one. The first corridor has figures of Tausret and Siptah before various gods, Ptah, Harakhte, Anubis, Isis and others (1, 2). The third corridor shows Setnakht's cartouche and figure imposed in plaster over the earlier names and figures (3, 4). Beyond this corridor, a small chamber opens into a larger one, where Anubis and Horus worship Osiris. Another triple corridor has poor paintings of Setnakht's work

over the work of Tausret. A large eight-pillared hall, with four angle annexes, was the original burial-chamber designed for the queen. By this time Siptah had died, as Seti II now appears in his place. From this point onwards the work is wholly that of Setnakht, who added a small transverse chamber with an annexe on the right, a double corridor, and another eight-pillared hall like Tausret's, with the addition of a recess in the rear wall. Here was found the lid of the granite sarcophagus of Setnakht, finely sculptured with a figure of the king as Osiris. The body of the sarcophagus was broken.

NO. 15. TOMB OF SETI II

Leaving No. 14, the tomb of Tuthmosis I (No. 36) is passed, and a little beyond it we come to No. 15, the tomb of Queen Tausret's second husband Seti II. Since 1922 this tomb has been famous as the laboratory in which the delicate objects found in the tomb of Tutankhamûn were treated and restored. In itself, however, it has some claims to notice, as there is some good hollow relief-work, particularly a figure of the Pharaoh himself, which may be seen on the right-hand wall near the entrance, in the act of offering an image of Maet (the goddess of truth). This is a piece of genuine though somewhat languid merit. The cartouches and figures near the doorway have been in some cases erased and then re-cut; a fact which has led to the supposition that the king was deposed and then reinstated. Much of the work has never been finished. The four-pillared hall has on the pillars figures of Nefertûm, Horus, Harakhte, Maet, and other deities.

NO. 16. TOMB OF RAMSES I

We now return to what may be reckoned the central area of the valley, and passing the tombs of Ramses III and Amenmesses, we come to that of Ramses I, which, with No. 17 (Seti I) and No. 18 (Ramses XI), now used to house the engine for the electric light, form a small group near the beginning of the path which here leads away to the right towards the tomb of Tuthmosis IV (No. 43) and those of Queen Hatshepsut (No. 20) and Prince Mentu-hir-khopshef (No. 19). The tomb is lighted, and is approached by a double flight of steps. Ramses I, who succeeded Haremhab, and may be regarded as the first king of the XIXth Dynasty, reigned only a very short time (possibly only one year,

c. 1320 or 1314). His tomb was therefore never finished, and his burial-chamber was made at the foot of the second flight of steps; but the tomb was evidently meant to have been a large and important one, and it is interesting from the development which its paintings show from those of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The complete painting of the figures which we see here, in contrast to the outline work seen in tombs like those of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II, is a stage on the way to the coloured relief work which is found in the next tomb, that of Ramses' son and successor, Seti I.

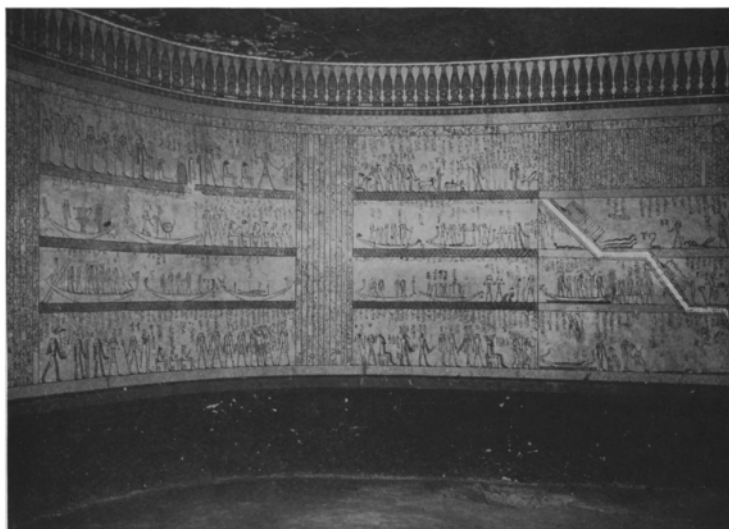
A flight of steps brings us down to an entrance, which admits us to a sloping corridor. A second flight of steps brings us to the sarcophagus-chamber, where stands the granite sarcophagus, with figures and inscriptions in yellow paint. The walls of the chamber have a grey ground, on which the scenes and inscriptions are painted in colour. On the right as we enter, is the goddess Maet, and the king offers wine to Nefertûm. On the left, Maet again appears with the king, who is before Ptah, near whom is the Tet symbol, which represents the backbone of Osiris. On the west wall the boat of the sun is towed by four figures, and below the boat the god Atûm slays the evil serpent Apep. The inscriptions are from the *Book of Gates*. Behind the sarcophagus (south) the king, with Atûm and Neith behind him, is led by Horus-Son-of-Isis, to Osiris, who has Horus-Supporter-of-his-Mother before him. A recess in this wall has over it the kneeling figure of Ramses, between the jackal-headed and hawk-headed figures which represent the spirits of Pe and Nekhen, the archaic capitals of Lower and Upper Egypt. In the recess itself is a figure of Osiris, between a ram-headed god and a sacred serpent, the cobra Nesret, god of the harvest. On the left (east) wall, Ramses appears between Anubis and Horus. The inscriptions and other representations are from the *Book of Gates*.

NO. 17. TOMB OF SETI I

Judging from the available evidence, including that of the noble head of his mummy, which was found at El-Deir el-Bahari in 1881, Seti I was one of the best, as he was certainly one of the most dignified, of Egyptian Pharaohs, and his tomb in the valley is worthy of the man, being by far the most complete and imposing piece of work to be seen there. Seti's reign was not a long one (1321-1300, *Cambridge Anct. Hist.*; 1314-1292, Breasted), but his



TUTHMOSIS III

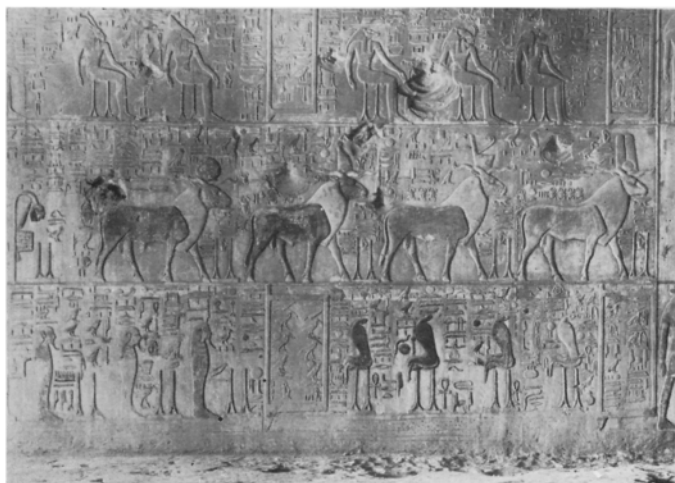


HAREMHAB

DETAILS FROM ROYAL TOMBS (LATE XVIII DYN.)



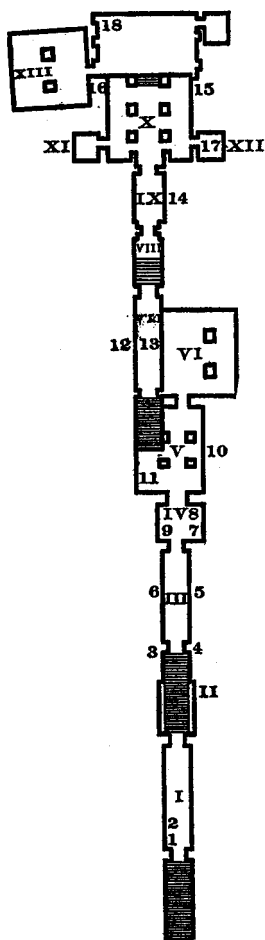
SETI I



MENEPTAH

DETAILS FROM ROYAL TOMBS (XIX DYN.)

tomb, though not quite finished, is a most elaborate example of its type. It measures 328 feet in length, and may be compared in this respect with the tomb of



TOMB OF
SETI I

pared in this respect with the tomb of Ramses III, and that of Queen Tausret (Nos. 11 and 14), though it is exceeded considerably by that of Queen Hatshepsut (No. 20), which, however, has neither reliefs nor inscriptions. Seti was the son of Ramses I, whose tomb, as we have just seen, represents an intermediate stage in the application of artistic work to the walls of the sepulchre. In Seti's tomb the change to the new method is complete, and the development must have been very rapid, for the tomb is decorated almost throughout with admirable bas-reliefs, brilliantly coloured; and though in places the work has only been outlined and never completed, the unfinished sketches are of extreme value, as showing the methods by which these brilliant works of art were produced in the darkness of these underground chambers. If judgments as to style are to count for anything, it would seem obvious that the same artist who designed the admirable low reliefs of Seti's temple at Abydos was employed here upon the tomb of the Pharaoh; but perhaps it would not be safe to lay too much stress upon this, in view of the extraordinarily uniform standard of accomplishment attained by Egyptian art in some periods and localities. At least the work in the tomb is of the same type as that at Abydos, and is of not less excellence in execution.

The tomb of Seti was known in Greek times, but was first made known to the modern world by the work of Belzoni, who reopened it on October 17, 1817. Belzoni's account of his great discovery

is one of the most interesting and diverting parts of his most delightful account of his excavations (see *Narrative*, pp. 230 sq.), and criticisms as to his methods are almost forgotten in presence of the genuine enthusiasm with which he rejoices in the revelation which he had been able to make to the world, and of the fact that he spent more than twelve months in taking impressions in wax of every relief in the tomb, with a view to the making of his great model of it, which was exhibited in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, along with the beautiful alabaster sarcophagus of Seti.

The tomb is approached by a wooden stair which leads down to the entrance to the first corridor. Here on the left we see (1) the king before Harakhte, while beyond him (2) is the familiar symbol of the triple sun-god, the disk, with the beetle, and the ram-headed Atûm, typifying the sun in his strength, the rising sun, and the setting sun. The texts are from the *Litanies of Ré*. The ceiling is adorned with vultures with outspread wings. The second corridor is a stairway, on the walls of which are, on the left, thirty-seven forms of the sun-god, and on the right, thirty-nine, with texts from the *Book of That which is in the Underworld*. Notice, near the bottom of the stairway, the fine figures (3, 4) of Isis (left) and Nephthys (right). In corridor three we have on the right wall (5) the journey of the boat of the sun through the fourth hour of the night, and on the left wall (6) the corresponding fifth hour of the journey. The boat is here towed by seven gods and seven goddesses, and the texts are again from the *Book of the Underworld*, fourth and fifth chapters. We next enter a small antechamber, on the walls of which the king is seen in the presence of various gods, Hathor, Osiris, Isis, Anubis and Horus (7, 8, 9).

We now enter a four-pillared hall, which has a flight of steps descending from its floor on the left-hand side. On the left-hand side of the wall, the journey of the sun through the fourth division of the underworld is shown, from the *Book of Gates*. The fourth gateway is guarded by a serpent, and the sun-barque, towed by four men, is heralded by a coiled serpent with spirits, and by three ibis-headed gods, and nine other spirits. Notice, in the bottom row, the god Horus (11), with representatives of the four races of mankind, Egyptians, Asiatics, negroes and Libyans. The right wall (10) has the journey through the fifth hour, from the *Book of Gates*. The top row has twelve gods with forked staves, twelve gods with a serpent from which human heads

project, and twelve gods with a cord fastened to a mummy. The middle row has the solar barque towed by four men, preceded by demons. The bottom row has twelve mummies upon a serpent couch, a god leaning upon a wand, and other weird figures. The rear wall has the enthroned Osiris, with Hathor-Isis behind him, the king being led into his presence by the hawk-headed Horus. On the pillars Seti is seen with various gods.

From the right hand of the rear of this hall a doorway leads into a second hall with two pillars. Here the decorations have never been finished, having only been sketched in red, and corrected in black, but never sculptured. The room is therefore interesting as an illustration of the methods of the great artist who designed the reliefs of this tomb. The pillars, as usual, show the king with various gods. On the left side of the room is the journey of the sun through the ninth hour, from the *Book of the Underworld*. The boat of the sun is towed by genii; twelve star-gods with oars go before it. Serpents spit fire, and other monsters and weird figures complete the scenes. The rear wall of the room has the journey through the tenth hour, from the same book, with many monstrous figures. In the top row, notice the goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt seated beside two serpents which bear the solar disk. In the damaged bottom row, notice an Egyptian conception of the destiny of the wicked, in which Horus, leaning upon his staff, watches twelve damned souls swimming in the waters of the underworld. On the right side of the room is the journey through the eleventh hour (same book). To detail the weird figures becomes merely wearisome; but again notice may be directed to a bit of the Egyptian hell in the bottom row. Here the enemies of the sun-god are being burned in furnaces (four bodies in the last furnace stand on their heads), while Horus acts as master of ceremonies, and fire-breathing goddesses with swords act as guards.

This unfinished room, however, was meant merely to act as a blind, and to induce the expected tomb-robber to imagine that here the tomb ended. The actual continuation of the tomb followed the staircase on the left-hand side of the four-pillared room behind; and this staircase, of course, was carefully concealed when once the king was buried. Indeed the preparations for the bewilderment of the robber began at even an earlier stage, as when Belzoni entered the tomb he found his way blocked by a pit, 30 feet deep and 14 feet wide, which immediately preceded

the four-pillared hall. The object of such pits, which had their upper walls decorated, seems to have been partly to prevent the inner chambers of the tomb from being damaged by the inflow of water from the rain-storms, which, though rare, are not unknown at Thebes, and partly to discourage and deceive the tomb-robbers. They were not so easily discouraged, however, and in this case, having duly passed the deep pit, probably much as Belzoni did, they sounded the wall of the two-pillared room which appeared to be the end of the tomb, and finding that it rang hollow on the left side, they simply broke through there into the lower corridor beneath, to which the concealed stairway led down.

We return into the four-pillared room, and descend, more prospectively, by the stairway. The next two corridors have representations of the ceremony of 'Opening the Mouth' of the mummy, a piece of ritual which was supposed to endow the mummy or the funerary statues of the dead man with life and power to breathe and eat. Notice the representations of the funerary statues of the king standing on pedestals (12, 13), while priests make offerings and perform ceremonies before them—curious representations of what were in themselves only representations, yet supposed in both cases to be as efficient in case of need as the actual original. We now enter an antechamber which is scarcely more than another corridor, so far as dimensions are concerned, but which has specially fine reliefs of Seti in the presence of various gods, Hathor, Anubis, Isis, Horus and Osiris (14).

From this antechamber we enter the great burial-hall, a six-pillared chamber, which has really two sections—a front section which is pillared, and a rear section, with vaulted roof. This latter section of the hall is on a lower level, and from it an incline, with stairs at the side, descended to the mummy-shaft. Two little annexes open off the angles of the first section of the hall, as in tombs 8, 11, and 14. The scenes and texts in the first portion of the hall relate to the solar journey through the first and second hours of the night, with the usual allowance of strange figures, of which, to tell the truth, one begins to grow a little wearied. Notice, on the right wall, near the beginning of the vaulted section, the figures of the twelve hours of the night, with their black heads (15), and on the left other twelve hour figures (16) which are drawn with an unusual attempt at realizing true

perspective. The little annexe on the right hand has a remarkable scene (17) of the cow Hathor standing across the heavens, with Shu, the air-god, supporting her, Rê, in his barque, journeying along her body, other gods grouped beneath her, and the stars shining along her belly. The accompanying texts are those of the very ancient legend of the Destruction of Mankind by Rê—a relic of archaic days which it is somewhat curious to see in such modern surroundings as those of the *Book of Gates*, etc. The corresponding annexe on the last has the solar journey through the third hour, from the *Book of Gates*.

The vaulted ceiling of the second section of the hall has an elaborate series of astronomical figures, *decani*, stars, and constellations. A niche in the left wall of this section has a scene of Anubis performing the 'Opening the Mouth' ceremony before the king who is represented as Osiris, and is supported by the two symbols of Wepwawet (18). The fine figure of Maet, with outspread wings may be noticed at the top of this wall just below the vaulted roof. In this section of the burial-hall stood the beautiful sarcophagus of alabaster which was one of Belzoni's greatest prizes. His own description of this splendid piece of work is as follows: 'It is a sarcophagus of the finest oriental alabaster, nine feet five inches long, and three feet seven inches wide. Its thickness is only two inches; and it is transparent, when a light is placed in the inside of it. It is minutely sculptured within and without with several hundred figures, which do not exceed two inches in height, and represent, as I suppose, the whole of the funeral procession and ceremonies relating to the deceased' (*Narrative*, p. 236). The cover of the sarcophagus had been broken, and the pieces of it were found by Belzoni near the entrance of the tomb. One is glad to know that the discoverer, who usually got, if his own story is to be trusted, more kicks than ha'pence for his labours, did actually get £2,000 from Sir John Soane for this treasure, which is now in the Soane Museum, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.

The staircase and incline above which the sarcophagus rested was explored by Belzoni who found that it extended for another three hundred feet beyond the burial-hall, but that it contained nothing. From the burial-hall we pass into another chamber, which has two pillars, one damaged, and a broad ledge, with cavetto cornice running round three sides of it. From this circumstance, Belzoni, whose idea of fitting nomenclature was

somewhat peculiar, called this chamber the Sideboard Room. The right-hand entrance-wall and right wall have scenes from the sixth hour of the solar journey (*Book of That which is in the Underworld*). The left-hand entrance-wall and left wall have scenes from the seventh hour (same book), and the rear wall scenes from the eighth hour of the same book (see illustration). The last chamber has no decorations and is not accessible at present.

NO. 18. TOMB OF RAMSES XI

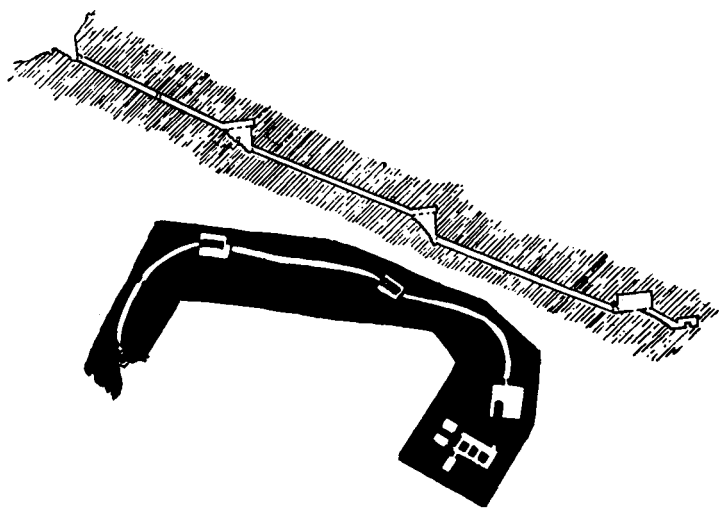
This late Ramesside Pharaoh had a titulary as immense as he was himself unimportant—Ra-kheper-maet-setep-en-rê Ramses-Amen-hir-khopshef-mery-Amûn. His tomb was more in proportion to his significance. It has no reliefs or inscriptions worth mentioning, and it is now used to house the engine for the electric lighting of the tombs. This Pharaoh reigned from 1130 to 1100 B.C. (*Cambridge Anct. Hist.*) or from 1118 to 1090 B.C. (Breasted).

NO. 19. TOMB OF PRINCE MENTU-HIR-KHOPSHEF

Prince Mentu-hir-khopshef, for whom this tomb was made, and who was buried here, though the tomb was never finished, was 'Hereditary Prince, Royal Scribe, Royal Son of His [i.e. Pharaoh's] Body, Beloved of Him, Chief of His Majesty, Chief Inspector of Troops Ramses Mentu-hir-khopshef'. He used to be considered the sixth son of Ramses III, on the strength of the list at Medinet Habu, but is now held to have been the eldest son of one of the later Ramesside kings. The entrance to the tomb is imposing, being much the same in scale as that to the tomb of Ramses IX (No. 6). There is a long first corridor which opens into a second corridor with two recesses, which was begun, but never finished. An oblong pit was sunk in the floor of this corridor, and the burial was placed in it, being covered up with limestone flagstones, level with the floor. The paintings represent the prince in the presence of various gods. They are well executed and the stucco ground for them has been prepared and levelled with great care.

No. 20. TOMB OF QUEEN HATSHEPSUT

In mere extent this is one of the greatest tombs in the valley, being 700 feet in length, and reaching a vertical depth below the surface of about 320 feet. It has, however, neither reliefs nor inscriptions, though limestone slabs were found in it with chapters and scenes from the *Book of That which is in the Underworld* sketched in red and black ink, and evidently designed for a lining



TOMB OF QUEEN HATSHEPSUT (PLAN AND SECTION)

to the tomb. It was evidently intended to run the axis of the tomb directly towards the queen's great funerary temple at El-Deir el-Bahari, so that the sarcophagus-chamber should be immediately below the shrine. Bad rock was, however, encountered, and the tomb had to be cut in a sweeping curve. The work is rough, and was obviously never completed in any sense; yet there is no doubt that Hatshepsut was buried here, and not in her other tomb high up in the cliff-face, where her other unfinished

sarcophagus was discovered, as already mentioned, by Howard Carter in 1916.

This tomb was also cleared by Howard Carter, working with Mr. T. M. Davis, in 1903. In the burial-chamber the queen's sarcophagus, of red crystalline sandstone, her Canopic chest, of the same material, and the sarcophagus of her father Tuthmosis I, also of the same stone, were discovered. These are now in the Cairo Museum (Nos. 619, 620, G 33, west). The tomb had been thoroughly robbed, and Tuthmosis I apparently found no more security in his daughter's tomb than in his own. His mummy was found at El-Deir el-Bahari ; but Hatshepsut's has never been identified.

No. 21

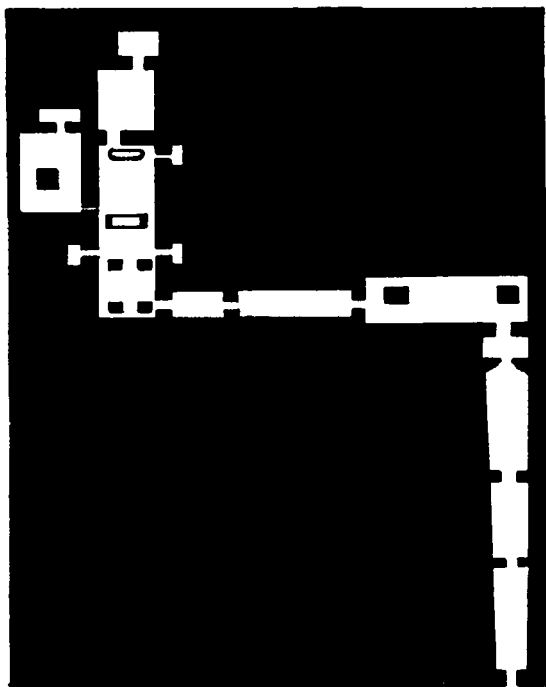
This tomb is one of a group of four uninscribed and unidentified tombs not far from the tomb of Hatshepsut, and between it and the tomb of the vizier Userhêt (No. 45).

No. 22. TOMB OF AMENOPHIS III

To reach this tomb we must leave the Valley of the Kings, and enter the Western Valley, which branches off from the road to the main valley about four hundred yards before the latter is reached. The Western Valley, a counterpart in wildness to its more famous neighbour, has only a few tombs, and that of Amenophis III, the most gorgeous of the great XVIIIth Dynasty emperors, is the most important of these, and the one of all the royal tombs which one would have most desired to be found unrobbed. Far from that, it was robbed in the days of Ramses IX, and the Papyrus Mayer B records the confession and the names of four out of the five thieves who were at the plundering, and who spent four days breaking into the tomb—an eloquent commentary on the somnolence or the connivance of the necropolis officials and guards. The mummy of Amenophis III was one of those found in the tomb of his ancestor (grandfather) Amenophis II in 1898. The tomb is not accessible at present.

A long passage with the usual three corridors slopes somewhat rapidly downwards, and is interrupted by a well, round which are paintings of the king before the gods. Beyond the well is

a two-pillared hall, with a stairway in its floor, leading down to a small chamber with ruined paintings of the usual type. Then comes a pillared burial-hall, with fragments of the broken sarco-



TOMB OF AMENOPHIS III (WEST VALLEY)

phagus, and one or two subsidiary chambers. Nothing remains to show the splendour of the most splendid of Egyptian Pharaohs.

NO. 23. TOMB OF AY

It will be remembered that after the death of Akhenaten, and the short and ineffectual reigns of Smenkhkerê and Tutankhamûn,

the throne was seized by a priest, 'The Divine Father Ay', who had no claim to royal descent, and was not even of high rank in the priesthood. His tomb was excavated near to that of Amenophis III in the Western Valley. It is not at present accessible; but its paintings show a curious mixture of the ritual type of work, in which the king stands before the gods, and the plebeian type in which the dead man is shown as engaged in the ordinary occupations of life. The tomb consisted of a corridor and a flight of steps, with a small chamber leading into the burial-hall, which is adorned with paintings in which the king is shown boomeranging birds and plucking reeds, as if he had only been an ordinary nomarch; while others show him standing in the presence of his fellow-gods and goddesses. His sarcophagus, now in the Cairo Museum (No. 624, G 38, east), has been very fine, but is now broken. The tomb goes by the name of Turbet el-Qurûd, 'The Tomb of the Apes', from the twelve cynocephali which figure in this hall. It will be remembered that Ay's unfinished tomb at El-'Amârna has preserved for us the only extant copy of the long version of the Hymn to the Aten.

Nos. 24 AND 25

also in the Western Valley, are uninscribed and unidentified.

Nos. 26-33

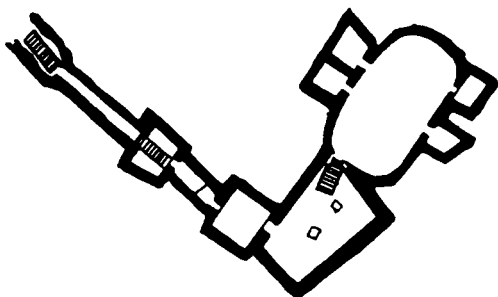
are situated in the main valley. They are unidentified and uninscribed.

No. 34. TOMB OF TUTHMOSIS III

The tomb of the great conqueror is situated in a lonely and remote ravine at the south-east corner of the main valley, and its entrance is high up and impressive, but difficult of approach. The path to it turns south after leaving the centre of the valley, and the tombs of Setnakht, Siptah, Tuthmosis I and Seti II are left on the right hand after we have taken the left-hand turning at the parting of the path. The tomb is accessible, but is not lighted, and means of lighting must be carried. The entrance corridor slopes steeply downwards, and is succeeded by a flight of steps. Another short corridor then brings us to a pit or well, 16 to 20 feet deep, probably designed, as we have seen, for the

double purpose of bewildering robbers, and catching rain-water. This is now crossed by a bridge. The ceiling here has white stars on a blue ground. We now enter an irregularly-shaped room with two pillars. The walls have a long list of seven hundred and forty-one gods and supernatural beings, and the roof has yellow stars on a blue ground. In the left corner of this room is a flight of steps, once concealed, which lead to the cartouche-shaped burial-hall.

This hall has also two pillars, and behind these the sarcophagus, of red crystalline sandstone, is seen. It was empty when first discovered, the royal coffin and mummy having been removed to El-Deir el-Bahari, where they were found in 1881. The walls of

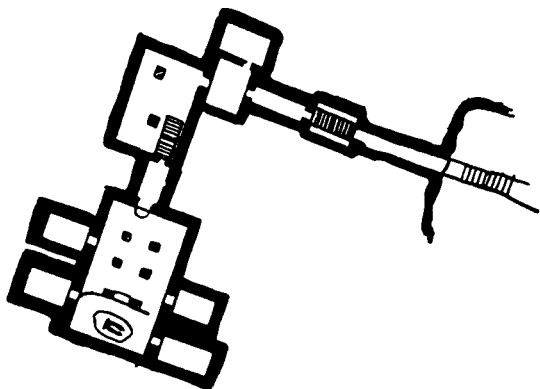


TOMB OF TUTHMOSIS III

the hall are covered with outline illustrations and texts from the *Book of That which is in the Underworld*, the first stage towards the elaborate-coloured relief-sculptures which we meet in the later work, such as that of the tomb of Seti I. These outline sketches are in admirable preservation. The scenes on the pillars should be noticed. On the left face of the nearer pillar is a scene of Tuthmosis being suckled by his mother Êset (Isis), who appears as a tree-goddess, growing out of the trunk of a tree. Above this scene is another in which Tuthmosis sails with his mother in a boat through the underworld. As Êset was not of royal blood, it would appear as if the king here definitely decided to give her the prominence which her birth would have denied her. Four small annexes open off the hall. They contained funerary objects which are now at Cairo (U 12, Case G).

No. 35. TOMB OF AMENOPHIS II

This tomb lies westwards from the central area of the valley, the path to it leading past the tombs of Amenmesses and Ramses III, on the left, and that of Haremhab on the right. Its somewhat retired position apparently suggested it to the priests of the ninth century B.C. as a suitable hiding-place for the royal mummies which they despaired of protecting any longer in their own tombs. They gathered a number of them together here, and here they were discovered by M. Loret in 1898, among the famous royalties thus found being Amenophis III, his father



TOMB OF AMENOPHIS II

Tuthmosis IV, and Menepthah of the XIXth Dynasty. Amenophis II was left in his sarcophagus, and though the experiment was not altogether successful, the tomb having been robbed, as already mentioned, the king still remains in his sarcophagus, though, like the mummies in the Museum, he is no longer on view.

A steep flight of steps descends to a sloping corridor, rather roughly cut, and a second flight and corridor bring us to the pit or well, which is bridged like that of Tuthmosis III. In the depth of the well is a small room apparently introduced for the amusement of the robbers. Crossing the bridge we enter a two-pillared room, without decorations, and in the left-hand corner of this room a stairway, once concealed, leads down to another short

sloping corridor. This in turn leads into the burial-hall, a six-pillared chamber, whose blue roof is adorned with yellow stars. Behind the last pair of pillars, a part of the hall has its floor at a lower level, and here stands the crystalline sandstone sarcophagus of the king, in which lies the anthropoid coffin containing the mummy. The walls of the hall are painted to imitate the tone of a papyrus, and are covered like the walls of the burial-hall of his father, Tuthmosis III, with scenes and texts from the *Book of That which is in the Underworld*. These are drawn in bold outline and are well preserved. The pillars of the hall show in bold outline Amenophis in the presence of the gods.

In spite of the theatrical taste displayed in the switching out of all the lights save that which is directed on the dead face of the Pharaoh, the effect of this well-preserved hall, with its weird decorations, its blue gold-starred roof, and its sleeping tenant, is undoubtedly impressive.

From the hall, four small annexes open off. Three unidentified mummies, of which one is that of an elderly woman, one that of a young woman, and one that of a young royal prince of about fourteen years of age, still lie in the first of these on the right. The second to the right contained nine royal mummies when M. Loret opened it in 1898.

NO. 36. TOMB OF MAHERPRA, STANDARD-BEARER
(OR FAN-BEARER) TO THE KING

Maherpra must have been high in favour with Queen Hatshepsut to be allowed a tomb in the valley. His funerary furniture, including a specially fine copy of the *Book of the Dead*, with coloured vignettes, found in the tomb, now occupies several cases in U 17 (3800-3823) at Cairo. The tomb is uninscribed. It was opened in 1899 by Loret.

NO. 37

Uninscribed and unidentified.

NO. 38. TOMB OF TUTHMOSIS I

From the point of view of history, this tomb is the most important in the valley, as it was the one which set the fashion

of such interments. It lies on the west side of the valley close to the tomb of Setnakht (No. 14) and between it and that of Seti II (No. 15). In appearance, however, it is insignificant, as the object of Tuthmosis was not conspicuousness, but the opposite. The entrance was more of a rabbit-hole than such a façade as suited the taste of the Ramesside Pharaohs; and the tomb itself is a comparatively small affair. A rough flight of steps leads into an irregular corridor, and this in turn into a more or less square room, from the middle of which another flight of steps descends into the burial-hall, cartouche-shaped and roughly hewn. The roof was supported by a single pillar, and the walls were originally covered with the stucco of which, and of his experiments in the making of which, the architect Ineni (Anena) was so proud. It has not justified his pride, having fallen off the walls; but, after all, 3,400 years is a long time for even the most tenacious stucco to stand. The fragments of a sarcophagus of crystalline sandstone were found here—perhaps the results of an early robbery which may have been the determining factor in Hatshepsut's removal of her father's body to the tomb which she was preparing for herself in the valley (No. 20). The sarcophagus of red crystalline sandstone bearing his name which was found with that of Queen Hatshepsut in her tomb is so remarkably like that of the queen as to suggest that the two were made at the same time and by the same artist. In any case, the king was not allowed to rest in it, for his body was transferred to El-Deir el-Bahari, where it was duly found in 1881. A small annexe opens off the burial-hall. This tomb is not accessible at present, which is a pity, not because of its intrinsic beauty (for it has none), but because of its historical importance as the earliest tomb in the valley. At present the earliest lighted tomb is that of Amenophis II (No. 35), and the earliest accessible tomb is that of Tuthmosis III (No. 34).

Nos. 39, 40, 41

are unimportant; but in connexion with 39, see note at end of chapter on the tomb of Amenophis I.

No. 42

This tomb was certainly made for a royalty; but it is unfinished and uninscribed. It consists of a rough flight of steps,

a sloping passage, a small chamber, and the oval burial-hall, with two pillars. The shape of the burial-hall is the usual one for an early XVIIIth Dynasty tomb (cf. Nos. 34 and 38). It contained a sarcophagus of crystalline sandstone, similar to that of Tuthmosis III, but unpolished and uninscribed. It has been suggested that this is the tomb of Tuthmosis II; the Egyptian Government Survey, however, assigns it to Meritrê Hatshepsut, who was daughter of Queen Hatshepsut, wife of Tuthmosis III, and mother of Amenophis II, and who had therefore an indefeasible claim to a tomb in the Valley of the Kings. The tomb contained a later intrusive burial of a noble named Sennûfer.

NO. 43. TOMB OF TUTHMOSIS IV

This tomb was excavated by Mr. Howard Carter and Mr. T. M. Davis in 1903. The results of the work are now to be seen in the Cairo Museum (see No. 3000, U 48, east, there, the front of the king's battle-chariot). Tuthmosis IV reigned from about 1420 to 1412 B.C. His mummy shows him to have been always delicate, and he died before attaining the age of twenty-six. His tomb had been rifled certainly before 1340, for in the eighth year of the reign of Haremhab (1346-1322) instructions were issued by that Pharaoh to an official named May, Superintendent of Works in the Necropolis as follows: 'Command of His Majesty, to commission the fan-bearer on the king's right hand, May . . . to restore the burial of King Menkheperurê [Tuthmosis IV], in the august house on the west of Thebes.' This order was found written in ink on a wall of a chamber of the tomb. The king's mummy was subsequently taken to the tomb of Amenophis II, where it was found with others in 1898. At present the tomb is not accessible. It lies not far from the tombs of Hatshepsut and Mentu-hir-khopshef (Nos. 20 and 19). A flight of steps leads into a corridor, from which a second flight leads down to a second corridor. Then follows the well, which has upon its upper walls some paintings representing the Pharaoh before the gods. These are interesting in that they show the first change from the outline method of decoration which we have seen in the tombs of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II (Nos. 34 and 35) to the method of complete painting which we have seen reaching its conclusion in the tomb of Ramses I (No. 16). Crossing the well we have a flight of steps, a corridor, and another flight of steps; then

comes a chamber which has on its walls paintings of the king before the gods, and the inscription relating to May's restoration, already quoted. We then enter the four-pillared burial-hall, which contains the fine sarcophagus of the king, which, as will be seen from the illustration, has not developed the guardian goddess symbolism at the four corners which is characteristic of later examples such as the sarcophagus of Tutankhamûn or that of Haremhab.

NO. 44. TOMB OF TENT-QEREL

This tomb lies close to the path branching off from that which leads from the central area of the valley to the tombs of Hatshepsut, Mentu-hir-khopshef and Tuthmosis IV. Returning by this path towards the central area, the side path referred to branches off to the right, and leads past the unidentified tombs 21, 27, and 28, and Nos. 44 and 45, to the tomb of Yuya and Thuyu (No. 46). The name attached to No. 44 is that of an intrusive burial, probably of a lady of the court; and the tomb is otherwise without interest.

NO. 45. TOMB OF THE VIZIER USERHÊT

This tomb of a high official of the XVIIIth Dynasty is notable as being one of the few examples of a tomb granted in the valley to a non-royal personage; but it is in other respects unimportant.

NO. 46. TOMB OF YUYA AND THUYU

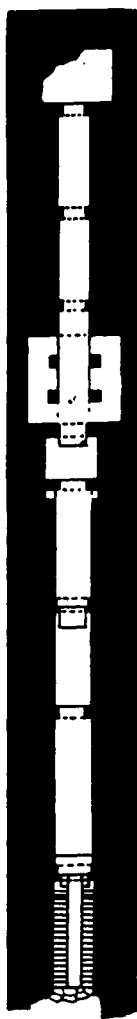
This is another of the Davis finds, and was one of the most important of them, not because of any quality in the tomb itself, which is a comparatively rude and unpretentious piece of work, consisting merely of a flight of steps, a steeply sloping corridor, a second flight of steps, and the burial-chamber, but because of the historical importance of the persons who occupied it, and of the wealth and beauty of the funerary furniture found in it.

The tomb was that of Yuya and Thuyu, the father and mother of Queen Ti, the famous and well-beloved wife of Amenophis III, and the mother by him of Akhenaten. It was discovered in February, 1905, and was found to contain a quantity of rich funerary furniture such as, up to that time, had never been met with in any Egyptian tomb, though it has since been eclipsed

by the wonders of the tomb of Tutankhamûn. This priceless collection is now at Cairo (3613-3705, U 13, various cases). The tomb is uninscribed, and of no interest apart from its occupants and their furniture.

NO. 47. TOMB OF SIPTAH

Another Davis find. The tomb lies near those of Setnakht, Tuthmosis I and Seti II, in the west side of the valley. Siptah was, it will be remembered, the Pharaoh who was the first husband of Queen Tausret, and who, indeed, attained the royal title by his marriage with that lady, who was queen in her own right. His tomb was discovered in December, 1905, by Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Davis. It consists of a flight of steps, three corridors, an antechamber, and a four-pillared hall, of which only a single pillar was standing when the tomb was discovered, and that in a very bad condition. Beyond the hall were two more corridors leading into a square room; but the condition of these last portions of the tomb was disastrous, the rock having collapsed. The excavations had to be abandoned in consequence of the unsafe condition of the tomb. It had been rifled in ancient days, and, indeed the mummy of Siptah was one of those found in the tomb of Amenophis II. One curious feature is that the cartouches of Siptah had everywhere been erased and subsequently restored. Some of the paintings are of great merit. Mention may be made of the beautiful figure of the kneeling Isis, admirably reproduced in Mr. Davis's volume on the tomb, and of the vulture-ceiling of the main corridor. The tomb is accessible, but is not lighted, and part of the funerary furniture is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



TOMB OF
SIPTAH

No. 48. TOMB OF THE VIZIER AMENEMÔPET

This is the tomb of another favoured official of the XVIIIth Dynasty court. It contained the vizier's mummy, in good condition, but has neither reliefs nor inscriptions.

Nos. 49-54

These are all small uninscribed tombs, of no interest to the visitor. Nos. 50, 51 and 52 contained the mummified bodies of royal pets, monkeys, dogs, an ibis, and some ducks.

No. 55. TOMB OF QUEEN TIY

This tomb, unsculptured and uninscribed, has great historical interest. It was discovered in 1907 by Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Davis, and lies between the tomb of Ramses VI and that of Ramses IX—quite close, in fact, to the tomb of Tutankhamûn. It appears to have been begun for Queen Tiy, and it seems probable that she may have been actually buried there temporarily, as part of her funerary equipment, and especially the remains of the funeral canopy, of wood covered with gold foil, was found in the tomb; but the actual burial discovered there was that of a young Pharaoh of Egypt, who seems from the inscriptions on his coffin to have been Akhenaten. The identity of the mummy with this Pharaoh has been questioned; but the balance of probability still seems to be in favour of the identification.

No. 56. THE GOLD TOMB

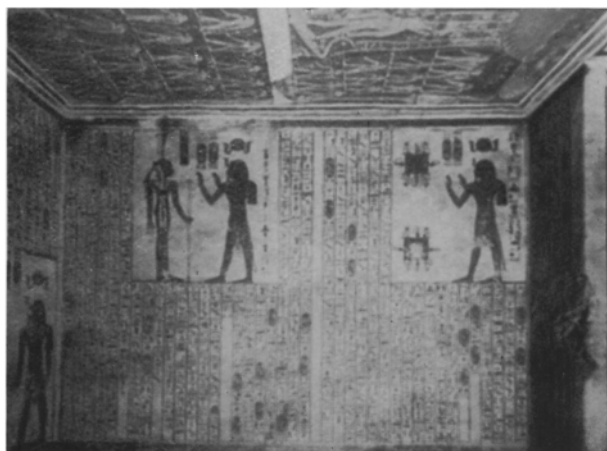
In 1908 Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Davis discovered in this tomb part of the jewellery of Queen Tausret and Seti II, which had perhaps been cached here by Setnakht, when he usurped No. 14, the queen's tomb. It is uninscribed and unidentified.

No. 57. TOMB OF HAREMHAB

This was the last of the great Davis finds, and was made by Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Davis in February, 1908. It lies close to the Gold Tomb, on the right hand of the path leading to the tomb of Amenophis II. The entrance is insignificant. A flight



RAMSES IX, TOMB ENTRANCE-CORRIDOR

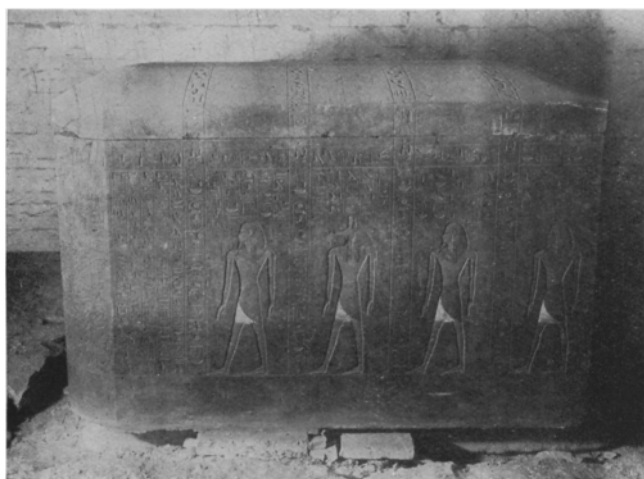


RAMSES VI

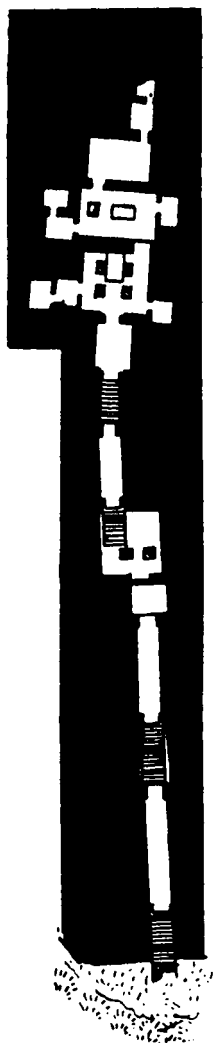
DETAILS FROM ROYAL TOMBS (XX DYN.)



TUTHMOSIS IV



HAREMLAB
TWO ROYAL SARCOPHAGI



TOMB OF HAREMHAB

of steps leads to a corridor and a second flight of steps to a second corridor, which gives access to the well, beyond which was an ante-room, and this to a two-pillared hall; in the left-hand corner a flight of steps leads down to the inner part of the tomb. This stairway was meant to be carefully concealed, as usual, in the hope that robbers would take the two-pillared hall to be the end of the tomb. As usual, however, the robbers had not been deceived, and the tomb had been thoroughly plundered.

Beyond this stairway, came another corridor, which was succeeded by another flight of steps, leading down to an ante-room, from which access was gained to the great six-pillared burial-hall in which stood the empty sarcophagus of Haremhab, an admirable piece of work, 8 feet 11 inches in length, 3 feet 9½ inches wide, and 4 feet high. It is of red granite, and is exquisitely carved with figures of the gods and inscriptions (see illustration). Note the figures of the guardian goddesses at the corners, with their wings outstretched over the sides of the sarcophagus. Beyond the burial-hall, which had the usual small annexes at its four corners, were three other smaller chambers. Decoration had not been completed, and was confined to the room of the well, the burial-hall, and the room which leads into it, with some other unfinished work in the corridors. The work is of good quality, and deals as usual with the journey of the sun, and with scenes of the king in the presence of the gods. Some of these latter are very well preserved and fine, and a figure of Osiris in one of the small chambers is noticeable.

No. 58

Baedeker (eighth edition, 1929) gives this number as the Tomb of Tutankhamûn. The Government Survey, however, numbers Tutankhamûn's tomb as No. 62, and assigns No. 58 to the *câche* in which Mr. Davis and his assistants in 1907 found a number of objects, including a fine alabaster statuette and several pieces of gold leaf bearing the name of Tutankhamûn, which must have been discarded from the loot taken from the real tomb of Tutankhamûn when it was robbed in ancient times. No. 58, which is close to the tomb of Haremhab, is merely a small pit-tomb, and can never have been intended for a royal burial.

Nos. 59, 60 AND 61

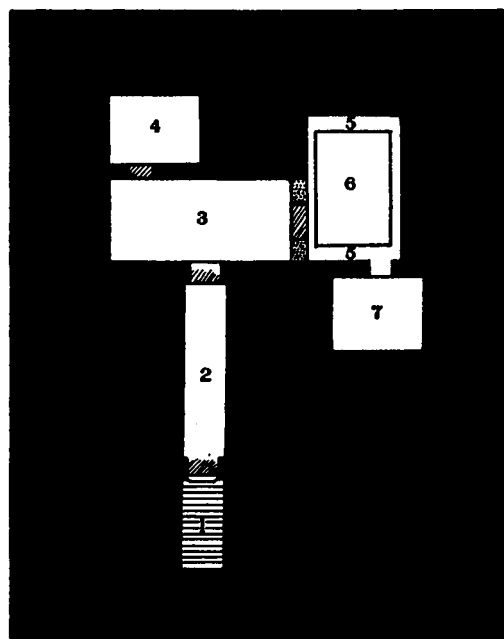
are unidentified and uninscribed, but No. 60 contained burials of the nurses of Tuthmosis IV.

No. 62. TOMB OF TUTANKHAMÛN

The discovery of this tomb, with its priceless contents, by far the most valuable find of modern Egyptology from an artistic point of view, though less important historically, was made by Mr. Howard Carter, working in collaboration with the late Earl of Carnarvon, on 4th November, 1922. The tomb was opened up on 26th November by Mr. Carter and Lord Carnarvon; and the opening of the actual burial-chamber, with its great shrine containing the sarcophagus and various coffins took place on Friday, 16th February, 1923. It was found that the tomb had been broken into in ancient days; but the robbers had evidently been interrupted in their work, and though the confusion in the antechamber was great, the contents of the tomb had not suffered to any extent.

As a tomb, No. 62 is comparatively insignificant; its interest lies almost entirely in what it contained. A flight of sixteen steps leads down to a door which was found sealed with the seal of the Theban necropolis at the discovery in 1922, the seal having evidently been applied by the royal inspectors when they visited the tomb after its violation by the robbers. The doorway leads into a corridor, and this through a second doorway into an antechamber which is the largest chamber in the tomb, measuring

26 feet by 8½ feet. A doorway in the left-hand corner of this chamber opened into an annexe, and both of these rooms were absolutely packed with funerary furniture, some of it of the richest and most artistic character and workmanship. The most striking piece, where almost all were striking, may have been



1. Entrance
staircase
2. Passage
3. Antechamber
4. Annexe to 3
5. Burial-chamber,
with
6. Funerary shrines
(now removed)
7. Store-chamber

TOMB OF TUTANKHAMÛN

the golden throne, now in the Museum at Cairo. On the north side, the antechamber was closed by a plastered wall, before which stood two life-sized statues of the king in varnished wood, with gold headdresses, kilts, and adornments. When this wall was broken through, the outermost shrine of wood overlaid with gold foil was disclosed, and this proved to have three similar canopies within it before the actual sarcophagus was reached.

A fourth room, which was used as a store-chamber, opened off the burial-hall, and some of the finest articles, including the exquisite Canopic chest, were found in this small chamber.

The sarcophagus is of yellowish crystalline sandstone. It measures 9 feet long by 4 feet 10 inches broad, and 4 feet 10 inches high, and is exquisitely carved, with a cavetto cornice, and figures of the four guardian goddesses, Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Selket, at the corners, enveloping the sarcophagus with their outstretched wings. The proper lid had evidently been lost, and had been replaced by a broken lid of red granite, which was repaired, and the sarcophagus covered with a red wash to match the colour of the lid, a notable example of scamped work where so much seemed perfection itself. Within the sarcophagus were two wooden anthropoid coffins overlaid with thin sheet gold, each presenting a portrait image of the dead Pharaoh, with the crook and scourge of Osiris; and within the second of these was the third coffin, of pure gold, also moulded into an image of the king, and most wonderfully chased and inlaid with semi-precious stones and coloured glazes. This held the much-decayed mummy of Tutankhamûn, who proved to have died at the age of eighteen or thereabout. Over the mummy's head was a fine gold mask of the young Pharaoh, inlaid with semi-precious stones and coloured glazes.

Most of the treasures of the tomb have now been removed to the Cairo Museum, where they can be seen. There still remain in the burial-chamber the sarcophagus, with the outer of the two wooden coffins, and the mummy of the king. The wooden coffin, with its gold overlay and beautiful modelling, is a beautiful piece of work. The paintings of the tomb are confined to the burial-hall, and are poor, compared to many others in the valley. They represent the king's funeral, the divine father Ay, his successor, performing as a priest the ceremony of the 'Opening of the Mouth' of the mummy, and the Pharaoh offering to various gods.

The times when this tomb is open to visitors are announced in the various hotels each year. Those who wish to visit the Western Valley should inquire when at the main valley for the keys of the tombs of Amenophis III and Ay, which are usually in the care of the guards in the main valley. The tomb of Amenophis I was found by Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Howard Carter in 1914, at the head of a small lateral valley of the ravine

at the extreme northern end of the Theban necropolis, above Dirâ 'Abu el-Naga. The scanty foundations of the mortuary chapels of this Pharaoh and his wife, Queen Ahmôse Nefertari, had been found in 1896 and 1898-9 by Professors Spiegelberg and Newberry in the plain below, so that Amenophis seems to have been the first Pharaoh to conceive the idea of separating tomb and chapel for the greater security of the former. The tomb was entirely rifled when found. It consisted of a pit-entrance, giving access to a corridor, with a chamber and niche, which was interrupted by a well with two small chambers opening off it at the foot. After the well came a second corridor, which opened into the two-pillared burial-hall. The tomb, it will be seen, thus anticipates some of the features of the later tombs in the Valley of the Kings, but differs from them in its entrance being a well or pit, instead of a staircase or sloping gallery.

Mr. Weigall, however, believes that the actual tomb of Amenophis I is that situated high up above the valley at its south end, and almost overlooking Deir el-Medina. This tomb has an entrance-flight of steps, from which a low doorway leads to a chamber which communicates by a rough gallery with the ruined burial-hall, and another chamber beyond it. He believes that the funerary chapel of the Pharaoh was the earliest part of the XVIIIth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu. As neither tomb has any reliefs or inscriptions, the question of which may be the genuine tomb of the king does not much concern the visitor.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE TOMBS OF THE QUEENS

THE Valley of the Tombs of the Queens is locally known as *Bibân el Harîm*, as that of the Tombs of the Kings is called *Bibân el Mulâk*. It is situated at the south end of the Theban necropolis, and may be reached easily from Medinet Habu, from which it is distant about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles, or from Deir el-Medina, 1 mile. A visit to it may be combined with that to either of these sites, preferably, perhaps, with that to Deir el-Medina, as Medinet Habu is a big handful in itself, without adding anything to it. We have already noticed, in dealing with Deir el-Medina, that on the road to the Tombs of the Queens we pass several steles of Ramesside date. The paths from the two temples unite at a point below a spur of the western hills, and proceed into a fine valley, which contains a number of royal tombs of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, the XVIIIth not being represented. Altogether about seventy tombs are known here; but very few of them are of any importance, and most of them are entirely uninscribed and undecorated. The area was explored in 1903-5 by an Italian Expedition under Professor Schiaparelli, and a few of the tombs revealed by the work are of considerable interest.

We have seen that some of the queens of the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty were buried in the Valley of the Kings. Hatshepsut and Tausret, both of them queens in their own right, had tombs of considerable size and importance there; while Tiy, the queen of Amenophis III, also had a tomb, though an undistinguished one, in the valley, and was apparently buried there, though her body was removed when her son Akhenaten was brought from El-'Amârna and buried in his mother's tomb. In several of the other royal tombs of the XVIIIth Dynasty, e.g., Amenophis II and Haremhab, the presence of unidentified female mummies suggests that the Pharaoh's queen may have been buried beside her husband; but the confusion introduced by the tomb-robberies and the consequent shifting of the royal mummies prevent us from having any certainty as to what the

custom may have been. Certainly there was no sign of the presence of Queen Ankhšenamûn in the almost undisturbed tomb of Tutankhamûn. For her absence there may have been other reasons, especially if she is to be identified with the queen Dakh-amûn, who wrote to the Hittite King Shibiluliuma suggesting a marriage between herself and a Hittite prince after the death of her husband without issue.

The custom of burial in the Valley of the Queens begins, so far as is known, with Ramses I of the XIXth Dynasty, who buried his queen Sitrê in the tomb now numbered 38. We do not know if Seti I followed his father's example; but Seti's son, Ramses II, evidently had a fancy for the valley, as he buried there his favourite queen Nefertari, and three of his daughters, who were also his wives, Bant-Anat, Meritamûn, and Nebttaui. Then comes a gap in the valley, or rather in our knowledge of it, and we next come into contact with it in the reign of Ramses III (XXth Dynasty), who buries in it his queen, Êset (Isis), and four sons. The remaining tombs probably belong mainly to the subsequent reigns of the XXth Dynasty, after which the Valley of the Queens, like its more famous companion to the north, the Valley of the Kings, seems to have been abandoned as a royal burial-place.

NO. 66. TOMB OF QUEEN NEFERTARI

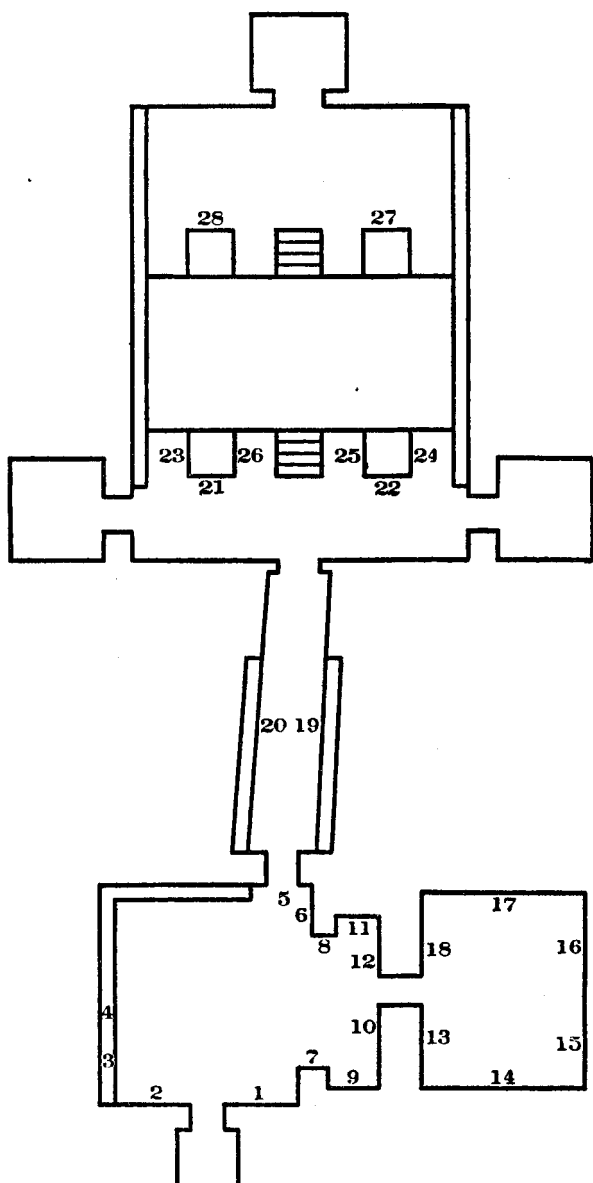
Arriving at the valley, we take the path to the right, which leads to the tomb of Nefertari, the favourite queen of Ramses II, familiar to everybody from the frequent repetition of her graceful figure on the colossi of the great king, and from the dedication to her as well as to Hathor, of the smaller rock-temple at Abu Simbel—an almost unprecedented honour, which shows how great her influence with Ramses must have been. On our right hand as we go up the path towards the tomb, the tombs of Queen Meritamûn (68), Queen Bant-Anat (71), and Queen Dewetôpet (74) lie below the *ghafir's* hut, with other unidentified tombs; while the tomb of Queen Nebttaui (60) lies to the left, in the midst of a cluster of unidentified tombs.

Nefertari, whose beautiful name means ' Beautiful Companion ', was already married to Ramses II in the first year of his reign; and, although her husband was a much married man, whose wives or concubines ' were probably as readily accumulated as

those of an Arabian Khalifa', or those of the Wise King Solomon, she appears to have retained her hold upon the affections of her grandiose lord in spite of these vagaries of his fancy. The date of her death is not known; she was worshipped in later days, as were other important royalties. She contributed two sons whose names we know, to the enormous list of the children of Ramses—the ninth son, Seti, and another son named Anub-er-rekhu. Another queen, Ist-nofret, was, however, the mother of the king's most important sons—his second son Ramses; Khaemwêset, who was the fourth, and is the famous wizard prince of the magic tales, and the favourite son who should have succeeded but for his early death; and the thirteenth son, Meneptah, who did actually succeed his too long-lived father. Ist-nofret was also the mother of the king's eldest and favourite daughter, Bant-Anat, who became his wife, according to the strange Egyptian custom, so that Nefertari's influence must have been very great since it was retained apparently to the end of her life in the face of such competition.

Her tomb is on the whole worthy of her position in history, though its decoration has suffered a good deal, especially in the rear part of the burial-hall, and has been described as 'poor and coarse'. All the same, it is unquestionably effective, and the singularly graceful figure of the queen herself, which is handled with an approach to realism in the colouring, and with a feeling of freedom and sympathy somewhat rare elsewhere, would in itself be sufficient to give the tomb distinction (see illustrations). One of the outstanding characteristics of the Egyptian painter is his mastery of bold and accurate line; in this feature of his art the designer of the decoration in Nefertari's tomb ranks high. The figures are executed in low relief, painted, on two inches of stucco, and the ceiling is, as usual, decorated with stars.

A staircase, with the usual inclined plane in the middle of it, leads down to a hall, which has on two sides a ledge, with cavetto cornice, similar to that in one of the chambers of the tomb of Seti I, and probably meant for the reception of offerings. On the right side of the entrance, (1) the queen adores Osiris, who has Anubis behind him and the four 'Children of Horus' in front of him. On the wall to the left of the entrance, we see in succession the queen's *Ka* playing (2) a game of which the Egyptians were extremely fond, and to which, in certain circumstances, they attached magical associations. The *Ka* then comes out (3)



TOMB OF QUEEN NEFERTARI

to adore the rising sun, which appears between the two lions, Yesterday and To-morrow, the Benu bird (phoenix) of Heliopolis, a blue crane, watches as a symbol of resurrection, by the bier of Osiris, over whom Nephthys and Isis, in the form of hawks watch also (4). Over the door leading into the next corridor are the four 'Children of Horus', Imseti (human-headed), Hapi (ape-headed), Duamûtef (hawk-headed), and Qebhsnêwef (jackal-headed) (5). On the projection to the right of the door, Neith stands to receive the queen (7), and on the opposite projection is a similar figure of Selqet (8). Between these projections, on the right of the door leading to the side chamber, Horus leads the queen to Harakhte and Hathor enthroned (9, 10), and on the left Isis leads Nefertari into the presence of Khepri, the beetle-headed god of resurrection (11, 12). The thickness of the door into the small side chamber has on either side a figure of Maet, the goddess of truth. On the right (13) is a ram-headed figure of the setting sun, here identified with Osiris, and supported by Isis and Nephthys. Next comes a scene (14) of the queen adoring the seven sacred cattle, the bull, and the four steering-oars of the sky. On the rear wall of this chamber, is a double scene in which Nefertari presents offerings to Osiris (left), and Atûm (right) (15, 16). Next, on the left wall of the room, the queen stands before Thoth (ibis-headed), who has the frog Heqt squatting before him (17), and finally on the left of the door (18) she offers the sign for fine linen to Ptah, who stands before her in a shrine, with the Dad symbol of Osiris behind him.

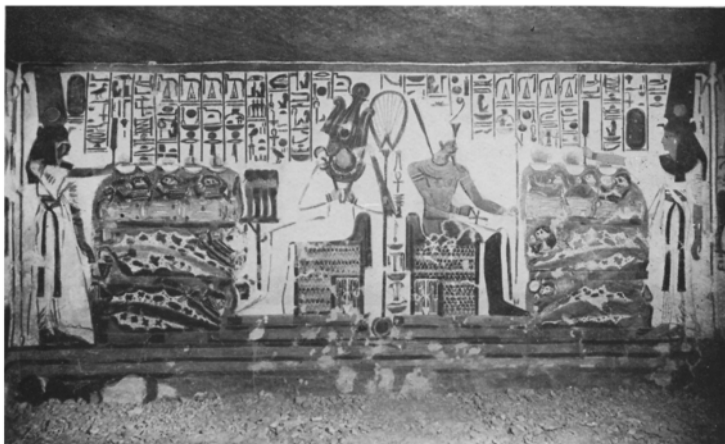
We now pass out of the first hall and descend another staircase. This is decorated with figures which are admirably disposed so as to make the best of the space available. On the left hand, Nefertari offers two bowls of wine or milk to Isis, behind whom sits Nephthys, while Maet, with outstretched wings, squats in the background. On the right, the queen makes a similar offering to Hathor, behind whom sits Selqet, with Maet, as before, in the background (19, 20) (see illustration). Lower down are the winged uraeus, guarding two names of the queen, the jackal Anubis, couched on his shrine, and figures of Isis and Nephthys.

We now enter the burial-hall, which has four square pillars, and a sunk area in the middle space between the two pairs of pillars, where the sarcophagus stood, and which has steps leading down to it from both sides. A small annexe opens off from the hall to right and left, and another opens from the middle of the



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GOLD HEAD-MASK OF TUTANKHAMÛN



NEFERTARI OFFERING TO OSIRIS (LEFT) AND ATÛM (RIGHT)



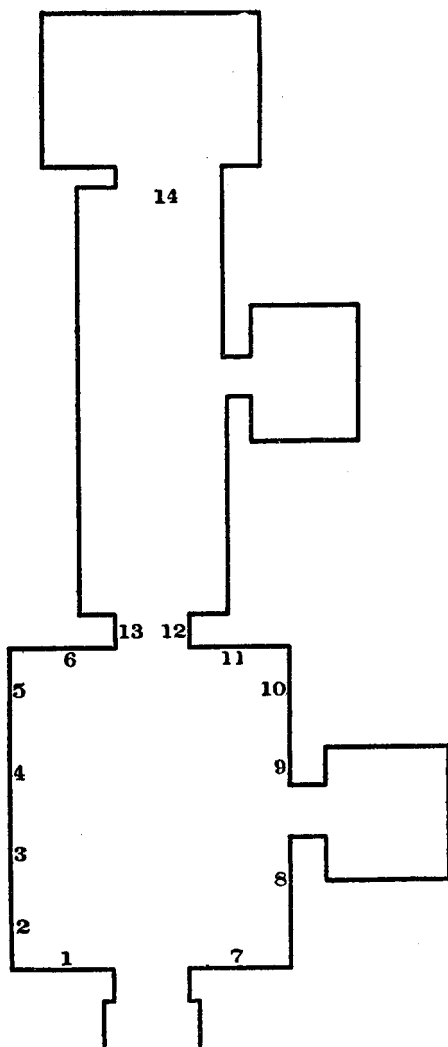
NEFERTARI OFFERING TO HATHOR, SELQET AND MAET

WALL-PAINTINGS FROM TOMB OF QUEEN NEFERTARI,
WIFE OF RAMSES II

rear wall. The four pillars are decorated with figures of the Inmûtef priest (enacting the role of Horus-Supporter-of-His-Mother) (21, 22), and Osiris and Queen Nefertari embraced by Hathor and by Isis. The other decoration of the hall shows the various Arits, or pylons of the underworld, with their guardian demons, and the words of power which enable the queen to pass them all on her way to eternal blessedness. The work here has been much damaged by moisture. The annexe to the left has the uraeus goddesses of south and north, with the names of Nekheb and Buto. On the left wall appear Imseti and Duamûtef, who promise the queen 'an abode in the Sacred Land', and on the right wall the other two Children of Horus, Hapi and Qebh-snêwef, repeat the performance. On the rear wall are the names and titles of the queen, with two figures of Thoth, holding in both hands a pole which supports the sky. The annexe to the right has to the left a much-destroyed scene of the queen before the divine cow Hathor, and to the left a scene of her before Anubis. The rear wall has a figure of a winged goddess, probably Maet or Isis. The head and the inscription which would have told us who it was have perished. The rear niche, or annexe, the sanctuary of the tomb, is almost a total wreck, in which only the merest fragments of goddess figures can be seen.

NO. 55. TOMB OF PRINCE AMEN(HIR)KHOP SHEF

This tomb lies a little farther on than that of Nefertari, and is one which deserves to be seen, as the colour in its scenes has been wonderfully well preserved. The son of Ramses III. for whom it was made is called in all the lists Amen(hir)khopshef; but strangely enough his name is always written in his tomb without the 'hir', simply as Amenkhopshef. He seems to have died young, as he is represented in the tomb wearing the side-lock of youth, though, of course, he has the usual accumulation of titles, and is represented bearing the tall ostrich-feather fan of a 'Fan-bearer on the King's right hand'. Ramses III. figures in the scenes much more importantly than the young prince, who is introduced by his father to the various gods. The tomb consists of an outer chamber, with an annexe opening off from it to the right, a corridor, with another annexe to the right, both of these side-chambers being unfinished, and a sanctuary, which is also unfinished.



TOMB OF PRINCE AMEN(HIR)KHOPSHEF

We take the first chamber, beginning with the scenes on the left-hand side of the door, and working round to the door into the corridor. The king, behind whom stands Thoth, embraces Isis (1). Next, the king followed by the young prince, who bears, as he does throughout the tomb, the ostrich-feather fan, offers incense to Ptah, who is in a shrine (2). Farther on, Ramses, again followed by his son, introduces the prince to Ptah, who is shown somewhat unusually as walking and wearing the *atef* crown (3). Then Ramses presents his son to Duamûtef (4), and next to Imseti (5), who conducts the pair towards Isis (6), who looks over her shoulder to the advancing king, whom she holds by the hand. We now return to the entrance and take the right-hand wall. Here, as on the other side, the thickness of the wall shows a kneeling figure of Maet. Then a goddess, partly destroyed, but probably Nephthys, to correspond with Isis on the other side, embraces the king, and strokes his chin with her finger (7). The king next introduces his son to Shu (8), but a part of a scene with a god wearing the Red Crown has been destroyed behind the prince. Beyond the doorway into the annexe, the king (there was no room for the prince though it was his tomb and not his father's) is led forward by Qebhsnêwef (9) and Hapi (10), and last Ramses and his son are conducted by Hathor (11).

The thicknesses of the doorway into the inner corridor are occupied by Isis and Nephthys (12, 13). The corridor is adorned with scenes and texts from the *Book of Gates*. The chamber opening on the right is, like its predecessor, unfinished and undecorated. Passing the last of the Arits we reach the sanctuary, which, though unfinished and undecorated, contains the granite sarcophagus of the prince.

NO. 52. TOMB OF QUEEN TITI

Turning back on our tracks from the tomb of Amen(hir)khopshef, and taking the right-hand track at the fork of the paths, we pass two unnamed tombs, 54 and 53, and on our right hand we see No. 52, the tomb of Queen Titi, or Teyet. This tomb has been known for more than fifty years, and was for a time supposed to be that of Tiy, the famous queen of Amenophis III, and mother of Akhenaten. It belongs, however, to a much later date, and, though we know nothing of the personality of Queen Titi, she appears to have been a queen of the later Ramesside

period. She had, at all events, every possible title to royal honours, as she is described as royal daughter, royal wife, and royal mother—which means that she was the daughter of a Pharaoh, married another (if she did not marry her own father, an alliance not unknown), and was mother of a third Pharaoh. Her tomb has at one time been a fine piece of work, but is now much damaged. It consists of an antechamber, a long corridor, with two side-rooms, and the burial-chamber. The paintings in the first corridor have suffered considerably, but their purport can still be made out. Beginning with the left hand of the doorway, we have the figure of Maet kneeling with outspread wings. Then the figure of the queen, looking inwards, adores Ptah in his shrine. Unfortunately the heads of the queen's figures here and elsewhere have been destroyed, perhaps maliciously, to prejudice her chances of immortality. Next she adores Harakhte, and shakes two sistra before him; while still farther on she is met by Imseti, Duamûtef and Isis.

On the right hand of the doorway, Maet appears again. Then the queen faces Thoth, who wears the moon-disk with the crescent. Next she shakes her sistra before Atûm, and is met by Hapi and Qebhsênwef, with Nephthys—one wall thus exactly balancing the other. On the left and right of the doorway into the burial-chamber are the goddesses Neith and Selqet.

Entering the main chamber, we have on the left a white jackal, Anubis, couching on his shrine, with a white lion posed beneath. Anubis, of course, is the god of the dead; the lion is either Yesterday or To-morrow. On the walls to right and left are figures of spirits of the underworld and demi-gods, dog-headed apes, monkeys, etc. On the end-wall, the queen, elaborately garbed, worships the four Children of Horus, who are here represented, not with their typical heads, but simply as human-headed. The small chamber on the left is the mummy-chamber, with the burial-pit. Its figures are much destroyed, but there are again scenes of the queen worshipping the Children of Horus, who in one instance have their characteristic heads, and in the other are human-headed. In the right-hand small room are various scenes of the Duat or the Underworld; and the rear wall of the room has a scene of the queen adoring the divine cow Hathor, who comes out from the western hills. Queen Titi, in this scene, wears a white dress edged with blue, a green wig, and a vulture headdress, with uraeus, and stands before the sacred

sycamore, catching in her two hands the water of life which Hathor, this time as a woman standing within the sacred tree, pours out of two jars. In the niche at the back of the main hall Osiris is enthroned, with Isis and Thoth behind him, and Neith and Selqet before him; while on the side-walls the queen worships sixteen seated gods.

NO. 51. TOMB OF QUEEN ÊSET

Êset or Isis was the wife of Ramses III, and the mother of Ramses VI (?). Her tomb is much damaged and is scarcely worth a visit. One scene shows the queen offering two sistra before Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, while an inscription behind the god states that the tomb 'was given by the favour of King Nebmaet - Rê Mer - Amûn, Rameses Amûn - neter - heq - Ôn', which appears to be a version of the titulary of Ramses VI, with the 'Khopshef' omitted. The queen's full name appears to have been Êset-Amasereth, and the second part of the name suggests a Syrian origin, but does not prove it any more than does the name Bant-Anat, of the favourite daughter of Ramses II, prove that that princess was a Syrian.

Passing tombs 50 and 49, which are unnamed, we turn to the right towards another group of royal tombs. Tomb 36, which belongs to an unidentified princess, has once been an attractive piece of work, but is now sorely damaged. In the inscriptions the titles of the lady have been written in; but her name has been left blank—a practice not uncommon in the case of trade copies of a funerary papyrus, but rather unusual in that of a tomb, which would scarcely be an instance of mass production as were the funerary papyri. No. 38 is the tomb of Sitrê, the queen of Ramses I and mother of Seti I. The figures of the tomb are only sketched in. No. 40 is the tomb of an unknown princess.

NO. 42. TOMB OF PRINCE PRA-HIR-UNAMEF

This prince was a son of Ramses III, perhaps the eldest son; but he evidently died at an early age. Ramses III, in fact, does not seem to have been lucky in his family life, between the early deaths of so many of his sons, and the harem conspiracy with which his reign closed. The tomb of Prince Pra-hir-unamef is too much damaged to be of interest. It has a corridor, with a

scene of Ramses introducing his son to the gods as in 55 and 44, and a four-pillared hall.

NO. 43. TOMB OF PRINCE SETH-HIR-KHOPSHEF

Another of the unlucky sons of Ramses III. It has two long and narrow corridors, where Ramses as usual does the honours of the underworld for his son, whom he introduces to various gods. Then comes a chamber with a collection of genii of the underworld, among whom are to be seen the two apes Fu and Au, who figure elsewhere in this necropolis, for instance, in the tomb of Queen Titi. The reliefs are all much blackened with smoke, and their colouring has perished.

NO. 44. TOMB OF PRINCE KHAEMWÊSET

This prince should not be confused with the much more famous son of Ramses II, the wizard prince of the magical tales of the Egyptian papyri. Our present prince was another of the family of Ramses III, and resembled his learned predecessor of the XIXth Dynasty only in the fact that he died before succeeding to the throne. His tomb ranks with that of Queen Nefertari as one of the best in the valley, and if time is limited, these two tombs, 44 and 66, should be chosen as most worthy of being visited.

The tomb consists of an outer corridor, with two side-rooms, an inner corridor with vaulted roof, and a burial-hall. On the left, as we enter, is a figure of Ptah in his shrine; the figure of the king who stood adoring him is destroyed. Next, the king, with the prince behind him, approaches Thoth; then the same introduction takes place, this time to Anubis; lastly the prince is introduced to Harakhte. On the right wall the king again worships Ptah; introduces his son to Gêb; then to Shu; finally to Atûm. In the entrance of the room on the left of the corridor are Isis and Nephthys, Neith and Selket, with the priest who represents Horus - Supporter - of - His - Mother. Then the prince stands before Anubis, and before the Children of Horus, and Selket; while on the opposite wall he again stands before Anubis and the four Children of Horus, with Neith. On the end wall is a double figure of Osiris, with Isis and Nephthys. The room to the right of the corridor has again Isis and Nephthys, Neith and

Selqet, as before. Within, the prince adores Hapi and Qebh-snêwef on the left hand, Imseti and Duamûtef on the right. A curious blunder has here been made by the artist, who has given Hapi a jackal's head instead of a dog-headed ape's, and Duamûtef a baboon's head instead of a jackal's. Such a mistake can scarcely be attributed to ignorance on the part of an artist who was doing this kind of work every day of his life ; it must have been due to sheer carelessness.

The inner corridor is only partly finished. It represents the passage of the prince through the pylons of the underworld, which are guarded by grotesque and weird monsters. Over the doorway of the Sanctuary is the winged sun-disk. The thick-nesses of the door have Dad emblems, crowned with the *atef* crown, and uraei with the sun-disk. On the left is the couchant Anubis, guardian of the tomb, with the lion of Yesterday or To-morrow beneath, as in the tomb of Queen Titi. Then the king makes offering to Thoth, and appears before Horus-son-of-Isis. On the other side of the room another lion guards the entrance, and symbolic scenes represent the revivifying of the young prince ; while the king offers incense to Horus-khenti-khet. On the end wall two figures of Osiris enthroned are addressed by Isis and Neith (left), and Nephthys and Selqet (right) ; while the Children of Horus rise out of a lotus-flower before Osiris.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE MORTUARY CHAPELS OF THE THEBAN NOBLES (LIST IN NUMERICAL ORDER)

WHILE the great mortuary temples of the kings, such as the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu, not unnaturally attract a great deal of the attention which the visitor to Thebes is able to spare for the western bank of the Nile, and the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings attracts the bulk of what little is left because of the romance attaching to one or two of its sepulchres, there still remains a third object in the Thebes of the Dead which can put in a claim to have an interest of its own, not in the least inferior to, though totally different from, that of either mortuary temple or royal tomb. The mortuary chapels of the Theban nobles who constituted the aristocracy and the court circle of Thebes in the days when the great city was the centre of the world of the Ancient East—robbed and wasted though they have been during many centuries by native thieves and wandering tourists, and (in early days) by nominally scientific excavators—still offer us a series of illustrations of Theban, or rather we may say of Egyptian, life and belief during the days of the Empire, such as it would be difficult to parallel elsewhere, though Saqqâra, with its mastabas, does something of the same sort for the days of the Old Kingdom, and Beni Hasan's rock-hewn tombs carry on the work for the Middle Kingdom. The Theban chapels have their own merits, and, though the work in them, as might be expected, varies from very good to careless and bad, yet the best scenes in the chapels are of extraordinary vivacity and great power and delicacy of execution, while in some of them the colour has stood the test of time and ill-usage remarkably well.

It should be noticed, at the start, that it is quite incorrect to call these chapels the tombs of the nobles. They are scarcely any more than the mortuary temples of the kings are their tombs. It is true that in most cases the chapel is very closely associated with the tomb, being within a few yards or even feet of it; but in some cases the chapel is a considerable distance

from the actual tomb, and there are cases where it is as far away as any mortuary temple is from its corresponding tomb, for the chapel is on one of the hills of the necropolis, while the tomb is away in the Valley of the Kings, its owner having been one of the favoured ones who were allowed the privilege of burial in the royal enclosure. Actually the tomb-chapel stands to the tomb in precisely the same relation as does the mortuary temple to the royal tomb in the Bibân el-Maluke.

But while this is so, we have to notice that there is a difference between the scenes which are portrayed in the mortuary temple and those which adorn the tomb-chapel of the noble. We have seen, in dealing with the tombs of the kings, that the Pharaoh, being a god, did not need the repetition of the acts and pleasures of earthly life on the walls of his mortuary temple to secure the enjoyment of similar acts and pleasures in the tomb. Being a god, he commanded such things by virtue of his nature ; and consequently his temple walls record his great deeds without, and his fellowship with the gods, his co-equals, within. But the noble could command no such natural authority over the things of the underworld, and consequently on the walls of his tomb-chapel are depicted scenes of the ordinary acts and pleasures of his earthly life, which were thus believed to be magically repeated by the dead man in the other world ; while in addition ample provision for his bodily needs was made by the picturing of groaning tables of offerings set out before his portrait, and lines of servants bringing up still more bounteous provision so that the supply might never fail.

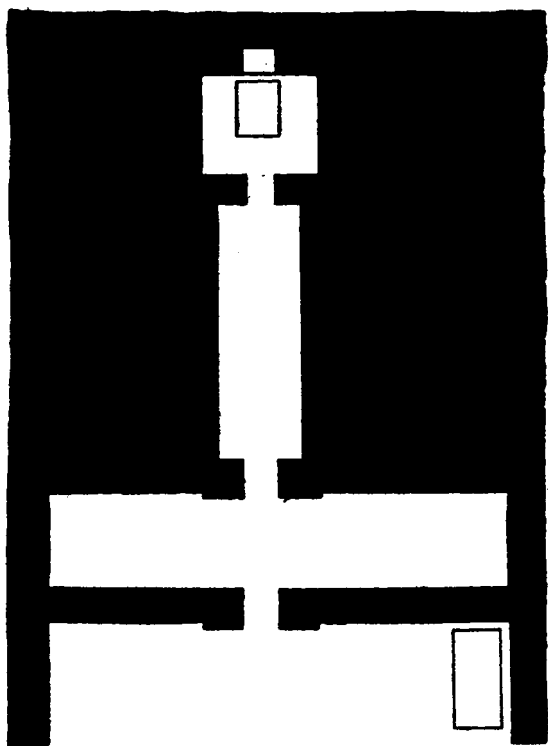
Accordingly we have on the walls of the tomb-chapel a series of scenes of the normal life of man and woman in Egypt which is unparalleled in the art of any other country in the world. We see the whole circle of agricultural life, from the sowing to the harvest and the vintage, the genial and convivial fellowship of feasts and banquets, the sports in which the Egyptian loved to indulge in his times of leisure, the chase in the desert, the fowler's skiff among the papyrus thickets, or the fisherman with his leister, which invariably has succeeded in piercing a fish on each of its prongs, the humours of the field, the market and the estate office, and the tasks and tools of the workmen in all kinds of different trades. It is true that convention required an almost invariable sequence of scenes, so that we have repetitions, far too numerous of certain scenes, which, charming though they

may be in themselves, are apt to make us grudge their presence for the hundredth time when we reflect that it has perhaps deprived us of seeing another aspect of Egyptian life which has failed to come within the consecrated circle of subjects fit for the tomb; but even within the somewhat narrow limits which custom allowed to the artist there is such variety of separate incident, and of presentation, that even the hundredth repetition still pleases us by some little freshness of accent, even though the scene in general is as familiar as the alphabet.

The Theban necropolis extends for about two miles along the foothills of the Libyan range, at a distance of about three miles from the river. It is backed by a striking line of cliffs rising in one dominating point to the pyramidal mountain which is known as El-Qurn, 'the Horn', and gives its name to the most important part of the necropolis (El-Qurna). In ancient days this peak was believed to have a mysterious and terrific personality. 'Beware of the Peak of the West,' it was said, 'for a lion is in it, and it strikes as a lion which fascinates its prey; it lies in ambush for all who sin against it.'

On the foothills before this line of imposing heights the ancient Thebans buried their dead for untold generations; and it is the tomb-chapels of the more distinguished citizens of the city which have survived, mainly from the time of the XVIIIth to the XXth Dynasty, to tell us of life as it was lived under the Empire. The chapels are chiefly rock-cut, though in places brick and other material has had to be used to make up the deficiencies of the rock. For except in a few instances, where a fine-grained limestone was struck in some of the more low-lying tombs, the stone of the necropolis is of very poor quality, being an extremely coarse and crumbling limestone with innumerable fissures and intrusive blocks. In consequence of this fact, recourse had to be had to plaster to make out the deficiencies of the rock; and a regular school of painting on plaster arose to meet with the constant demand for such work in the necropolis. The rough rock of the tomb-chambers and passages first received a coat of coarse mud plaster, and then on the top of this was laid a coat of fine lime plaster, which was smoothed to receive the painting. Gradually this became the general practice, though in cases where the quality of the rock permitted of the old use of coloured relief-sculpture, the Theban artist showed himself as skilled as ever in this style of work.

The tomb-chapels, as might be expected, show considerable variety in design and extent. Means and time differed in different cases, and produced corresponding differences in the plans adopted and the scale on which they were carried out. But on the whole



TYPE OF THEBAN TOMB CHAPEL

(For explanation, see text)

the tendency is for the Theban to conform to a definite scheme (see plan). An outer forecourt communicates by a doorway with a transverse hall, which was the scene of the family gatherings in honour of the dead. This in turn opened into a corridor, and this into the inner shrine of the tomb, with its niche for a statue

or statues of the deceased in the rear wall. Many of the chapels, of course, offer only a fragment of this scheme, which represents the complete idea of the tomb-chapel. There was also a sort of general understanding as to the scheme of painting, and the order in which certain scenes should be placed, and the part of the chapel to which they should belong. Roughly speaking, the scheme was something like this, though there are variations, and the scheme outlined only applies in its completeness to a typical XVIIIth Dynasty chapel.

The forecourt may have a shaft leading to the burial-vault, though the shaft may also descend from the inner shrine, or may be separate altogether from the chapel. In the thickness of the doorway between the forecourt and the hall are figures of N adoring the sunlight.

Entering the hall, we have on either side of the doorway a scene of N performing a sacrifice. Next on the right hand may be a figure of N receiving work from his craftsmen, a picture of these men at work, a numbering of cattle, or a banquet; and on the left hand a family feast or scenes from fieldwork. At the two end walls may be steles, or these may be left out in favour of scenes of hunting in the desert, or offerings to N's ancestors. On the rear wall, right hand, may be hunting the hippopotamus, or a scene of fowling or fishing; and on the left hand a scene of official life. If N is one of the few Egyptians who have no official position, a family feast or the reception of offerings may be substituted. On the rear wall, next to the doorway into the corridor, may be representations of the Pharaoh enthroned. On the thicknesses of the doorway into the corridor are figures of N going out and in. (It will be noticed that the figures in all the doorways assert the liberty of the life of the dead man in his new estate.) The corridor is generally occupied with scenes of the funerary ritual, the pilgrimage to Abydos, the 'Opening of the Mouth', a funerary feast, the consecration of food to the use of N, etc. On the thicknesses of the doorway into the shrine are figures of N going out and in (sometimes, but rarely, also figures of Anubis or Amentet welcoming N).

Entering the shrine we have on either side of the doorway within funerary rites for the good of N. On the side-walls consecration of food for N, lists of offerings, or a funerary feast. On the two halves of the rear wall false doors, replaced in later tombs by figures of N or of gods of the dead. The niche is

occupied by a statue of N, or by painted figures of N at table or worshipping the gods of the dead.

This, of course, is only a general scheme, and is subject to considerable variation in detail. Particularly, the official position of the owner of the tomb may suggest a number of other scenes out of the ordinary routine; and to this fact we owe a number of the most vivacious scenes in the necropolis, and a great deal of our knowledge of Egyptian life and the relations of the land with foreign nations. 'Thus, a vizier is represented in his court of justice, the forty parchment rolls of the Law lying before him, and his assessors squatting in long rows on either hand (100). The nurse or tutor of the king's children is depicted with one or more of his royal charges upon his lap (64, 93, 226). The royal butler is seen busy with the preparation of the beverages to be consumed in the palace (92). In the tomb of a second prophet of Amûn, priests are arriving at the temple-gates, where they are met and welcomed by priestesses (75). In a humbler walk of life, the head gardener of the Ramesseum is beheld attending to the temple-gardens (138). Elsewhere it is the military life that we are called upon to view (78, 85, 90, 91); and there are twenty-four tombs in which foreigners and their tribute are delineated. It is impossible to enumerate all the sides of life on which these ancient tombs throw light; they are, in short, the principal source of our knowledge of the conditions of life under the Tuthmoside and Ramesside Pharaohs' (Gardiner, *Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, p. 6).

The necropolis which contains all these treasures stretches from the road to the Valley of the Kings, on the north, to Medînet Habu on the south. It embraces the following separate districts: (1) *Dirâ 'Abu el-Naga* ('The Arm of 'Abu el-Naga'), the district which extends from the road to the Valley of the Kings to a little beyond the end of the causeways from the Deir el-Bahari temples; (2) *El-'Asasîf* (meaning doubtful), the district which runs westwards to El-Deir el-Bahari, and is bounded by the hills of the next two districts on the south; (3) *El Khôkha* ('Ilwet el-Khôkha, 'The Hill of the Nectarine'), the district south-east of El-'Asasîf, and bordering on the lower enclosure of Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna; (4) *Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna* (Ilwet el-Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna, 'The Hill of the Saint 'Abd el-Qurna'), which is subdivided into the upper and the lower enclosure, and is bounded to the south by the valley running up south-westwards from the

southern wall of the Ramesseum; (5) *Deir el-Medîna* ('The Monastery of the City'), the wâdi south of the Ramesseum and behind the hill of Qurnet Mura'i, which contains the Ptolemaic temple of Deir el-Medîna; (6) *Qurnet Mura'i* ('The Peak of Mura'i', a local saint), an insulated hill which makes the apex of a triangle whose other angles are Medînet Habu and the Ramesseum. Deir el-Medîna and Qurnet Mura'i are bounded to the south-west by the road to the Valley of the Tombs of the Queens.

The plan adopted in the following notes on this great necropolis is, first, to give in the order of numbering, and with only such details as are absolutely essential, all the tombs which are recorded in the *Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes* by Gardiner and Weigall, and its *Supplement* by Engelbach, marking with an asterisk those which are of sufficient interest or importance to be the subject of more detailed notice. Then, in order of locality, beginning with Dirâ 'Abu el-Naga, and working southwards, follow the notes on these tombs, and on any of those discovered since the issue of the *Supplement* which seem of sufficient importance to warrant special notice. It will be noticed that the numerical order of the tombs has no relation to their topographical order, and as it is by locality that the tombs are visited, and not by numerical order, it seems best to follow locality in the notes. It should be noted that the local guardians know exactly where each tomb is situated, and that they can read English figures. The notes on the more important tombs follow the order of sequence of the sheets of the large-scale (1/1000) map of the Egyptian Government Survey, beginning with Sections C7 and D7, C6 and D6, and working south.

The abbreviations for the districts in which the tombs lie are as follows:

- DB = El-Deir el-Bahari.
- DM = Deir el-Medîna.
- GM = Qurnet Mura'i.
- UE = Upper Enclosure.
- LE = Lower Enclosure.
- SG = El-Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna.
- A = El-'Asasf.
- K = El-Khôkha.
- DNN = Dirâ 'Abu el-Naga, north.
- DNS = Dirâ 'Abu el-Naga, south.

LIST OF TOMBS IN NUMERICAL ORDER

For abbreviations see page 534.

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
*1	Sennûtem (Sennozem)	Servant in the Place of Truth	XIXth-XXth	DM
2	Khabekehet	Servant in the Place of Truth	XIXth-XXth	DM
*3	Peshedu	Servant in the Place of Truth	XIXth-XXth	DM
4	Qen	Sculptor of Amûn	Ramses II	DM
*5	Neferabet	Servant in the Place of Truth	XIXth-XXth	DM
6	Neferhotpe	Chief of Workmen	Ramses II	DM
6B	Nebnûfer	Chief of Workmen	Ramses II	DM
7	Ramôse	Scribe in the Place of Truth	Ramses II	DM
8	Kha	Chief in the Great Place	XVIIIth-XIXth	DM
9	Amenmôse	Servant in the Place of Truth	XIXth-XXth	DM
10	Penby	Servant in the Place of Truth	Ramses II	DM
10B	Kasa	Servant in the Place of Truth	Ramses II	DM
*11	Thòut	Overseer of Treasury and of Works	XVIIIth	DNN
12	Hray	Overseer of the Granary to Queen Ah-hotpe	XVIIIth	DNN
13	Shuroy	Chief of the Brazier-Bearers of Amûn	XIXth-XXth	DNN
14	Huy	Priest of Amenophis, the Image of Amûn	XIXth-XXth	DNN
15	Tetiky	Mayor in the Southern City (Thebes)	XVIIIth	DNS

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
*16	Penehsi (Pinehas)	Prophet of Amenophis of the Forecourt . . .	Ramses II . .	DNS
*17	Nebamûn . .	Scribe and Physician of the King . .	Amenophis II . .	DNS
*18	Baki . . .	Chief Weigher of Gold of Amûn . .	Tuthmosis III . .	DNN
*19	Amenmôse . .	First Prophet of Amenophis of the Forecourt . . .	XIXth . .	DNN
*20	Mentuhirkhopshef . .	Mayor of Aphroditopolis . .	Tuthmosis III . .	DNN
*21	User . . .	Scribe and Steward of Tuthmosis I . .	Tuthmosis I . .	UE
22	Wah . . .	Royal Butler . . .	Tuthmosis I (?) . .	LE
	Meryamûn . .	Eldest Son of the King (usurped Wah's Tomb) . . .	Tuthmosis III . .	LE
23	Thoy or To . .	Royal Scribe of Dispatches . .	Menepthah . .	LE
24	Nebamûn . .	Steward of the Royal Wife Nebtu . .	Tuthmosis III . .	DNN
25	Amenemhab . .	First Prophet of Khonsu . .	XIXth-XXth . .	A
26	Khnememhab . .	Overseer of Treasury in the Ramesseum . . .	Ramses II . .	A
27	Sheshonq . .	Chief Steward of Princess Ankhnesneferibré . . .	Psammetichus II . .	A
28	Hôri . . .	Officer of the Estate of Amûn . .	XIXth-XXth . .	A
29	Amenemôpet . .	Governor of Thebes and Vizier . .	Amenophis II . .	UE
30	Khensmôse . .	Scribe of Treasury of Estate of Amûn . . .	XIXth-XXth . .	SG
31	Khonsu . . .	First Prophet of Tuthmosis III . .	Ramses II . .	SG
32	Thutmôse . .	Chief Steward of Amûn . .	Ramses II . .	K
*33	Petamenôpet . .	Prophet and Chief Lector . .	XXVIth . .	A

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
*34	Mentuemhét . . .	Fourth Prophet of Amûn in Thebes . . .	XXVth . . .	A . . .
*35	Bekenkhons . . .	First Prophet of Amûn . . .	Ramses II . . .	DNS . . .
**36	Ibi (Aba) . . .	Chief Steward of the 'Adorer of the God' . . .	Psammetichus I . . .	A . . .
37	Harua . . .	Chief Steward of the Divine Wife . . .	XXVIth . . .	A . . .
*38	Zeserkerasonb . . .	Scribe, Counter of Grain in Granary of Amûn . . .	Tuthmosis IV . . .	LE . . .
**39	Puinré . . .	Second Prophet of Amûn . . .	Tuthmosis III . . .	A . . .
**40	Amenhotpe, or Huy . . .	Royal Son of Kush, Governor of South . . .	Tutankhamûn . . .	GM . . .
41	Amenemôpet, or Ipy . . .	Chief Steward of Amûn in Thebes . . .	XIXth . . .	LE . . .
42	Amenmôse . . .	Captain of Troops, Eyes of King in Retenu . . .	XVIIIth . . .	LE . . .
43	Neferronpet . . .	Kitchen-master to Pharaoh . . .	Amenophis II . . .	UE . . .
44	Amenemhab . . .	Priest-in-Front of Amûn . . .	XIXth-XXth . . .	LE . . .
45	Thôut . . .	Steward of Mery, First Prophet of Amûn . . .	Amenophis II . . .	SG . . .
	usurped by Thutemhab . . .	Chief Weaver of the Estate of Amûn, usurped 45 . . .	XIXth . . .	SG . . .
46	Ramôse . . .	Steward and Overseer of the Royal Granaries . . .	XVIIIth . . .	UE . . .
47	Userhét . . .	Overseer of the Royal Harim . . .	Amenophis III . . .	K . . .
48	Amenemhét (Surere) . . .	Chief Steward . . .	Amenophis III . . .	K . . .
49	Neferhotpe . . .	Chief Scribe of Amûn . . .	XIXth . . .	A . . .

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
**50	Neferhotpe	Divine Father of Amen-Ré	Haremhab	SG
**51	Userhét	First Prophet of the <i>Ka</i> of Tuthmosis I	XIXth	SG
**52	Nakht	Scribe, Astronomer of Amûn	Tuthmosis IV	LE
*53	Amenemhét	Agent of Amûn	Tuthmosis III	SG
54	Huy	Sculptor of Amûn		
	and Kenro (usurper)	Priest of Khonsu	XVIIIth-XIXth	SG
**55	Ramôse	Governor of Thebes and Vizier	Amenophis IV	SG
**56	Userhét	Royal Scribe, Child of (Royal) Nursery	Amenophis II	SG
**57	Khaemhét	Royal Scribe, Overseer of Royal Granaries	Amenophis III	SG
58	Name lost usurped by Amenhotpe and Amenemônet	Overseer of the Priests of Amûn Temple-scribe	XVIIIth-XIXth-XXth	UE
59	Qen	First Prophet of Mût, Lady of Asher	XVIIIth	UE
**60	Intefôqer	Governor of Thebes and Vizier	XIIth	UE
61	User	Governor of Thebes and Vizier	Tuthmosis III	UE
62	Amenemwaskhet	Overseer of the Cabinet	Tuthmosis III	UE
*63	Sebekhotpe	Mayor of the Faiyûm	Tuthmosis III	UE
64	Heqerenheh	Nurse of the Royal Son Amenophis	Tuthmosis III	UE
*65	Nebamûn	Scribe of the Royal Accounts ?		
	usurped by Imisibe	Chief of Altar	XVIIIth-XXth	UE
66	Hapu	Vizier	Tuthmosis IV	UE

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
67	Hepusob .	First Prophet of Amûn .	Hatshepsut .	UE
68	Nespenferhor .	Prophet of Amûn .	XXIst .	UE
**69	Menena .	Scribe of the Fields of Pharaoh .	Tuthmosis IV .	UE
70	Usurped by Amen- môse .	Overseer of Artificers of Amûn .	XXIst .	UE
**71	Senmût .	Chief Steward and Steward of Amûn .	Hatshepsut .	UE
72	Ré .	First Prophet of Amûn of Tuth- mosis III .	Amenophis II .	UE
73	Name erased .	Chief Steward .	Hatshepsut .	UE
74	Thanuny .	Royal Scribe, Commander of Sol- diers .	Tuthmosis IV .	UE
**75	Amenhotpe-si-se	Second Prophet of Amûn .	Tuthmosis IV .	UE
*76	Thenuna .	Fan-bearer on the right of the King	Tuthmosis IV .	UE
77	Name erased .	Standard-bearer of Pharaoh .	Tuthmosis IV .	UE
*78	Haremhab .	Royal Scribe, Scribe of Recruits .	Tuthmosis III .	UE
*79	Menkheper .	Overseer of the Royal Granary .	Tuthmosis III .	UE
*80	Thutnûfer .	Overseer of the Treasury, Royal Scribe .	Amenophis IV .	UE
**81	Ineni (Anena) .	Overseer of the Granary of Amûn .	XVIIIth .	UE
**82	Amenemhêt .	Scribe, Counter of Grain of Amûn, Steward to Vizier .	Tuthmosis III .	UE
83	Ahmôse .	Governor of Thebes and Vizier .	Tuthmosis III .	UE
*84	Amunezeh .	First Royal Herald .	Tuthmosis III .	UE
	partly usurped by Mery	First Prophet of Amûn .	Amenophis II .	

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
**85	Amenemhab .	Lieut.-Commander of Soldiers .	Tuthmosis III	UE
*86	Menkheperassonb .	First Prophet of Amûn .	Tuthmosis III	UE
87	Minnakht .	Overseer of the Granaries of the Two Lands	Tuthmosis III	UE
88	Pehsukher .	Lieutenant of the King	Tuthmosis III (?)	UE
89	Amenmôse .	Steward in the Southern City (Thebes)	Amenophis III	UE
*90	Nebamûn .	Standard-bearer of the Barque of Amûn	Tuthmosis IV	UE
91	Name lost .	Captain of Troops	Tuthmosis IV	UE
*92	Suemnut .	Royal Butler	Amenophis II	UE
*93	Qenamûn .	Chief Steward of the King . . .	Amenophis II	UE
94	Ramôse or Amy .	First Royal Herald, Fan-bearer .	Amenophis II	UE
95	Mery .	First Prophet of Amûn	Amenophis II	UE
**96A and B	Sennâfer .	Mayor of the Southern City (Thebes)	Amenophis II	UE
97	Amenemhêt .	First Prophet of Amûn	Amenophis II	UE
98	Kamhrebsen .	Third Prophet of Amûn	Tuthmosis III	UE
99	Sennâfer .	Chancellor	Tuthmosis III	UE
**100	Rekhnirê .	Governor of Thebes and Vizier .	Tuthmosis III	UE
101	Name erased .	Royal Butler	Amenophis II	UE
102	Imhôtep .	Royal Scribe, Child of the (Royal) Nursery	Amenophis II	SG
*103	Dagi .	Governor of Thebes and Vizier .	XIth (end)	UE
104	Thutnâfer .	Royal Scribe	Amenophis II	UE

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
105	Khaemôpet .	Prophet of the Ram-sceptre of Amûn .	XIXth .	LE
106	Pesûir .	Governor and Vizier of Thebes .	XIXth .	LE
107	Nefsekheru .	Royal Scribe, Steward of Amenophis III .	Amenophis III .	LE
108	Nebseny .	First Prophet of Onuris .	Tuthmosis IV .	LE
109	Mîn .	Mayor of Thinis .	Tuthmosis III .	LE
110	Thôut .	Royal Butler .	Hatshepsut .	LE
111	Amenwahsu .	Scribe of Divine Writings, Estate of Amûn .	Ramses II .	SG
112	Menkheperrasonb .	First Prophet of Amûn .	Tuthmosis III .	LE
	This tomb also usurped by Asemwêset	Prophet of Amûn .	XIXth-XXth	
113	Kynebu .	Priest over Secrets of Estate of Amûn .	XIXth .	LE
114	Name lost .	Chief of Gold-workers, Estate of Amûn .	XXth .	UE
115	Name lost .	Title lost .	XIXth .	UE
116	Name erased .	Hereditary Prince .	Tuthmosis IV .	UE
117	Used by Djemutefonkh	Chief Outline Draughtsman of Amûn .	XXIst-XXIIInd	UE
118	Amenmôse .	Fan-bearer on right of the King .	Amenophis III .	UE
119	Name erased .	Title erased .	Hatshepsut .	UE
*120	Mahu .	Second Prophet of Amûn .	Tuthmosis III .	UE
121	Ahmôse .	First Lector of Amûn .	Tuthmosis III .	UE

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
122	Neferhotpe	Overseer of Magazine of Amûn, with Chapel of Amenemhêt	Tuthmosis III	UE
123	Amenemhêt	Scribe, Overseer of Granary	Tuthmosis III	SG
124	Ray	Overseer of Royal Magazine	Tuthmosis I	SG
125	Dowenheh	First Herald, Overseer of Estate of Amûn	Hatshepsut	SG
126	Harmôse	Great Commander of Soldiers of Amûn	XXVIth	SG
127	Senemioh	Royal Scribe, Overseer of Crops	Tuthmosis III	SG
128	Pathenfy	Mayor of Edfu and Thebes	XXVIth	SG
129	Name lost	Title lost	Tuthmosis III	SG
*130	May	Harbour-master of Thebes	Tuthmosis III	SG
131	Amenûser	Governor of Thebes and Vizier (see 61)	Tuthmosis III	SG
132	Ramôse	Great Scribe of the King	later than XXVIth	SG
133	Neferronpet	Chief of Weavers in Ramesseum	Rameses II	SG
134	Thauenany	Prophet of Amûn in charge of Sacred Barge	XIXth	SG
135	Beknamûn	Priest-in-Front of Amûn	XIXth	SG
136	Name lost	Royal Scribe	XIXth	SG
137	Môse	Chief of Works for Amûn under Pharaoh	Rameses II	SG
138	Nezemger	Overseer of Ramesseum Garden	Rameses II	SG
139	Pere	Priest-in-Front	Tuthmosis IV	SG
140	Neferronpet	Goldworker and Portrait Sculptor	Tuthmosis III	DNS

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
141	Bekenkhons	Priest of Amûn . . .	XIXth-XXth	DNS
142	Simût . . .	Overseer of Works of Amûn at Karnak . . .	Tuthmosis III	DNS
143	Name lost	Title lost . . .	Tuthmosis III	DNN
144	Nu . . .	Head of Field Labourers . . .	Tuthmosis III	DNS
145	Nebamûn	Captain of Troops . . .	Tuthmosis III	DNS
146	Nebamûn	Overseer of Granary of Amûn . . .	Tuthmosis III	DNS
147	Name lost	Chief Master of Ceremonies of Amûn, Karnak . . .	Tuthmosis IV	DNN
148	Amenemôpet	Prophet of Amûn . . .	XXth	DNN
149	Amenmôse	Royal Scribe of Pharaoh's Table . . .	XIXth-XXth	DNN
150	Userhêt . . .	Title lost . . .	Late XVIIIth	DNN
151	Héty . . .	Steward of Divine Wife of Amûn . . .	Tuthmosis IV	DNN
152	Name lost	Title lost . . .	Late XVIIIth	DNN
153	Name lost	Title lost . . .	XIXth-XXth	DNN
*154	Tati . . .	Butler . . .	Tuthmosis III	DNN
*155	Intef (Antef)	Great Herald of the King . . .	Tuthmosis III	DNN
156	Penesuttaui	Captain of Troops, Governor of South . . .	XIXth	DNS
157	Nebunenef	First Prophet of Amûn . . .	Ramses II	DNS
158	Thonûfer	Third Prophet of Amûn . . .	Menepthah	DNS
159	Raya . . .	Fourth (?) Prophet of Amûn . . .	XIXth	DNS
*160	Besennût	Great Royal Scribe . . .	XXVIth	DNS
161	Nakht . . .	Bearer of Floral Offerings of Amûn . . .	Amenophis III	DNS
162	Name lost	Title lost . . .	XVIIIth	DNS

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
163	Amenemhêt	Mayor of Thebes, Royal Scribe	XXth	DNS
164	Intef (Antef)	Scribe of Recruits	Tuthmosis III	DNS
165	Nehemaway	Goldworker, Portrait Sculptor	Tuthmosis IV	DNN
166	Ramôse	Overseer of Works at Karnak	XXth	DNN
167	Name lost	Title lost	XVIIIth	DNN
168	Any	Divine Father, Lector of Amûn	XIXth	DNS
169	Sena	Chief of Goldworkers of Amûn	Amenophis II	DNS
170	Nebmehyt	Scribe of Recruits of Ramesseum	Ramses II	K
171	Name lost	Title lost	XVIIIth	K
172	Mentiywey	Royal Butler, Child of (Royal) Nursery	Tuthmosis III	K
173	Khay	Scribe of Divine Offerings, Thebes	XIXth	K
174	Ashukhit	Priest-in-Front of Mût	XIXth	K
175	Name lost	Title lost	Tuthmosis IV	K
176	Amenuserhêt	Servant, Clean of Hands	Amenophis IV	K
177	Amenemôpet	Priest, Lector, Scribe of Truth in the Ramesseum	XIXth	K
178	Neferronpet (called Kenro)	Scribe of Amûn's Treasury	Ramses II	K
179	Nebamûn	Counter of Grain in the Granary of Amûn	Hatshepsut.	K
180	Name lost	Title lost	XIXth	K
**181	Nebamûn and Ipuky	Sculptors to the Pharaoh	XVIIIth	K
182	Amenemhêt	Scribe of . . . (?)	Tuthmosis III	K
183	Nebsumenu	Steward of Ramses II	Ramses II	K

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
184	Nefermenu	Mayor of Thebes	XIXth	K
185	Seniôqer	Prince, Divine Chancellor	VIth-Xth	K
186	Ahy	Great Chieftain of the Nome	VIth-Xth	K
187	Peharhêt	Priest of Amûn	XIXth	A
188	Name erased	Royal Butler, Steward	Amenophis IV	A
189	Nekht-Thout	Overseer, Shipbuilders and Gold-workers	Ramses II	A
190	Nesbenebbed	Usurpation of older tomb	XXIst-XXIIInd	A
191	Wehebranebpaht	Director of Festivals	Psammetichus I	A
192	Kharuef	Steward of Great Royal Wife Tiy	Amenophis III-IV	A
193	Ptahemhab	Magnate of the Seal, Treasury of Amûn	XIXth	A
194	Thutemhab	Overseer of Peasants in the Estate of Amûn	XIXth	A
195	Beknamûn	Scribe of Treasury in the Estate of Amûn	XIXth	A
196	Peteharresnet	Chief Steward of Amûn	XIXth	A
197	Peteneith	Chief Steward of Princess Ankhnasneferebrê	XXVIth	A
198	Riya	Head of Magazine of Amûn, Kar-nak	Psammetichus II	A
199	Amenarnofru	Overseer of Magazine	XIXth-XXth	K
200	Dedi	Governor of Deserts on West of Thebes	XVIIIth	K
201	Rê	First Royal Herald	Tuthmosis III	K
			Tuthmosis IV	K

*

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
202	Nekhtamûn	Prophet of Ptah; Priest of Amûn	XIXth	K
203	Unnofru	Divine Father of Mût	XIXth	K
204	Nebanensu	(?) of Amûn	XIXth	K
205	Thutmôse	Royal Butler	Tuthmosis III	K
206	Anpnhab	Scribe in the Place of Truth	XIXth-XXth	K
207	Haremhab	Scribe of Divine Offerings of Amûn	XIXth-XXth	A
208	Roma	Divine Father of Amen-Rê	XIXth-XXth	A
209	Hatashemro	Hereditary Prince, Sole Beloved Friend	XXVIth	SG
210	Rauben	Servant in the Place of Truth	XIXth	DM
211	Penéb	Servant of Pharoah in the Place of Truth	XIXth-XXth	DM
212	Ramôse	Royal Scribe in the Place of Truth	XIXth	DM
213	Penamûn	Servant of Pharaoh in the Place of Truth	XXth	DM
214	Khawey	Custodian in the Place of Truth	XIXth-XXth	DM
215	Amenemôpet	Royal Scribe in the Place of Truth	XIXth	DM
216	Neferhotpe	Chief of the Workmen	Ramses II	DM
*217	Ipy	Sculptor	Ramses II	DM
218	Amennakht	Servant in the Place of Truth	XIXth-XXth	DM
219	Nebenmaet	Servant in the Place of Truth	XIXth-XXth	DM
220	Khaemtôre	Servant in the Place of Truth	XIXth-XXth	DM
221	Harmîn	Scribe of Royal Soldiers on West	XIXth-XXth	GM

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
222	Heqmaranakht (called Turo)	First Prophet of Mentu	Ramses III.	GM
223	Karakhamûn	Hereditary Prince	XXVIth	DM
224	Ahmôse (also called Humay)	Overseer of Granary of Ahmose Nefertari	Tuthmosis I	SG
225	Name lost	First Prophet of Hathor	Tuthmosis III	UE
226	Name lost	Royal Scribe, Overseer Royal Nurses	Amenophis III	UE
227	Name lost	Title lost	Tuthmosis III	UE
228	Amenmôse	Scribe of Treasury of Amûn	Tuthmosis III- Amenophis II	UE
229	Name lost	Title lost	XVIIIth	UE
230	Name lost	Title lost	XVIIIth	UE
231	Nebamûn	Counter of Grain, Granary of Amûn	Early XVIIIth	DNS
232	Tharwas	Scribe of Divine Seal, Treasury of Amûn	XIXth-XXth	DNN
233	Saroy	Royal Scribe of Pharaoh's Table	XIXth-XXth	DNN
234	Roy	Mayor	XVIIIth	DNN
235	Userhêt	First Prophet of Montu	XXth	GM
236	Harnakht	Second Prophet of Amûn	XIXth-XXth	DNS
237	Unnofru	Chief Lector	XIXth-XXth	DNS
238	Neferuben	Royal Butler	XVIIIth	K
239	Penhøet	Governor of all Northern Lands	Tuthmosis IV	DNN
240	Meru	No title given	VIth-XIIth	DB
241	Ahmôse	Scribe of Divine Writings	Tuthmosis III	K

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
242	Wehebrê . . .	Overseer of . . . the Adorer of the God	XXVIth . . .	A
243	Pemau . . .	Mayor of Thebes, Royal Acquaintance	XXVIth . . .	A
244	Pekhal . . .	Overseer of Artificers	XXVIth . . .	A
245	Hôry . . .	Scribe, Steward of Divine Wife	XIXth-XXth . . .	A
246	Senenrê . . .	Scribe	XVIIIth . . .	K
247	Simût . . .	Scribe, Counter of Cattle of Amûn	XVIIIth . . .	K
248	Thutmôse . . .	Maker of Offerings of Tuthmosis III	XVIIIth . . .	K
249	Neferronpêt . . .	Purveyor of Dates	Tuthmosis IV . . .	SG
250	Neferhotpe . . .	Titles Lost	XIXth-XXth . . .	DM
251	Amenmôse . . .	Royal Scribe, Overseer, Cattle of Amûn	Tuthmosis III . . .	UE
252	Senmen . . .	Steward, Nurse of Divine Wife	Hatshepsut . . .	UE
253	Khnemôse . . .	Scribe, Counter in Granary of Amûn	Amenophis III . . .	K
254	Môse . . .	Scribe of Treasury	post-Akhenaten . . .	K
*255	Roy . . .	Royal Scribe, Steward, Harem-hab and Amûn	Haremhab . . .	DNN
256	Nebenkémît . . .	Royal Seat-bearer, Child of Nursery	Amenophis II . . .	K
257	Neferhotpe usurped by Mahu	Scribe, Counter of Grain of Amûn Officer in Ramesseum	XVIIIth-XIXth . . .	K

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
258	Menkheper .	Child of Royal Nursery, Royal Scribe .	Tuthmosis IV	K
259	Hôri .	Head of Draughtsmen, Estate of Amûn .	XXth	SG
260	User .	Overseer of Lands and Husbandmen .	Tuthmosis III	DNS
261	Name missing	Titles missing .	Tuthmosis III	DNS
262	Name missing	Overseer of Fields .	Tuthmosis III	DNS
263	Piyay .	Scribe of Magazine, Ramesseum .	Ramses II	SG
264	Ipiy .	Overseer of Cattle .	XIXth	K
265	Amenemôpet	Scribe in Place of Truth .	XXth	DM
266	Amennakht .	Chief Craftsman in Place of Truth	XXth	DM
267	Hay .	Fashioner of Images of the Gods .	XXth	DM
268	Nebakhtu .	Servant in Place of Truth .	XXth	DM
269	Name missing	Titles missing .	XXth	SG
270	Amenemwia .	Priest, Lector of Ptah-Sokar .	XXth	GM
271	Nay .	Royal Scribe .	XIXth	GM
272	Khaemôpet	Divine Father of Amûn .	XXth	GM
273	Sayemioft .	Scribe in Estate of his Lord	XXth	GM
274	Amenwahsu .	Chief Prophet of Montu .	XIXth-XXth	GM
275	Sebekmôse .	Head Priest, Divine Father .	XXth	GM
276	Amenemôpet	Pasha, Judge, Royal Seal-bearer .	Tuthmosis IV	GM
277	Amenemônet	Priest, Lector, Divine Father	XXth	GM
278	Amenemhab .	Herdsmen of Amen-Rê .	XXth	GM
**279	Pbes (Pabasa) .	Pasha, Royal Seal-bearer .	Psammetichus I	A

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
*280	Meketré . . .	Pasha, Chancellor . . .	XIth . . .	Behind UE hill
281	Name missing . . .	Titles missing . . .	XIth . . .	Behind UE hill
*282	Nakht . . .	Captain of Troops, Overseer, South Countries . . .	XXth . . .	DNS
*283	Roy or Roma . . .	Chief Prophet of Amûn . . .	XXth . . .	DNS
284	Pehamnûter (Pehonte) . . .	Scribe of Offerings of all Gods . . .	XXth . . .	DNS
285	Ini . . .	Head of Magazine of Mût . . .	XXth . . .	DNS
286	Niay . . .	Scribe of the Table . . .	XXth . . .	DNS
287	Pendua . . .	Priest of Amûn . . .	XXth . . .	DNS
288	Names missing . . .	Titles missing . . .	XXth . . .	DNS
289	Setau . . .	Royal Son of Kush . . .	Ramses II . . .	DNS
290	Erentûfer . . .	Servant in Place of Truth . . .	XXth . . .	DM
291	Nu and Nekhtmîn . . .	Servants in Place of Truth . . .	Late XVIIIth . . .	DM
292	Peshedu . . .	Servant in Place of Truth . . .	XXth . . .	DM
293	Ramessenakht . . .	First Prophet of Amûn . . .	XXth . . .	DNN
	Nebmaranakht . . .	Governor of Thebes and Vizier . . .		
294	Amenhotpe . . .	Overseer of Granary of Amûn . . .	XXth . . .	K
295	Thutmôse (Paroy) . . .	Pasha, Royal Seal-bearer . . .	Tuthmosis IV . . .	K
296	Nefersekheru . . .	Scribe of Divine Offerings of all Gods . . .	XXth . . .	K
297	Amenemôpet (Thonûfer) . . .	Scribe, Counter of Grain . . .	XVIIIth . . .	A
298	Baki . . .	Foreman in Place of Truth . . .	XXth . . .	DM

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
298	Unnofru .	Servant in Place of Truth .		
299	Inherkha .	Foreman of Pharaoh in Place of Truth .	XXth	DM
300	Anhotpe .	Royal Son of Kush .	XXth	DNS
301	Hôri .	Scribe of Pharaoh's Table .	XXth	DNS
302	Userhêt (Praemhab) .	Head of Magazine of Amûn .	XXth	DNS
303	Pesiûr .	Head of Magazine of Amûn .	XIXth-XXth	DNS
304	Piyay .	Scribe of Table of Amûn .	XXth	DNS
305	Pesiûr .	Priest-in-front of Amûn .	XIXth-XXth	DNE
306	Erzenen .	Door-opener of Estate of Amûn .	XIXth-XXIst	DNE
307	Thonûfer .	Titles missing .	XXth-XXIst	DNE
308	Kemsit .	Unique Royal Favourite .	XIth	DB, in Xth temple
309	Name missing .	Titles missing .	XIXth-XXth	SG
310	Name missing .	Pasha, Royal Seal-bearer .	XIth .	DB
*311	Khety (Ekhtai) .	Royal Seal-bearer, Chancellor .	XIth .	DB
312	Nespeqashuti .	Mayor, Governor Upper Egypt, Vizier .	XXVIth	DB
313	Henenu .	Steward .	XIth	DB
314	Harhopte .	Royal Seal-bearer, Sole Friend .	XIth .	DB
315	Ipi .	Governor of Thebes and Vizier .	XIth .	DB
316	Neferhotpe .	Custodian of the Bow .	XIth .	DB
317	Sennerais .	Mayor .	Tuthmosis III	SG
318	Amenmôse .	Necropolis Stonemason of Amûn .	Tuthmosis III	SG

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
319	Nofru . . .	Princess, Royal Daughter and Wife	XIth	DB, XVIIIth temple
320	Name unknown . . .	Tomb where cache of Royal Mummies was found in 1880	XXIst	DB
321	Khaemôpet . . .	Servant in Place of Truth	XXth	DM
322	Penshenabu . . .	Servant in Place of Truth	XXth	DM
323	Peshedu . . .	Draughtsman in Place of Truth	Seti I	DM
324	Hatiay . . .	Overseer of Prophets of all Gods	XXth	SG
325	Names missing . . .	Titles missing	Early XVIIIth	DM
326	Peshedu . . .	Foreman	XXth	DM
327	Turo . . .	Servant in Place of Truth	XXth	DM
328	Hay . . .	Servant in Place of Truth	XXth	DM
329	Môse . . .	Servant in Place of Truth	XXth	DM
330	Karo . . .	Servant in Place of Truth	XXth	DM
331	Pennut . . .	Chief Prophet of Montu	XXth	SB
332	Penrennût . . .	Chief Watchman of Granary, Estate of Amûn	XXth	DNS
333	Name missing . . .	Title missing	Amenophis III	DNS
334	Name missing . . .	Chief of the Husbandmen	Amenophis III	DNS
335	Nekitamûn . . .	Sculptor and Servant of Amenophis in the Place of Truth	XXth	DM
336	Neferronpet . . .	Sculptor of Amûn and Servant in the Place of Truth	XXth	DM
337	Qen . . .	Sculptor on the Place of Truth	XXth	DM

NO.	NAME OF OWNER	PRINCIPAL TITLES	DYNASTY	DISTRICT
338	May . . .	Outline-draughtsman of Amûn .	Late XVIIIth .	DM
339	Huy . . .	Servant in the Place of Truth .		
	Also Peshedu . . .	Necropolis-stonemason and Servant in the Place of Truth .	Late XVIIIth or early XIXth .	DM
340	Amenemhêt . . .	Servant	Early XVIIIth .	DM
341	Nekhtamûn . . .	Chief of the Altar (?) in the Ramesseum	Ramses II . .	SG
342	Thutmôse . . .	First Royal Herald	Tuthmosis III .	SG
343	Benia, called Pehiq- mûn	Child of the (Royal) Nursery ; Overseer of Works	Tuthmosis III .	SG
344	Piyay	Overseer of the Cattle	Late XIXth .	DNN

CHAPTER XXV

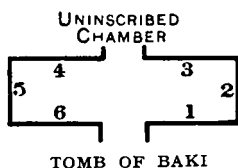
THE MORTUARY CHAPELS: DIRÂ 'ABU EL-NAGA, EL-'ASASÎF AND EL KHÔKHA

WE now begin with the more important tomb-chapels, making our start from the northern end of the great necropolis at Dirâ 'Abu el-Naga.

The first tomb worthy of any notice is :

No. 18. BAKI (DNN)

Baki was Chief Servant who weighs the Silver and Gold of the Estate of Amûn, in the earlier half of the XVIIIth Dynasty, possibly under Tuthmosis III. His tomb was cleared in 1898-9 by Spiegelberg and Newberry for the Expedition of the Marquis of Northampton. The hall is the only inscribed portion, and the

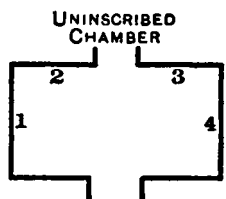


tomb-paintings merely follow the usual convention. On the right of the front wall (1) Baki and his wife receive funerary offerings from their son. Their daughter and a goose are also seen. On the short side-wall (right hand) (2) is the funerary stele. On the rear wall (right hand) (3) Baki is shown in a fishing and fowling scene in the marshes ; while below are vintage scenes. On the rear wall (left hand) are scenes relating to Baki's calling as gold and silver weigher of the estate of Amûn (4) ; but unluckily these are much ruined. On the short end-wall (left hand) is another stele (5), and on the entrance-wall (left hand) (6), is a funerary feast.

No. 19. AMENMÔSE (DNN)

This chapel is situated in the broken ground to the left of the road to the Valley of the Kings, south of No. 18, and north of Nos. 13 and 14. Amenmôse was First Prophet of Amenophis

of the Forecourt in the early XIXth Dynasty (time of Ramesses I and Seti I). Again only the hall is inscribed; but the paintings, though much damaged and mostly funerary, are well executed, the drawing being particularly good. On the end-wall, left-hand side (1), are scenes of Amenmôse's calling as priest to Amenophis I. The king's sacred barques are seen taking part in a festival, and drawn on a sledge to his mortuary temple. These scenes occupy the top row and middle row. They are continued along the top and middle rows of the rear wall of the hall on both sides of the inner doorway. Notice the fencing and wrestling matches (2) on the left side of the doorway, and the scene on the right-hand side (3) in which the statue of the deified Amenophis I is carried along in procession by his priests. The lower rows of scenes all round the hall are concerned with the funeral rites of Amenmôse. On the short end-wall to the left the coffin of the priest is dragged along by men and oxen, to the wailing of women. On the rear wall (left side) are scenes at the tomb of Amenmôse—notice the woman who clasps the feet of the mummy in her sorrow, like the usual figure of Mary Magdalene. The souls of Amenmôse and his wife walk into the pink hills of the west, and Hathor as the divine cow appears to them. On the rear wall (right) the funerary scenes are continued; and finally Amenmôse and his wife are shown on the right-hand short end-wall (4) in Paradise, and adored by their relatives. Notice the souls of Amenmôse and his wife as birds drinking the water of life from a vessel held by a (destroyed) tree-goddess.



TOMB OF AMENMÔSE

No. 20. MENTUHIRKHOPSEF (DNN)

This tomb lies in broken ground near the *ghafir's* hut, and in close company with Nos. 24 and 165. Its owner was Fan-bearer, and Mayor of Aphroditopolis, about the time of Tuthmosis III. He chose an extraordinary site for his tomb, in a projecting corner of the hillside which had been already used for the shaft of an older tomb, and where it was absolutely jostled by tombs 24 and 165. The entrance is violently askew to the main axis of the tomb, and the transverse hall into which it opens is also far

from being rectangular, and its walls have had to be largely made up with limestone blocks to supply the deficiency of the rock. The only decoration surviving in this hall is that on its door-framings. The inner room, or rather corridor (for there is no real inner shrine, the room which is beyond the corridor being merely the beginning of a room, in its present condition only a rough-hewn cave), has on its right-hand side a few fragments of hunting scenes, still preserving evidence of admirable drawing and good colour. Originally, according to Mr. de Garis Davies, these must have been among the best hunting scenes in the whole Theban necropolis, and it is all the more to be deplored that only the wrecks of them now survive. The left side of the corridor is in somewhat better condition than the opposite wall, and has a series of funerary scenes, including one of the burial procession. These are also well-drawn and the colour has been good.

No. 154. TATI (DNN)

This tomb lies on the south side of the wâdi mentioned in connexion with No. 150. It was cleared by Mr. Weigall in 1910. It consists simply of a small tunnel, and of its paintings only a fragment of the ceiling, giving the owner's name, and a strip along the base of the scenes on the west side of the tunnel survive. Fragmentary as they are, however, these scenes are of some interest. Tati was butler in the reign of Tuthmosis III (probably), and one of the scenes shows the process of beer-making. Another is unique, in that it represents the sinking of the burial-shaft of Tati's tomb. This scene, much mutilated unfortunately, occurs in the course of a series showing the process of making the tomb. A scene of a family feast (better preserved) shows Tati and his wife, his son Neferhebef and his wife Ahhotpe, and, in diminished scale, Tati's brother-in-law Gergtauï and his wife Senhotpe; while two ladies, Hentari and Sitamûn, have to squat on the floor behind the other guests. The usual cone of scented ointment on the heads of the guests ('Like the precious ointment on the head', Psalm cxxxiii, 2) is here shown merely as a dab. Possibly it has melted and gone 'down to the skirts of their garments'.

No. 155. INTEF (DNN)

This must once have been a very important tomb, but is now only a shadow of what it was. It lies near the mouth of the wâdi

mentioned above, and a little distance east of No. 154. Intef was Great Herald of the King in the reign of Tuthmosis III, and a magnificent stele of his, considered to be the finest in the Louvre, gives most interesting details of his work as the herald of the great conqueror, with particulars of how he preceded the king as 'advance agent', and prepared his quarters for him. The fine quality of his stele, which is one of the important documents for the reign of Tuthmosis, is an indication of what the tomb must have once been. It is now very ruinous, and only a few remains of reliefs in the seven-pillared transverse chamber (now covered by a hut) show details of the life of Intef, who receives offerings, hunts the hippopotamus, and watches the vintage.

No. 255. Roy (DNN)

Roy was an important official of the end of the XVIIIth or beginning of the XIXth Dynasty, having been Royal Scribe and Steward in the Estate of Haremhab and that of Amûn. His tomb, which lies a little below that of Amenemôpet (148) and is worth a visit, was excavated by Dr. Howard Carter. It has, on the entrance-wall to the left, scenes of field-work. Then on the long wall to the left are scenes in which Roy with his wife, and one of the family relations with his wife, pray to various gods. The scene of the weighing of Roy's heart follows, and Horus conducts Roy into the presence of Osiris. The lower register has scenes of the funeral. The right-hand wall shows the Inmûtef priest making various offerings to Roy, his sister, and his relations.

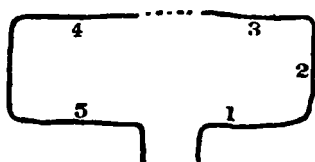
No. 11. Thôut (THUTIV) (DNN)

We come here to the tomb of a man who possesses for us more than a nominal interest. Thôut was Overseer of the Treasury, and Overseer of Works, or, as he himself much more picturesquely describes it: 'Hereditary prince, count, sealing the treasures in the King's house, Thôut. Hereditary prince, count, who gives instruction to the craftsmen how to work, Thôut.' His time of service and prosperity was during the reign of Hatshepsut, for whom he made innumerable wonderful works, including a new state barge for Amûn, an ebony shrine for the queen's temple at El-Deir el-Bahari, and doors of inlaid

copper for the same building, with the metal-work of the two great obelisks which the queen set up at Karnak, etc. He also measured out the electrum and incense gum which were brought back from the Punt voyage. All this information is recorded on the stèle which adorned the façade of his tomb, a monument which was seen and partly published by Lepsius in 1844, then lost, and rediscovered by the Expedition of the Marquis of Northampton (Spiegelberg and Newberry) in 1898. The tomb lies close to No. 12 on the north of the village at the foot of the main northern hill, and a little distance north-west of the rest-house of the Antiquities Department. When Thout fell, along with Senmût, and others of Hatshepsut's supporters, on the death of the queen, his tomb was visited by the agents of Tuthmosis III, who erased his name and that of the queen throughout the scenes and inscriptions. These have since suffered a great deal of damage; but some scenes of offerings, with a priest in panther skin, and a figure of Thout with mutilated face, still survive.

NO. 16. PENEHSI (PINEHAS) (DNS)

This tomb is situated just south of the rest-house of the Department of Antiquities at Dirâ 'Abu el-Naga. Its owner was Prophet of Amenophis of the Forecourt, i.e. priest of the deified Amenophis I, in the time of Ramses II. The whole



TOMB OF PENEHSI

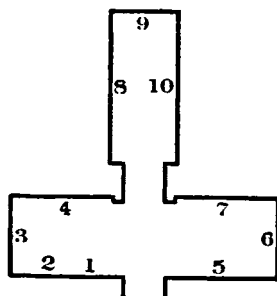
work of the chapel, hewing and painting alike, is rough; but the scenes are interesting enough. The transverse hall shows on the right as we enter (1) two rows of scenes of field-work, ploughing (one of the plough oxen refusing to draw the plough), sowing, reaping, treading out the grain, felling a tree, etc. Above

are offerings for the souls of Penehsi and his wife, for whom a goddess is appearing from a tree to pour out the water of life. On the short end-wall to the right (2) Penehsi and his wife stand in the top row before Osiris. In the bottom row is the representation of a great festival procession of the deified Amenophis I, which continues round to the rear wall, right-hand side (3), where the statue of the king, seated on a portable throne, is

worshipped by Penehsi and his wife. A fine scene of the sacred barque of Amenophis has been almost completely destroyed. The inner room is not accessible, and beyond its door (4) Penehsi makes sacrifice before the temple of which he was priest. Finally on the entrance-wall, left side of doorway (5), he and his wife adore various genii of the underworld; while below this are funerary scenes, with the mummy being dragged to the tomb.

No. 17. NEBAMÛN (DNS)

This tomb, belonging to another of the numerous Nebamûns, lies on the hill-side about 150 yards above the Department House. Beside it and accessible from it is No. 145, the tomb of another Nebamûn, who was a Captain of the Troops, possibly in the reign of Thuthmosis III. Our Nebamûn, however, was not a man of war, but a Scribe and Physician of the King, who 'accompanied the king's foot-steps in foreign lands'. His Pharaoh may have been Amenophis II, in which case his service in foreign lands would be on the solitary Asiatic campaign which Amenophis made. The decoration of his tomb agrees with this. The transverse hall shows (left-hand entrance-wall) Nebamûn and his wife seated and offered flowers by his brother (1, 2). Short wall (left) funerary scenes, with a family feast and music (3). Rear wall, left (4), granaries, servants, and in lower row bakers and jars of wine, and servants with provisions. To right



TOMB OF
NEBAMÛN (AMENNEB)

hand a large figure of Nebamûn with staff in his hand. Entrance-wall, right (5), a large figure of Nebamûn, with his scribe's palette. Short wall (6), Nebamûn adores Osiris and Anubis. Rear wall (7), Nebamûn receives offerings brought by Asiatic envoys and other foreigners. In the top row are Aegean men and Asiatic women. In the second row is an Asiatic chief, seated, and dressed in white robes, his wife, with elaborately flounced skirts stands beside him. An Egyptian official holds a vase which he has just received from the chief. The inner corridor has funerary scenes; but

these are only of secondary interest compared with the scene of the foreigners.

No. 35. BEKENKHONS (DNS)

This tomb was one of the group excavated by the Expedition of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in 1921-2-3. Bekenkhons was a man of mark in the reign of Ramses II, being First Prophet of Amûn, and his wife attained the exalted rank of Chief of the Harem of Amûn in the reign of Menephtah, son and successor to Ramses II. Her name was Mersagret, or Mertseger. The tomb is on a large scale, and had a forecourt, rectangular, but longer from east to west than from north to south, which was surrounded by a colonnade with square pillars instead of columns. In Christian times much of the painted decoration of the outer offering chamber had been smeared over with brown paint on which a crude design in red had been added. Parts of the scenes of offering to Osiris may still be seen beneath this. There is one admirable portrait of the lady Mersagret, wearing a heavy wig of black wool over her frankly Venetian red hair, and holding a sistrum and a lotus in her left hand. A statue of Bekenkhons, found in the temple of Mût at Thebes by the Misses Benson and Gourlay, suggests that he must have attained the age of one hundred, as he survived till the reign of Ramses III, when this statue was carved.

No. 160. BESENMÛT (DNS)

Besenmût's tomb was a Saite appropriation of part of the courtyard of the tomb of Bekenkhons (35). The Saite claim-jumper walled off the eastern end of the court, and built a new pylon, considering, doubtless, that after nearly six centuries his predecessor was not likely to complain of the intrusion. Besenmût was sufficiently highly placed to have known better, were it not for the fact that the most highly placed of all were the worst offenders in this respect, and the Pharaohs led the way in appropriating the work and the property of other people. This offender was Great Royal Scribe, Hereditary Prince and Count, Chancellor of Lower Egypt, Sole Friend, True Royal Acquaintance, and the Ears of the King of Lower Egypt. His tomb has three chambers, opening one from the other in the same line. The outer chamber contained four niches for offerings, each with



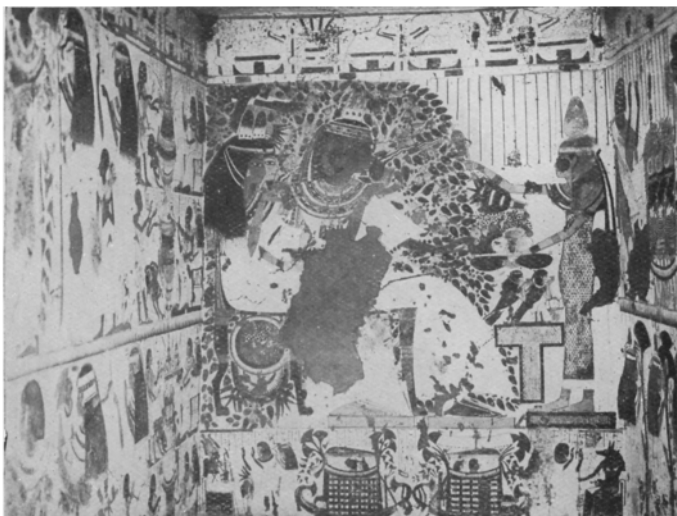
THE NECROPOLIS AREA FROM EL-QURNA TO MEDINET HABU
(FROM THE EAST BANK)



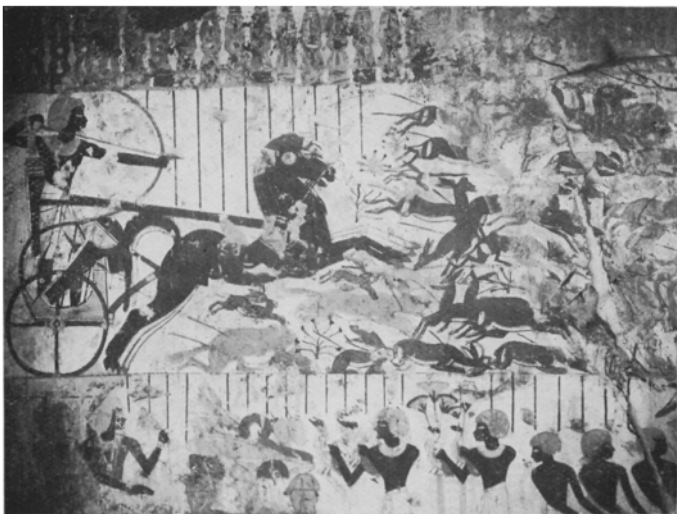
THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE NECROPOLIS AREA
(FROM EDGE OF THE CULTIVATION ON THE WEST BANK, SHOWING
INUNDATED LAND BETWEEN THE NECROPOLIS AND THE RIVER)

THE LAND OF THE DEAD
WESTERN BANK OF THE NILE OPPOSITE THEBES

PLATE XXI



DETAIL FROM SO-CALLED ' TOMBEAU DES GRAVEURS ', SHOWING
CRAFTSMEN AT WORK



DETAIL FROM TOMB OF NAKHT, SHOWING GUESTS AT FEAST, WITH
MUSICIANS AND DANCERS

WALL-PAINTINGS OF THEBAN PRIVATE TOMB-CHAPELS (1)

a fine coloured relief in the Saite style of imitation of the work and writings of the Old Kingdom. The walls between the niches were divided into narrow columns, with light-blue inscriptions on a yellow ground. The ceiling was coved, and divided along the axis into six panels, of which the three on the one side of the centre line corresponded with the three on the other side. The second and third chambers were so discoloured by bats and smoke that only faint indications of colour remained. The centre room had a well-cut door leading into a winding rock-tunnel which eventually broke into one of the tombs lower down.

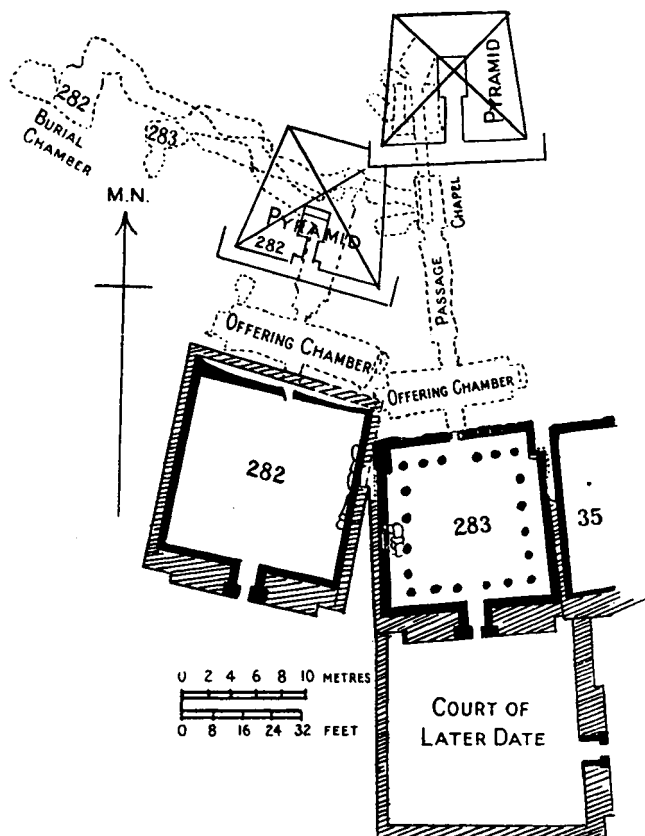
NO. 282. NAKHT (DNS)

Nakht was Chief Archer of Kush, Overseer of the South lands, and Fan-bearer to Ramses II. To make this tomb, the rock-face was scarped by a trench 54 feet wide, giving a height of 18 feet of rock-scarp for the façade of the tomb. The forecourt was then completed with walls of crude bricks and a pylon, and the floor of the court was paved with slabs of stone, the deficiencies of the rock being made up with brickwork. This forecourt was lined with limestone slabs on which were coloured reliefs; but only a few fragments of this have survived, as the limestone casing was used by subsequent builders. On the south side of the court stood the main funerary stele. The offering chamber, which opened from this forecourt, was, with the remaining chambers, wholly cut out of the rock. It was, as usual, transverse to the axis of the tomb, and was 41 feet by 11, with a coved ceiling; and it had deep niches at the narrow end with figures of Nakht and his wife seated. From this chamber a long corridor led into a small inner chamber with a niche containing another pair of seated statues. Again in this tomb a winding tunnel opened from the corridor, and led down to a roughly hewn burial-chamber in which were found two sarcophagi of red granite, both of which had been broken open and rifled, parts of their covers being demolished.

NO. 283. ROY OR ROMA (DNS)

This Chief Prophet of Amûn and his wife Tamût lived in Ramesside times, certainly later than Nakht (282), whose tomb

and pyramid accordingly suffered when they came to make provision for their own. Roy and his wife squeezed their tomb in



TOMBS OF ROY (ROMA), NO. 283, AND OF NAKHT (282). THE TOMB OF BEKENKHONS (35) INTRUDES OF THE ENCLOSURE WALL OF THE PILLARED COURT OF 283

between those of Nakht and Bekenkhons. Bekenkhons was thus doomed to suffer on both sides ; but he did not suffer so much

from Roy as did Nakht; for Roy's burial-tunnel broke into Nakht's inner chapel and Roy's pyramid platform cut into the north-west angle of Nakht's pyramid. Roy's forecourt was surrounded with a colonnade, of which some of the circular bases remain on three sides. The tomb consisted of a transverse offering-hall, a corridor, and an inner chapel with a burial-tunnel opening out of it on the left side. The transverse chamber was badly planned, for it came too far out on the slope of the hill into poor rock, and, as limestone had to be used to make up, the entire chamber had to be lined, so as to make it stronger. Even so, it partly collapsed. Later, in the time of Ramses IX, others did unto Roy as he had done unto Nakht, and re-used his tomb, breaking out a new tunnel which destroyed his statue niche, and making a large forecourt in front of his. This the new tenants of the tomb made so big that they could not get an entrance in line with the axis of the tomb, but had to build their pylon on the north side of the court.

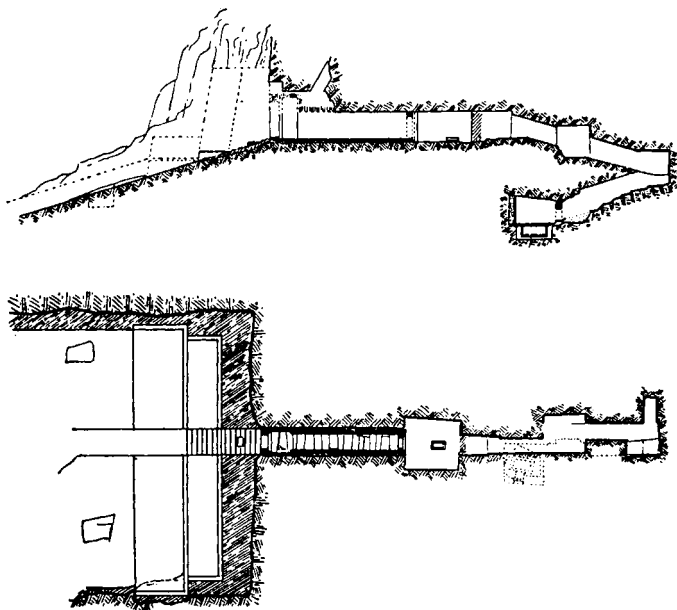
NO. 311. KHETY (DB)

Khety was Royal Seal-bearer, Sole Friend and Chancellor in the reign of Mentuhotpe Neb-hepet-rê. He was also Master Spinner, and supplied fine linen to the ladies of the royal harem, products marked with his name having been found in the tombs of the Princesses Ashait and Henhenit. His tomb, with its fine limestone (black on plan) has been much wrecked, but its burial-crypt still contains beautiful representations of funerary offerings. It is shown in plan as a specimen of the great XIth Dynasty tombs at El-Deir el-Bahari.

NO. 33. PETAMENÔPET (A)

This enormous Saite tomb is at present inaccessible. It is the largest tomb, either in the necropolis, or in the Bibân el-Meluke, being 861 feet in length. It has twenty-two rooms or corridors, and its area has been estimated at over 24,000 square feet. Its texts are a curious mixture of ancient and modern, part of them being taken, according to the archaizing custom of the Saite age, from older materials, even as far back as the *Pyramid Texts*, while part are taken from the late *Book of Gates* so much

used in the Valley of the Kings. They are all now much injured and blackened, and the tomb is infested with multitudes of bats.

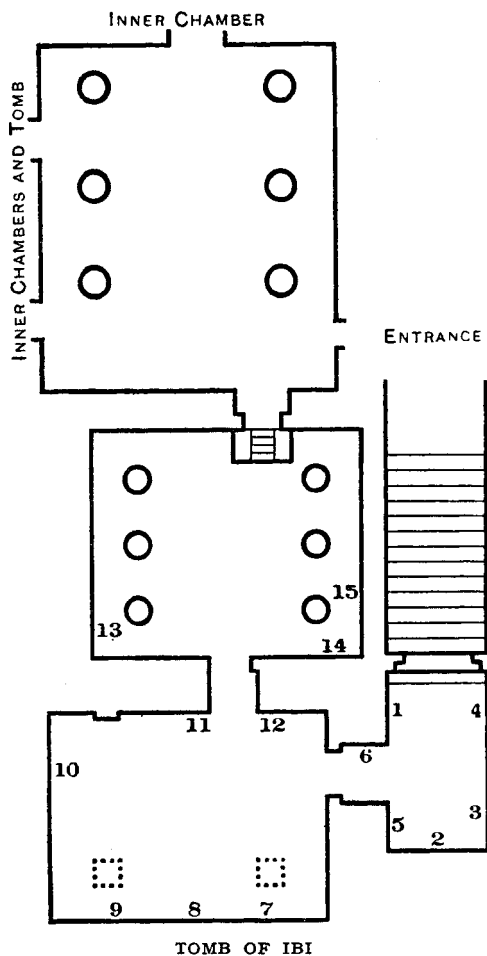


PLAN AND SECTION, TOMB OF KHETY (EKHTAI), XIX DYNASTY,
EL-DEIR EL-BAHARI

No. 36. IBI (ABA) (A)

This tomb is interesting as another example of that conscious archaizing which marks the Saite period. Ibi, who was Chief Steward of the Adorer of the God in the reign of Psammetichus I, sent his artists from Thebes to Deir el-Gabrâwi, near Asyût, to copy there the reliefs on the walls of the tomb of the Old Kingdom nomarch Ibi, simply, so far as we can see, because the old prince bore the same name with himself. The tomb lies near that of Petamenôpet, and is entered by a flight of steps which runs parallel with its main axis. At the foot of the steps we

enter an antechamber, where we see first (1), on the right hand of the door, a damaged figure of Ibi adoring Harakhte. In the



middle of the end wall of this room (2) is a 'false door' of the Old Kingdom style; and in the niche in its centre there probably

once stood a statue of Ibi. On the left wall (3) is a seated figure of Ibi, with rows of men and women servants bringing offerings (4) as in the Old Kingdom reliefs. Again, on the right wall (5) he is shown seated, with a pet gazelle under his chair; while below this scene, his *Ka* receives offerings from three servants.

Passing through a doorway which has on the right (6) a figure of Ibi holding a couple of braziers with burnt-offerings, we reach a hall which once had pillars with Hathor-headed capitals. On the centre of the left-hand wall as we enter (8), we see a large figure of Ibi watching the work (7) of craftsmen, leather-workers and chariot-makers. Ibi is dressed like an Old Kingdom magnate. Beyond him are rows of dancers (9). The rear wall has another false door (10) which has inscriptions stating, among other things, that Queen Nitocris, who was the 'Adorer of the God' of whom Ibi was Steward, was daughter of Psammetichus, and of Queen Shepenôpet. On the two sides of the doorway (11, 12) leading into the next hall are three jackal-headed figures and three hawk-headed figures, with eight sacred bulls behind the jackal figures, and three sacred oars behind the hawk-headed figures. We next enter a pillared court which was originally open with a colonnade round it. Here, on the left hand (3) is a third false door; while on the right (14) are two scenes, in one of which Ibi and his father Ankh-hôr sit before a table of offerings, and in the other of which Ibi and his wife are adored by their son. On the right-hand wall (15) is a hunting scene. Ibi's chariot figures at the bottom. Beyond this scene are various figures of offering-bearers.

From the inner hall, also pillared, various chambers lead off, in one of which is the tomb-shaft. Some coarse Ptolemaic painting in this hall, on the right side, marks its re-use at that time by another occupant.

No. 39. PUIMRÊ (A)

This large and important tomb belonged to the Second Prophet of Amûn in the reign of Tuthmosis III, and must have been one of the best examples of XVIIIth Dynasty work in the necropolis. Its reliefs are fine, though unfortunately badly damaged, and they still preserve their colour in some instances. The tomb has been recently reconstructed by Mr. N. de Garis Davies, and has

been published in a sumptuous style, with admirable reproductions, for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. It lies a little distance north of the Metropolitan Museum House. A large forecourt, which originally had a colonnade at its back, with inscriptions, and a statue in the middle, gives admittance by a central door to a hall, from which three chapels open off. The left-hand entrance-wall has craftsmen of the temple of Amûn, goldsmiths, chariot-makers, carpenters, etc.; the right entrance-wall has hunting in the marshes, as usual, and below are offerings from the marsh districts, with vintage scenes, bird-snaring, and men carrying bundles of papyrus-stems. The right-hand short wall has hunting game in the desert; and the rear wall the bringing of tribute.

In the right-hand chapel we have the voyage to Abydos, funerary ceremonies, and the figure of Puimrê at table. In the left-hand chapel are figures of Puimrê and his wife receiving offerings and seated at table. The central chapel has sacrifices and the receipt of offerings. The niche had a stele which is now at Cairo, and a scene of Puimrê and his wife at table.

NO. 181. NEBAMÛN AND IPUKY (K)

This tomb, familiarly known as 'Le Tombeau des Graveurs', belonged to two sculptors of the late XVIIIth Dynasty, of whom Nebamûn was Chief Sculptor of the Lord of the Two Lands, and Ipuky, Sculptor of the Lord of the Two Lands. Their tomb lies a little distance north-west of the Omda's house, and is one of the most interesting tombs in the neighbourhood, both from the freshness of the colouring of its scenes, and from the character of the scenes themselves, especially those showing the craftsmen at work. The two most notable scenes are on the right-hand entrance-wall. In the upper register Nebamûn adores the deified Amenophis I and his wife Ahmôse Nefertari; while behind his own figure he appears again, this time with his wife, adoring Hathor, whose figure has disappeared. In the lower register, Nebamûn supervised the work of his craftsmen, who are busily engaged in weighing the precious metals, carving Dad-and-Buckle-of-Isis emblems for a funerary shrine which they are putting together (cf. the decoration of the outermost gilded shrine in the burial-chamber of Tutankhamûn). Others are presenting to their chief specimens of finished enamelled collars and emblems,

putting pectorals together, carving a sphinx, hollowing out and finishing vessels of stone or of gold, and soldering and using the blow-pipe. On the right-hand short wall, the dead man adores Osiris, who is enthroned with the four Children of Horus sitting behind him. Beneath is a scene in which two couples sit before a table which is almost entirely destroyed. The man in each case holds a bouquet of lotus-blooms. On the left entrance-wall, upper register, is a festival scene with Nebamûn and his wife seated looking on, and Nebamûn and his mother making offering to the gods. Lower register, Ipuky and his wife receiving gifts from their friends. Left short wall, funerary scenes, and the voyage to Abydos. Left half of rear wall, burial scenes, and the voyage to Abydos, mourning women, the Opening of the Mouth of the Mummy, etc. Altogether a tomb well worth a visit.

Nos. 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196 (A)

These eight tombs are all accessible from the first of them, No. 189, which belonged to Nekht-Thôut, or Tehutinekht, an Overseer of the Ship-builders of the Northern Lake of Amûn, and Chief of the Gold-workers of the Estate of Amûn, late in the reign of Ramses II. The combination of offices points to his having been the constructor and gilder of the ceremonial barges of the god. The group of tombs to which his gives access lies west of the Museum House, and close to the tomb of Ibi (36). No. 190 is a tomb which was usurped, in the XXIst-XXIInd Dynasty, by one Nesbenebde. No. 191 is of Wehebranebpaht, and belongs to the early Saite Dynasty. No. 192 is the tomb of Kharuef, Steward of the Great Royal Wife Tiy, reign of Amenophis III, or beginning of the succeeding reign. It has the wrecks of a fine façade, with scene of Akhenaten and Queen Tiy. No. 193 belonged to Ptahemhab, Magnate of the Seal in the Treasury of the Estate of Amûn. It has the stele remaining. No. 194, Thutemhab, who was Overseer of Peasants of the Estate of Amûn, or in other words, chief poulterer and surveyor of farm produce to the temples (XIXth Dynasty). No. 195, Beknamûn, was Scribe of the Treasury of Amûn, also XIXth Dynasty. No. 196 is a tomb of Saite date, belonging to Peteharesnet, who was Chief Steward of Amûn. This group of tombs, of no great importance in itself, is mentioned as an example of the

extraordinary crowding together of tombs of different ages in the necropolis.

No. 279. PBES (PABASA) (A)

This very interesting and important tomb of the Saite period lies close to the causeway of Hatshepsut and the track to El-Deir el-Bahari. Pbes was Hereditary Prince and Count, Royal Seal-Bearer, Sole Beloved Friend of the King, and Chief Steward of the Divine Wife in the reign of Psammetichus I. Nitocris, who was the Divine Wife and Adorer of the God (Amûn), was daughter of Psammetichus. The tomb was cleared by the Metropolitan Museum in 1916-17, and has been enclosed by the Antiquities Department. The part of the tomb above ground is in a state of ruin. Entrance to the underground parts is gained by an inclined plane between brick walls. Thence a stairway descends to an antechamber, which has reliefs and inscriptions, mostly of a funerary nature, or of Pbes at table. We next enter a court of sacrifice (open). (Compare No. 36, the tomb of Ibi, for the open court, which is apparently a Saite feature.) The court is at the foot of a deep shaft, which has a brickwork lining at the top, and is rock-hewn below. It is colonnaded on two sides, four pillars on either side, and there are the usual scenes of offerings and of Pbes at table, together with vintage, hunting, and fishing scenes. Nitocris and her father Psammetichus I both figure in scenes of adoration to the gods, being escorted in either case by Pbes. The hall is eight-pillared ; but its scenes are much ruined.

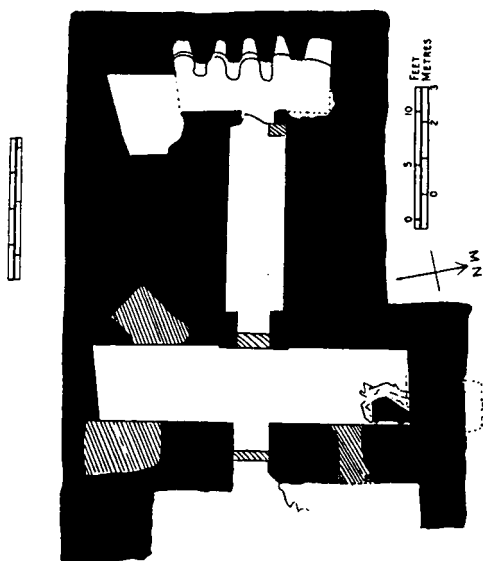
CHAPTER XXVI

THE MORTUARY CHAPELS: EL-SHEIKH 'ABD EL-QURNA (I)

NO. 21. USER

THIS small tomb is situated in the Upper Enclosure, a short distance to the left of the track leading to El-Deir el-Bahari. It consists of a much-ruined façade, a transverse hall, also much defaced, a corridor, and a shrine, which is in somewhat better condition than the other rooms, and which had four statues, modelled in plaster upon the rough-hewn core of native rock. The plaster has now fallen away, leaving the cores still remaining as pathetic ghosts of what were once portrait figures. The tomb has been usurped several times for subsequent burials. User was Steward to Tuthmosis I, so that this tomb comes very early in the XVIIIth Dynasty. The hall has practically nothing left save a few fragments (a large seated figure of User, with a woman standing behind him, and other scraps), sufficient only to show that the decoration here, as throughout the tomb, was on a golden yellow ground—a scheme which though a little crude, makes the figures stand out with sharpness. The corridor has somewhat poorly preserved scenes. On the north wall is the lower part of a hunting scene, considerably mutilated, in which certain incidents are depicted with some vivacity. Notice the hyena being brought in, slung by its four feet from a pole, and the brace of comic hares, who seem much surprised at being carried by their ears, which have not lost any length in the painter's hands; also the ostrich which is being led in behind the hyena and the hares. Some more defaced funerary scenes follow. The south wall has badly ruined funerary scenes, including the Voyage to Abydos, of which only scraps are left. The dragging of the sarcophagus on a sledge is fairly well preserved; but the scene of the Opening of the Mouth is much wrecked. The shrine shows on its east wall two repetitions, with only slight variations, of the same scene, in which

User receives a bouquet from the hands of his priest. Note the pet dog which sits under his chair. On the north and south walls, User and his wife sit in front of a table of offerings, and their daughter offers wine to them. The rear wall, as already noticed, had four statues, which still survive, in a much-defaced condition. They are probably those of User and his wife Bekt, and User's father and mother. In spite of its defaced condition, this is an interesting tomb, both because of its date and because of the somewhat crude vigour of the surviving scenes.



TOMB OF USER
(For description, see text)

No. 34. MENTUEMHÊT (A)

Originally this must have been one of the most imposing tombs in the necropolis, and it belonged to a most distinguished man. Mentuemhêt was only Fourth Prophet of Amûn, so far as priestly rank went; but he was also Hereditary Prince of Thebes, and

Governor of the City in the reign of Taharqa (XXVth Dynasty). As such, he had the task of bearing the brunt of the Assyrian attack in the time of Esarhaddon, and the capture and sack of his city by Ashurbanipal; and Thebes owed him a great debt for his efforts to repair the damage and loss. He did much to restore Karnak after the sack. Two of his statues, one representing him in middle life, and the other giving a later portrait of him, are well known, and are among the finest examples of portraiture in later Egyptian art (Cairo Museum, Nos. 935, G 30, north, and 1184, G 24, centre, also No. 893). The brick pylons of his great tomb are still to be seen to the left of the track to El-Deir el-Bahari; but the tomb itself is inaccessible.

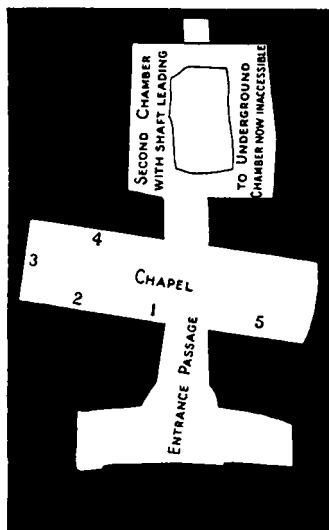
No. 38. ZESERKERASONB (LE)

At the extreme eastern angle of the Lower Enclosure, Zeserkerasonb was Scribe, Counter of the Grain in the Granary of Divine Offerings of Amûn, and was also Steward in the Household of a more important functionary, Amenhotpe-si-se, who was Second Prophet of Amûn in the reign of Tuthmosis IV, and whose tomb (No. 75) we shall see in due course. That of the great man's steward contains some excellent paintings of the best XVIIIth Dynasty time. Taking the scenes from the left on entering, we have the usual formal one of Zeserkerasonb with his wife and son, standing before offerings, funerary scenes, and servants with offerings. Next come field scenes, measuring the fields, farmers bringing offerings to the bower of Zeserkerasonb, harvesting, winnowing, and ploughing. Note the water-skin hanging from a tree for the use of the labourers, and the refreshments provided in the shade of the tree. On the right side of the entrance, Zeserkerasonb and his wife before offerings (unfinished). Opposite is a figure of Zeserkerasonb seated in a bower, while his daughters offer a garland and a dish of perfumed ointment to their father. Zeserkerasonb's figure is damaged; but the figures of his daughters are well drawn, and are noticeable for the unusual arrangement of their dresses. Behind them is a harpist, and jars of wine decorated with leaves, etc. Then follow feasting scenes, with musicians and a little dancing girl. In one scene a man turns away sick from the feast, and is touched on the arm by his companion—a scene familiar elsewhere, with a woman sometimes figuring as the sick guest. The idea,

apparently, was to show how abundant was the provision of cheer, both solid and liquid, for the guests.

No. 52. NAKHT (LE)

This comparatively small tomb, situated between the two enclosures of El-Qurna, and not far from the north gate of the upper one, is one of the most delightful, as it is also one of the best known, of the whole necropolis. Nakht was Scribe of the Granaries and Astronomer (?) of Amûn about the time of Tuthmosis IV. His tomb is by no means a perfect example of the rock-hewn tomb. Its transverse hall is grotesquely askew to the main axis of the tomb, and is imperfectly rectangular, some of the work in the corridor is unfinished and poor, and the transverse hall is the only part of the tomb which is decorated; nevertheless the work is so vivacious, and its colouring is so well preserved that the great reputation which Nakht's tomb has obtained is thoroughly well deserved. The tomb has been published sumptuously, in colour and photogravure, by N. de Garis Davies, for the Metropolitan Museum, New York.



TOMB OF NAKHT

Entering the chapel, we see on the left entrance-wall (1) the usual scene of Nakht and his wife standing before a heap of offerings. Behind them (2) and beneath them, Nakht, seated in a bower, superintends agricultural operations, which are worthy of attention for the vigour with which they are rendered. Above, we have the measuring and winnowing of the grain. Beneath this, the reaping and pressing the grain into net-baskets to be carried off. Note the vigorous action of the man who leaps into the air to exert greater pressure on the net. Below this, land is

being broken up and trees cut down, and ploughing is being carried on by two teams. The old ragged-haired ploughman with the piebald ox in his team is admirable in the anxious diligence with which he bends over the stilts of his plough. Near the door a man takes a drink from a water-skin which hangs from a tree.

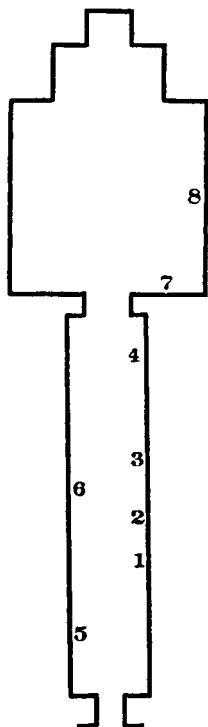
The left-hand short wall shows the funerary stele (3), painted to imitate granite, with Nakht and his wife at table, and servants kneeling to present offerings. Below the stele is a heap of offerings, with a tree-goddess and a servant standing on either side of it.

The rear wall, left-hand side (4), is unfortunately much damaged. What remains is part of a delightful scene of feasting, with one blind harper playing to the guests in the top row, who are paying more attention to their own conversation than to his music; and in the bottom row a group of three girl musicians, harper, double-flute player, and lute-player, who also dances. This girl shows an attempt on the part of the artist to present the upper part of her body in full face, while her head is turned back to speak to the flautist behind her. The drawing of her legs is by no means impeccable; but the dash of the whole group is charming. Beyond are Nakht and his wife, much damaged, sitting at table, with a lean but wholly delightful cat beneath, eagerly devouring a fish. Rear wall, right-hand side, below, Nakht and his wife sit in a bower, while servants bring them offerings, birds are trapped, and the vintage and wine-pressing are in progress. The upper row has at one end Nakht and his wife, and at the other a vivacious rendering of the usual fishing and fowling scene among the papyrus marshes. The scene has never been finished, and Nakht has no spear in his hand, though the two transixed fish are duly where the prongs of the leister ought to be; but the colour of the whole scheme is charming, and the minor figures are interesting. As a piece of decoration this is an admirable example of the Egyptian artist's skill. The right-hand short wall was never finished. It showed Nakht and his wife (twice), seated before tables to which servants bring offerings. On the right-hand entrance-wall (5), Nakht and his wife offer sacrifice. From the inner room a burial-shaft descended to the mummy-chamber (now inaccessible). Here was found a small statue of Nakht, kneeling and holding a stele with inscription. This is now at the bottom of the

Irish sea, having gone down with the *Arabic* when that vessel was torpedoed during the Great War.

NO. 60. INTEFÔQER

This is a highly important chapel, being of the early XIIth Dynasty, and thus one of the oldest, if not the oldest at El-Qurna. Intefôqer was Governor of the Town and Vizier under Senusret I. The entrance leads into a long corridor, and this in turn into an inner chamber with a deep niche. The paintings are on coarse plaster, and are themselves somewhat crude. The right-hand wall of the corridor (1) shows hunting scenes, fowling with a clap-net, and fishing with a net. Then (2) we have Intefôqer shooting game in an enclosure where are gazelles, wild cattle, hares, pursued by dogs. Cooking scenes (3) follow, and Intefôqer and his wife are represented (4) receiving offerings. The left-hand wall (5) shows the funeral procession crossing the Nile, and the coffin dragged by men and oxen. Then (6) men and women dance the funerary dance. (Note the headdresses of the male performers.) The inner chamber has on the right entrance-wall (7) a scene of musicians, male and female; and on the right-hand wall (8) are offering scenes. The rear wall, as already noted, has a niche for Intefôqer's statue. The burial-shaft goes down from this room to the burial-chamber.



TOMB OF
INTEFÔQER

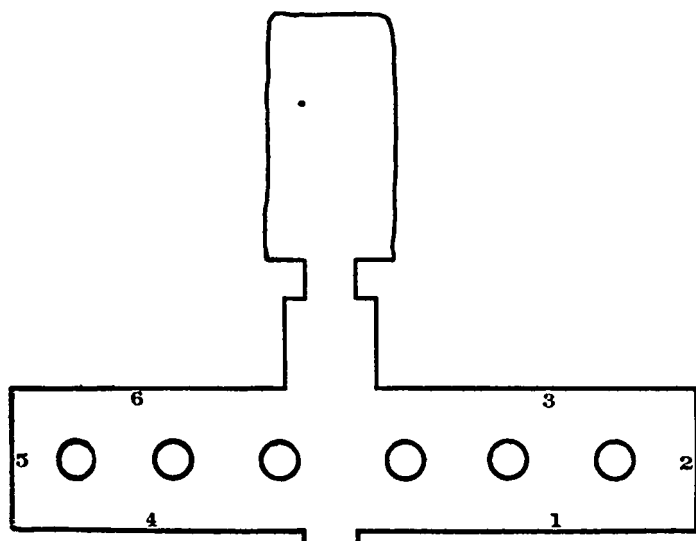
NO. 63. SEBEKHOTPE (UE)

Sebekhotpe, whose chapel is badly damaged, was Mayor of the Southern Lake and the Lake of Sobk (i.e. the Faiyûm) in the time of Tuthmosis IV. He seems to have been one of the fathers-in-law of Tuthmosis IV, and his inscriptions mention Princess Tha, who may have been his granddaughter by this marriage

of his daughter with royalty. The most notable surviving scene in his chapel is the familiar one in which scenes of the Egyptian Paradise are displayed. Sebekhotpe and his wife walk beside a lake in the heavenly garden, and drink of the water of life. Also they sit in the shade and eat the Bread of Life given to them by a tree-goddess (Isis), who grows out of the stem of a persea tree. We shall meet this charming motive again and again among the other tomb-chapels. Scenes, or parts of scenes, from the chapel of Sebekhotpe are not unknown among the collections of some European museums.

NO. 65. NEBAMÛN, USURPED BY IMISÍBE (UE)

A large chapel, north of the *ghafir's* hut and No. 62. It was originally made for Nebamûn, Scribe of the Royal Accounts in



TOMB OF NEBAMÛN AND IMISÍBE

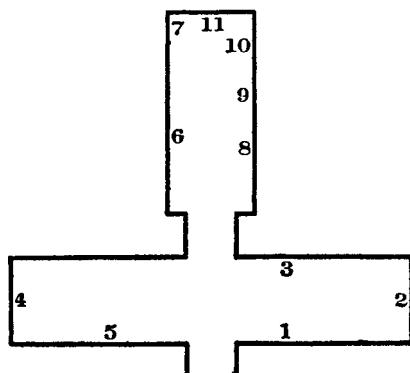
the Presence, possibly in the reign of Hatshepsut, but was taken possession of three centuries later, in the time of Ramses IX or

X, by an important temple official of Amûn, Imisibe, Chief of the Temple Scribes in the Estate of Amûn. He obliterated the old reliefs beneath a coat of plaster, on which he placed his own paintings. From the forecourt we enter a large pillared hall (transverse) with six sixteen-sided pillars. The scenes in the hall are in accordance with Imisibe's official position. On the right-hand entrance-wall (1) the sacred barque of Amûn is carried by priests, with the king, as supreme high-priest, burning incense before it. The right-hand short wall (2) has the priest with offerings. The right-hand rear wall (3), shows Imisibe offering to the Theban triad, and priests carrying sacred vessels. The left-hand entrance-wall (4) again shows the sacred barque as before; the left-hand short wall (5) has the barque followed by the souls of the former Pharaohs, and the left rear wall (6) shows Imisibe and his friends offering to Osiris and Maet. The corridor is vaulted. In the inner room, where there is a statue-niche, Imisibe makes offering to the gods of the underworld, and there are scenes of the underworld. The ceiling decoration of the transverse hall, and the design of some of the sacred vessels in the scenes in the hall are worthy of notice. Here and there Imisibe's plaster has fallen away, disclosing the older work beneath.

No. 69. MENENA (MENNA) (UE)

Close to the northern gate, upper enclosure, Menena, more usually known as Menna, was Scribe of the Fields of the Lord of the Two Lands of Upper and Lower Egypt, possibly in the reign of Tuthmosis IV. His chapel is one of the most interesting in the whole necropolis, and none the less so because of the damage which it has suffered. For a part of this damage has been of a character which itself sheds light upon Egyptian views of the conditions of happiness in the other world, and the means of gaining it or hindering other people from gaining it. One of the purposes of the pictured scenes on the walls of the tomb-chapels was to secure to the owner of the chapel the perfect continuance, in the new life upon which he had entered, of all the activities depicted in the paintings. He was to enjoy for ever perfect fishing and fowling, perfect harvests and vintages, perfect pleasure in his feasts, and so on. But, on the other hand, it was also believed that the disadvantages following upon the destruction of any part of the various scenes was as valid as

the advantages of the perfect scenes ; and this belief left open a door for anyone who cherished malice towards the owner of the tomb. Menena evidently had an enemy who hated him very thoroughly, and this malicious gentleman had got access, personally or by deputy, to his enemy's tomb. Menena's face is obliterated, or at all events his eye is hacked out, so that he cannot see the offerings, or watch the ploughing or the harvest, or aim his boomerang or his leister. To make assurance doubly sure, his boomerang itself is cut through close to the thumb of his right hand, and the right hand with the part of the leister which it holds is obliterated, so that never again shall the throw-



TOMB OF MENENA

stick or the fish-spear bring down the game or pierce the fish. Menena, so far as his dear friend could see to it, was going to have a poor time in the other world. It seems a peculiarly mean form of revenge ; but the Egyptian habitually took this way of getting square with his enemy, and even the greatest did not disdain to stoop to this form of getting his own back—witness Tuthmosis III and his treatment of the memory and the supporters of Hatshepsut. It is not a pleasant kink in the character of a race otherwise attractive ; but our conception of the Egyptian character would not be complete without it.

Apart from this blemish, the work in Menena's chapel is of a very high type. Its colouring has remained unusually fresh,

and the drawing of the various incidents is extremely spirited and vigorous ; while here and there the artist has allowed himself to indulge in a piece of humorous by-play which is refreshing. Notice, e.g., in the harvest scene, the two girls quarrelling, and tearing one another's hair.

Entering the transverse hall, we have, on the right-hand entrance-hall (1) the usual ceremonial scenes of Menena and his wife before offerings. The right-hand short wall (2) has the stele, beside which two men and two women pray. The rear wall, right hand (3), has the funerary feast, and below it the funerary rites. The left-hand short wall (4) shows Menena and his wife offering to Osiris, and beneath are burnt-offerings being consumed. The field scenes begin with the left-hand entrance-wall (5), and it is interesting to observe with what thoroughgoing spite Menena's enemy has carried out his scheme of destruction, so that in no case should the owner of the tomb derive any comfort from the scenes which he had caused to be painted so carefully. Facing the top two registers, Menena sits in an arbour to watch all the proceedings, while tables piled with good things stand before him ; and his eye has been carefully destroyed so that he can never see what he sat there to see. In the top register his fields are being measured ; and the enemy has cut off the marks on the measuring line, so that Menena may never know the extent of his heavenly estate. (Notice the swaggering overseer immediately beyond the table of offerings, and the slave who humbly kisses the feet of the great man's great man.) Farther along Menena stands beneath a canopy to watch the arrival of one of his boats, from which passengers are being welcomed by a servant, while one of the crew is being beaten for some fault. Menena is blind to all this, his eye having been destroyed.

In the next row Menena's chariot, with a brilliant piebald horse, waits for him ; while beyond, grain is being measured and recorded, winnowed, and trodden out by cattle. The third row has reaping scenes, which are watched in vain by the eyeless Menena. A girl brings a water-jar to a thirsty labourer ; but the malice of the foe has found a chance even here, and the mouth of the labourer and that of the jar have both been destroyed so that the man shall be too thirsty to do Menena's work. Here are the two quarrelling girls, already mentioned, and other incidents all vivaciously depicted. The bottom row has ploughing and

sowing ; a girl takes a thorn out of another girl's foot, and so forth. Near the door, Menena is seated, while his daughters shake their sistra before him. They are interesting studies in Egyptian XVIIIth Dynasty styles of dressing, and their style of headdressing is more wonderful than beautiful. On the left wall of the inner corridor are funerary scenes, with the Voyage to Abydos (6), and the Weighing of the Heart of Menena (7). In this scene his enemy has destroyed the tongue of the balance and the eye of the figure who is holding the scales, so that Menena must inevitably be doomed ! The right-hand wall has scenes of the funerary voyage (8), and an admirable rendering of the usual fowling and fishing scene among the papyrus thickets, (9) ; mutilated, as we have already seen. Notice the traditional ichneumon climbing the papyrus stems to rob the birds' nests, the traditional crocodile seizing a fish, and the particularly graceful little figure of Menena's daughter, stooping from the skiff in which her father is fowling to pluck a lotus-bud. Even this dainty little figure has not been spared, and her face is obliterated. At the farther end of this room is a niche with the lower part of statuettes of Menena and his wife (11). These doubtless owed the destruction of their upper parts to the same friend who was so unremitting in his attentions to the rest of the tomb. The ceiling decoration of the tomb is worthy of notice for its elaboration and brilliancy.

NO. 71. SENMÛT (UE)

This chapel, on the north side of the hill, and close to the tomb of El-Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna, belongs to one of the most interesting men of all Egyptian history, the favourite and chief supporter of Queen Hatshepsut, the builder of her temple at El-Deir el-Bahari, and the erector of her two obelisks at Karnak. His tomb is therefore of great historical importance ; but unfortunately its condition by no means corresponds to its historical significance. Senmût paid at Hatshepsut's death the penalty of having been too conspicuous in his support of the great queen, and his tomb suffered badly at the hands of the agents of Tuthmosis III. Even in its wrecked condition, however, the few fragments of decoration which survive are of the greatest value, for the representations of Keftiu (Minoan or Mycenaean) envoys and the Cretan vases which they bring. These are in the right-hand

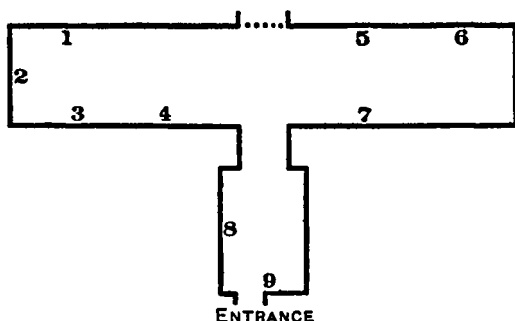
corner of the hall, and have now been protected against further damage. An interesting side-light upon Senmût's consciousness of the danger which he ran by his uncompromising support of Hatshepsut is afforded by the inscriptions in the inner corridor. These were originally covered with plaster; and it appears that Senmût purposely caused them to be written and then covered with plaster on which further inscriptions, with his name, would be written, so that his enemies might be content with destroying the upper inscriptions, and might not suspect that his name, destroyed above, still survived below. The plaster has now fallen off, and the concealed inscriptions are disclosed; but the trick was not successful, as Senmût's name has been erased in spite of it.

Senmût had a second tomb which tunnelled under the court of Hatshepsut's great temple at El-Deir el-Bahari. This, however, was never finished or occupied, and it may be presumed that its construction was suddenly stopped by the queen's death and the triumph of Tuthmosis III and his supporters. The unheard-of privilege granted to Senmût by his queen would seem to them a piece of intolerable presumption on the part of a traitor, and Senmût's aspirations to a place in the sacred court would receive short shrift. The unfinished tomb was recently discovered by the Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of New York (see *Bulletin*, section II, 1928, pp. 30 sq.). One chamber is carved with scenes of the underworld, and has a fine astronomical ceiling.

NO. 75. AMENHOTPE-SI-SE (UE)

This tomb is that of a Second Prophet of Amûn, time of Tuthmosis IV. When we remember that Zeserkerasonb (No. 38), who could afford a tomb so attractive and well-painted as No. 38, was merely the Steward of Amenhotpe-si-se, it becomes evident that the latter must have been a very big man indeed. His tomb is entered by a breach in the wall from No. 76, so that the normal entrance is now closed. We take the scenes, however, in their natural order, beginning with the entrance-wall of the transverse hall (right hand). Here (1) are the seated figures of Amenhotpe-si-se and his wife, with offerings, and five registers containing scenes of feasting, in which Steward Zeserkerasonb duly figures. There are representations of musicians, harpist, lute-player, flute-girl, etc., with waitresses and guests, and the

chariot of the master of the house, with its outrunners, waiting for him. The right-hand short wall (left hand from present entrance) (2) once had the stele which has now vanished. The rear wall, right hand (3), has a representation of the temple (probably Karnak) in which Amenhotpe-si-se served; but the remainder of the scenes on this half of the wall (4) are much damaged. The entrance-wall, left-hand half (from original entrance) (5), has a scene in which Zeserkerasonb weighs gold before Amenhotpe-si-se, whose figure has been obliterated (because of the Amûn in his name and his Amûn connexion?). While some of the weights have the common bull form, one of them is shaped like a frog. Superintendents of the workmen of

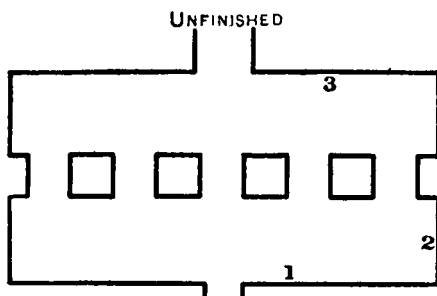


TOMB OF AMENHOTPE-SI-SE

the temple and masters of the workmen watch the process of weighing. Then we have scenes in which the workmen of the temple exercise the callings for whose sake the gold and silver has just been weighed out. These resemble the similar scenes in the 'Tombeau des Graveurs' (No. 181) already noticed. A large figure of Amenhotpe-si-se (now erased) stands watching the harvest (6) and the measuring of the lands of Amûn. The rear wall, left hand (from original entrance), is unfinished, and has been defaced (7). At the end it bears a much-damaged figure of the king enthroned, with Amenhotpe-si-se bowing before him. The inner room has damaged funerary scenes (8), and once had a niche (9), through which the breach was made into No. 76, which now serves as the entrance.

No. 76. THENUNA (UE)

Near No. 75, and connected with it, as has been already indicated. Thenuna was Fan-bearer on the right of the King in the time of Tuthmosis IV, whose servants are so largely represented in this neighbourhood. The transverse hall is large, and its roof is upheld by four square pillars. On the right entrance-wall (1) are scenes of the numbering of cattle, which refer to



TOMB OF THENUNA

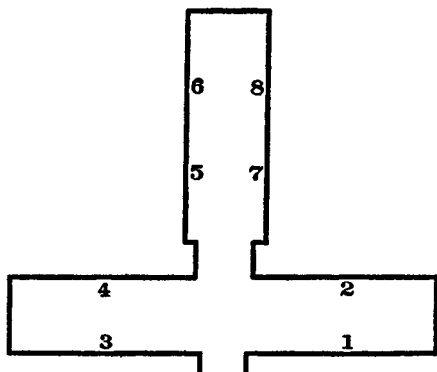
another of Thenuna's offices—that of Superintendent of the Sacred Cattle of Amûn. The short wall, right hand (2), has offering scenes; but the main interest of the chapel is in the scene on the rear wall, right-hand side (3), where the (damaged) figure of the king once sat, with Hathor behind him, to receive the tribute of Asia. The chapel is unfinished and its inner section, from which entrance is made to No. 75, has been abandoned.

No. 78. HAREMHAB (UE)

Haremhab (not to be confused with the Pharaoh of the same name) was a long-lived individual, who served in turn Tuthmosis III, Amenophis II, Tuthmosis IV, and Amenophis III. As the extreme dates of these reigns run from 1479 B.C. (conceivably 1501) to 1376, Haremhab ran a good chance of attaining the summit of Egyptian ambition—a prosperous life of 110 years. He was Royal Scribe and Scribe of Recruits, and his other offices

(for the Egyptian official was nothing if not versatile) were Superintendent of the Sacred Cattle, Superintendent of the Workmen of Amûn, Superintendent of the Horses, Captain of the Archers, and Royal Nurse (Tutor) to one of the royal princesses. Apparently there was nothing incongruous to an Egyptian mind in an old soldier being made nurse to a royal princess. Ahmôse Pen-Nekhebt, most hard-fisted of all the war captains of the Early Empire, shared the position of Nurse to Princess Nefrurê, daughter of Queen Hatshepsut, with her chief adviser and supporter Senmût.

The tomb-chapel has the usual transverse hall and inner



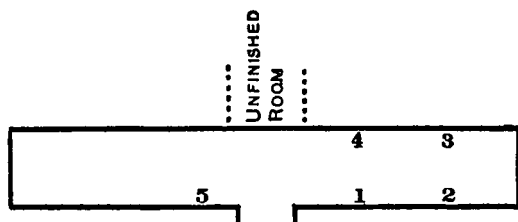
TOMB OF HAREMHAB

passage, and some of the scenes are in accordance with the military character of its owner. The right entrance-wall (1) shows the familiar funerary feast, with women dancers and musicians and blind minstrels, who seem to have been a regular feature of these festivals. One fat old harper is to be noted. The right-hand rear wall (2) shows a scene of foreign tribute very vivaciously. Asiatics lead in horses wearing gay plumes. Vases and rings of gold are presented. Below, is a scene of negroes from the Sudan, with some negro women carrying their babies on their backs. Below, again, negroes dance to the beat of a drum; cattle are driven in, and there is a guard of armed soldiers. The figure of King Tuthmosis IV, to whom all this is

being offered, is much damaged. The left-hand entrance-wall (3) shows another feast. Haremhab and his wife have been obliterated; but they were being offered fine golden bowls by women servants. Of two women musicians playing lutes, one has been drawn full-face, unusual in Egyptian art, but not unprecedented, as the familiar scene from the British Museum shows. On the left-hand rear wall (4) the enthroned figure of Tuthmosis IV presides over the scenes, in which Haremhab should have been seen offering flowers to the Pharaoh, had not his figure been obliterated, as frequently elsewhere. The muster-roll of the troops is checked by the military scribes, and stores are taken in to the magazine—one man being painted in the act of passing through the doorway, a piece of impressionism in which the Egyptian artist did not often indulge. The inner passage has, to right and left, funerary scenes (5) and beyond these (6) an erased figure of Haremhab before the gods, and the weighing of his heart on the left, while the right (7, 8) has the standard fishing and fowling scene—much the worse for time and wear. Note the little bit of by-play of the old trapper insisting on silence while the clap-net is being pulled. The view from this point is very fine.

NO. 79. MENKHEPER (UE)

Menkheper, who was Overseer of the Granary of the Lord of the Two Lands about the time of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II, had, like so many others whose records are in the necropolis, an



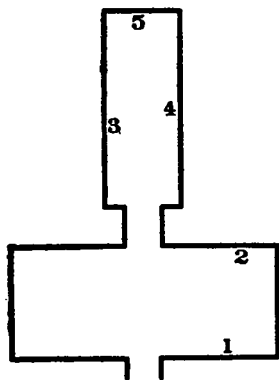
TOMB OF MENKHEPER

official descent, being son of Minnakht, whose tomb (No. 87) lies close at hand, and who was Overseer of the Granaries, like his son. Only the transverse hall is decorated, the inner part of the

tomb being unfinished. The right-hand entrance-wall has the fowling scene among the papyrus thickets (1), followed by scenes of cattle and geese, the vintage, and the wine-pressing (2). The left-hand entrance-wall has damaged scenes of farm life and produce (5). The rear wall, right-hand (3), shows Menkheper seated, with his father and mother, and a variety of offerings, including some of military equipment. Below is the funeral feast with the usual orchestra; while near the entrance into the unfinished inner part of the tomb Menkheper is given homage by his son (4), now a scribe in the funerary temple of Tuthmosis where his grandfather Minnakht had served. The Egyptian official had a firm belief in the wisdom of keeping good things in the family.

No. 80. THUTNÛFER (UE)

Close to 79. Thutnûfer (Tehutinefer) was Overseer of the Treasury and Royal Scribe in the reign of Amenophis II. His sister Takhat was a Chantress of Hathor of Dendera; but it may be presumed that this position, like that of Thanuny's wife (No. 74) only implied a nominal connexion, not actual residence, save, perhaps, for a small part of the year. The paintings in Thutnûfer's chapel are rather crude, and of no great interest. The transverse hall has offerings and the funeral feast (1, 2). On the right-hand wall of the inner chamber are funerary scenes, including a representation of Thutnûfer's house beside the river with his private barge and his chariot waiting for him (4).



TOMB OF THUTNÛFER

The end-wall has Thutnûfer before Osiris (5). The most interesting scene in the tomb is on the left-hand wall (3), where we have scenes of Thutnûfer's official work at the Treasury, the weighing of gold, bringing in of tribute, including elephants' tusks and skins.

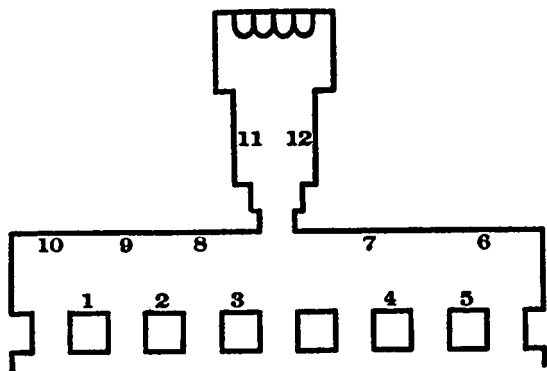
No. 81. INENI (ANENA) (UE)

Apart from its artistic merits, which are not to be despised, Ineni's chapel is of considerable interest from the historical point of view, for it contains, or rather contained (the stele having been destroyed), the story of Ineni's official career, told with great vivacity and in considerable detail. Ineni did not suffer, any more than most other Egyptian officials, from any undue modesty when it came to the statement of his own merits. He believed in them, and said so, with emphasis. Accordingly his stele inscription, fortunately preserved in good copies, makes amusing as well as valuable reading. It will be remembered that it was he who excavated the first tomb in the Bibân el-Meluqe, that of Tuthmosis I, 'no man seeing, no man hearing'; he also brought down from Aswân the two obelisks of Tuthmosis I, of which one still stands, and he tells us that he built a boat 206½ feet long by 68½ feet broad to carry the great shafts down the river. His experiments with plaster for the facing of the walls of the royal tombs were not so successful, as we have seen, as he imagined at the time; but we owe him a debt for his quiet comment on the state of affairs when Tuthmosis III had succeeded Tuthmosis II but Egypt was still being ruled by the masterful Hatshepsut. Tuthmosis III, he tells us, 'stood in his place [i.e. the place of Tuthmosis II] as King of Egypt, having become ruler in the place of him who begat him. His sister, the Divine Consort [Hatshepsut] settled the affairs of Egypt according to her ideas.' The situation could not have been better summed up than in these two sentences. Ineni's summing up of his own merits is excellent. 'I became great beyond words; I will tell you about it, ye people; listen, and do the good that I did—just like me. I continued powerful in peace, and met with no misfortune; my years were spent in gladness. I was neither a traitor nor a sneak, and I did no wrong whatever. I was foreman of the foremen, and did not fail. . . . I never hesitated, but always obeyed superior orders . . . and I never blasphemed sacred things.' Mr. Engelbach's comment is illuminating: 'If he handled Oriental labour for some forty years without blaspheming it was not the least of his achievements.'

The façade of Ineni's chapel, which lies close to No. 80, shows a gallery cut in the rock-face, with roof supported by six square pillars. The roof of this gallery has partly collapsed, and has

been made up with wood. The usual transverse hall is thus modified, the place of the entrance-hall being taken by the square pillars, which have scenes on their rear faces.

Beginning with the first pillar on the left hand (1), we have a hunting scene, in which Ineni (partly destroyed) shoots arrows at his quarry. A hyena rears up, biting at a broken arrow ; and a dog rushes at the wounded beast. Below are other huntsmen, and again we have a clever rendering of a dog attacking a rearing animal. The second pillar (2) has an interesting picture of the country-house of Ineni, who sits with his wife in an



TOMB OF INENI

arbour, and gives orders to his gardener. The third pillar (3) shows Ineni seated at table with an abundant feast spread before him ; the fourth has nothing. The fifth pillar (4) has two scenes of ploughing and the crop before harvest ; the sixth (5) has harvest scenes. The back wall of this court, right-hand side, has the regular fishing scene (6), and beyond it a scene in which Ineni, with his pet dog, and his friends watch the parade of the animals from his estate, cattle, sheep and goats, donkeys, geese and flamingoes (7). On the rear wall, left-hand side, Ineni, with his wife, and friends watch the tribute brought in from the wars of Tuthmosis I (8). An Egyptian soldier drives in Nubian women, with their children carried in baskets on their backs ; soldiers carry in the loot ; Asiatic women bring their children in

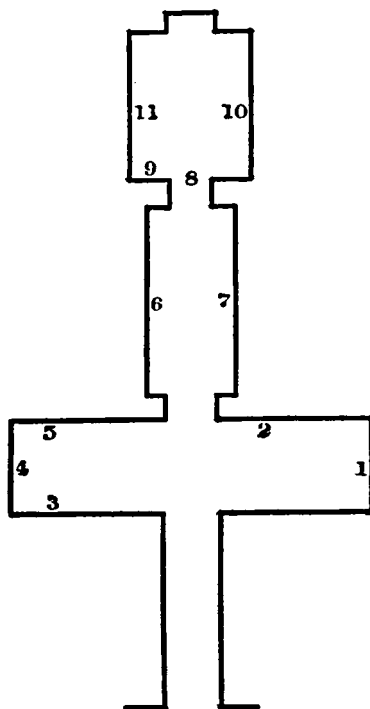
on their shoulders, and other loot is brought in. Beyond this scene is another (9) in which Ineni inspects the cattle and grain of the temple estate. This scene would not be complete, of course, without some one being beaten, and the culprit is duly represented. Then comes the weighing of the temple treasure, and the recording of the result (10). The inner chamber shows on the left hand figures of Ineni and his wife receiving offerings (11). Some enemy has spitefully injured the figures of the two principals in ancient days. Beyond this are funerary scenes, with the last voyage. The right-hand wall has more funerary scenes (12), with offerings to Ineni and his wife. The end-wall of the shrine has four funerary statues, much wrecked, and the side walls show paintings of Ineni and his friends. The burial-shaft is now filled up.

NO. 82. AMENEMHÊT (UE)

Tomb-chapel No. 82, which lies to the right hand of the path leading from No. 83 (beside the remains of Wilkinson's house) to No. 81, ranks as one of the most important tombs in the necropolis, not because of any supreme quality in its decorations, which are good, but not surpassingly so, but because, as Dr. A. H. Gardiner has said, 'there is perhaps now extant no tomb of the best Theban period better suited to display the normal scheme of mural decoration or to serve as an object-lesson for the exposition of Egyptian funerary ideas'. Accordingly Dr. Gardiner has made it the text for his admirable study of these ideas, and all who wish to gain a clear view of the conceptions which the Egyptian embodied in his scheme of tomb decoration should study his *Tomb of Amenemhet*, and its wealth of copies of the tomb paintings by Mrs. Nina de Garis Davies.

Amenemhêt himself was by no means so loftily placed in the Egyptian bureaucracy as the late importance of his tomb might suggest. Indeed the offices which he occupied, though important enough, were distinctly of the lower order of official dignity, and, such as they were, were almost all obtained by his family connexions, and not by any surpassing merit of his own. He was Scribe (as nearly every Egyptian official was), Steward of the Vizier, Counter of the Grain in the Granary of Divine Offerings of Amûn, Head of the Weavers of Amûn, Overseer of Ploughed Lands, and Master of Ceremonies of the Estate of Amûn.

Of this quite modest list of appointments, by far the most important and valuable was that of Steward of the Vizier, who in this case was User, an exceptionally wealthy and powerful man, whose great office, like Amenemhêt's small ones, came to him by descent, his father Ahmôse having been vizier before him.



TOMB OF AMENEMHÊT

Amenemhêt, no doubt, was wise enough to make the most of this precious connexion, and the completeness of his tomb suggests that he was not unsuccessful in this laudable attempt.

The paintings in his tomb are of high quality, though those of the corridor and the shrine are far from being of the same fine

quality as those of the hall. The tomb is as good an example as can be desired of the typical Theban tomb-design, which is so rarely seen in its completeness. A long entrance-passage leads into a transverse hall, which, in turn, is followed by a corridor, and this by a shrine with niche, so that the elements are all present and complete.

The paintings of the entrance have been totally destroyed. On the entrance-wall of the hall, right-hand side, have been scenes of Amenemhêt, or his father, making offerings to the Vizier Ahmôse and his wife ; but the inscription alone survives, and the lower portion of the scenes is also destroyed. The short wall, right hand (1), had scenes of Amenemhêt hunting in the desert ; but only fragments of these survive. The rear wall, right-hand side (2), had on the right a scene of hunting the hippopotamus, of which a fragment with a very realistic hippopotamus head has survived, and below this aquatic and agricultural scenes, also very fragmentary. The left portion of this wall near the door had the usual fowling and fishing scene (destroyed), and a lower scene which has perished. The rear wall, left-hand side, has the funeral feast (5) with Amenemhêt and his wife banqueting with their relatives, and musicians and bringers of offerings. The lower scenes were mostly connected with Amenemhêt's offices, and these have mostly perished. A massive and imposing prize bull belonging to the Vizier User has been partly preserved. The short wall, left hand (4), has scenes of Amenemhêt making offerings to his parents and grandparents, and (below) to the designers and decorators of his tomb. On the entrance-wall, left side (3), Amenemhêt makes offerings to the Vizier User and his wife ; the lower portion is destroyed.

In the thickness of the doorway to the passage, on the right hand was a scene of Amenemhêt going out from the tomb to see the sun and his earthly home. Only the inscription now is left, in part ; and the scene on the left-hand thickness is destroyed.

The corridor has on the right hand, first the Opening of the Mouth and other funerary ceremonies, and left hand (6) the voyage to Abydos. Farther on, right (7), Amenemhêt and his wife receive offerings from their son ; and, left, the same scene is repeated. In the thickness of the doorway to the shrine on both sides Amenemhêt worships Anubis.

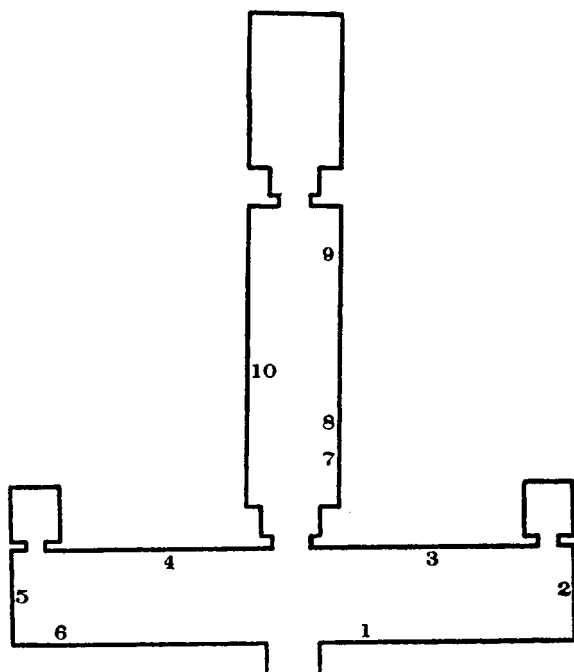
In the shrine the entire top portion of the entrance-wall is occupied with two pairs of figures of Amenemhêt and his wife

watching their funerary feast, and between them guests, mourners, and men offering libations to the mummy. Beneath this scene, on the right-hand entrance-wall is a scene of funerary equipment, which has been overlaid by an autobiographical stele, of which only portions survive ; on the left hand a scene of a game of draughts, which has been overlaid by another autobiographical stele (9). On the right-hand wall (10) Amenemhêt and his wife receive offerings from another son named Amenemwashket ; the middle register has vignettes of feast-days, and the lowest register has servants with offerings. On the left wall (11) Amenemhêt and his wife receive offerings from their son Useramûn ; the middle register has vignettes corresponding to those on the opposite wall, and the lowest shows servants with offerings. On the rear wall, right side, Amenemhêt offers wine to the goddess of the East, and, left, offers wine to the goddess of the West. There is an ornamental entablature above the niche. The scenes on the walls of the niche have almost entirely vanished, but showed Amenemhêt and his wife receiving offerings from two of their sons. The inscription on one of the two autobiographical steles (which were an after-thought), gives as the date of the tomb the twenty-eighth year of Tuthmosis III, and gives prayers for the welfare of the Vizier User, to whose powerful help Amenemhêt doubtless owed much of the prosperity which enabled him to make so fine a tomb for himself.

No. 84. AMUNEZEH (UE)

This tomb has had a double tenantry, having been partly usurped in the next reign to that of Tuthmosis III, in which it was made, by Mery, who was First Prophet of Amûn in the reign of Amenophis II. It lies some little distance to the south of Wilkinson's house, and near to the more important tomb No. 85 (Amenemhab). Amunezeh was First Royal Herald and Overseer of the Judgment Hall in the time of Tuthmosis III. It will be remembered also that Intef (No. 155) whose tomb we have already seen, was Great Herald of the King in the reign of Tuthmosis, who, however, reigned long enough and had enough work on hand to keep more than one herald in full occupation. Amunezeh's tomb, like that of Amenemhêt, is a fairly complete example of the lay-out of a Theban tomb-chapel, so far as plan is concerned. The transverse hall, which has small

annexes at the two angles of its rear wall, shows, on the right hand as we enter, the funerary feast (1). The right-hand short wall has a much-damaged stele (2); the rear wall, right hand (3), has a scene which would have had more interest than the usual formal scenes had it not been sorely ruined. It shows Asiatics



TOMB OF AMUNEZEH

bringing in their tribute, and has interesting variations in the garb and colouring of the various tributaries. The rear wall, left hand (4), shows Negroes bringing in their tribute, which consists mainly of live-stock, leopards, giraffes, baboons, and skins, with gold rings. Note the monkey clinging round the neck of the giraffe. The short wall, left hand, has a ruined stele (5); on the entrance-wall, left hand (6), Amunezeh sits before a table of

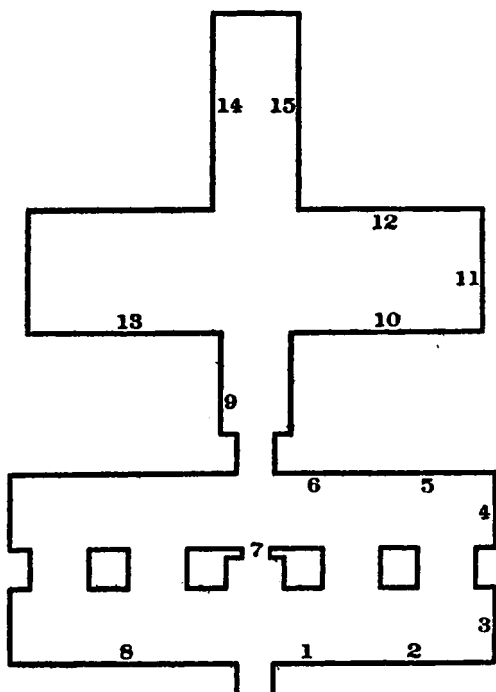
offerings. The right-hand wall of the corridor shows us Amun-ezeh hunting wild animals of the desert (7), then inspecting the produce of his estate (8), and seated with his wife before offerings (9). The left-hand wall (10) has funerary scenes of which the visitor is by now getting presumably somewhat tired. The shrine is vaulted, and has a finely decorated ceiling.

NO. 85. AMENEMHAB (UE)

Historically, this is one of the most precious tombs in the necropolis, because of the extremely valuable and vivid picture which its inscriptions give us of incidents in the Asiatic campaigns of Tuthmosis III. Amenemhab was Lieutenant-Commander of the Soldiers in the reign of Tuthmosis, and survived his great leader, living on into the reign of Amenophis II. It is rare to find anything really living and picturesque in Egyptian historical inscriptions; but Amenemhab is one of the exceptions, and embodies in his autobiographical notes quite a number of touches which remind one not a little of Baron Marbot in Napoleon's time. His description of his feat before the walls of Kadesh, for example, and the reward which the king gave him for it, brings up at once Marbot's exultant phrase, '*C'était un des plus beaux jours de ma vie*'; and his pride in having been the first to climb the breach at Kadesh is an anticipation of Marbot's triumphant account of how he and Labédoyère were the first to top the walls of Ratisbon. His account of how he saved the life of his Pharaoh by diverting the attack of a charging elephant is almost a unique little piece of real life in the midst of the ordinarily arid waste of verbiage which makes up the bulk of Egyptian record. The tomb of Amenemhab should not be missed, if only for the sake of seeing the actual burial-chapel of one of the paladins of the greatest soldier of Egypt; and those who go to see it should read beforehand the old warrior's account of his own deeds. The final touch of his simple tale, which tells us how Amenophis II saw his father's old captain 'rowing wonderfully' in one of the state barges at Luxor, and there and then appointed him inspector of the royal guards, is really delightful, and rounds off the story so artistically that it must have happened so.

Amenemhab's chapel has a transverse hall, four-pillared, a short corridor, a second transverse hall, and a shrine. The

entrance-hall of the first hall, right hand (1), shows Amenemhab and his wife Bakt, making offering, and beyond this (2), the funerary feast, with guests, musicians, and dancers. The short walls have pilasters to correspond with the square pillars, and on the right-hand wall we have first (3) the stele, which a mis-



TOMB OF AMENEMHAB

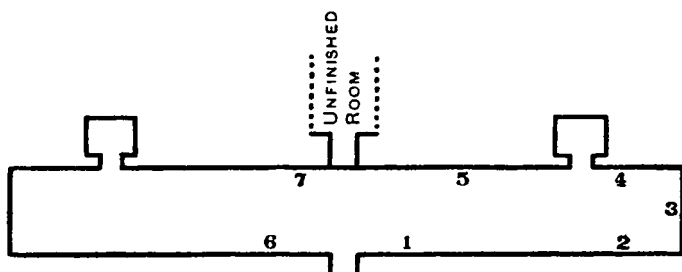
guided Coptic hermit has daubed with red crosses, and beyond the pilaster (4) an interesting scene, unfortunately damaged, which shows Amenophis II presenting Amenemhab and his wife to Tuthmosis III, who is got up as Osiris Unnofre, thus keeping up the old connexion between the veteran and his great commander beyond the grave. The rear wall, right hand (5), shows Asiatics being brought in to pay homage to Tuthmosis III and

(6) presented by Amenemhab to the king. On the lintel between the two middle pillars (7) is a hunting scene in which Amenemhab strikes a gigantic hyena with a club. The hyena is evidently represented as Amenemhab remembered it, not as nature made it. The entrance-wall, left hand (8), shows Amenemhab going over the muster-roll of a troop of soldiers. The corridor has on the left hand a scene of offerings (9). Entering the second transverse hall, we have on the right-hand entrance-wall a fowling scene (10), and on the short wall, right hand (11), a fishing scene. The rear wall, right (12), shows the usual funerary feast; and the entrance-wall, left (13), has funerary scenes, with the voyage, the dragging of the coffin on its sledge, the provision of offerings, including a collection of weapons, as befits the grave of an old warrior. The shrine beyond this hall has on its left-hand wall (14) more funerary scenes, with the mummy and ritual priest, and the dragging of the coffin; while on the right-hand wall (15) is an estate with a lake in it, either Amenemhab's heavenly inheritance, or the earthly one whose return constituted the endowment for the customary rites at his tomb-chapel.

NO. 86. MENKHEPERRASONB (UE)

Menkheperrasonb was as enthusiastic a supporter of Tuthmosis III as was Senmût or Hepusonb of Hatshepsut. His name seems to mean something like 'Health to Tuthmosis III', and must surely have been assumed by himself in token of his devotion to his king, as one can scarcely imagine that his parents had so prophetic a gift as to provide their son with so unusual a name at a time when its convenience cannot have been foreseen. Menkheperrasonb was First Prophet of Amûn; but he was also one of those extraordinary men of whom Egypt seems to have possessed the secret, who could turn their hands to everything, and do all kinds of tasks equally well. Among other work which he did for Tuthmosis, he set up some of the numerous obelisks which the king erected, and apparently divided the job of obelisk-erector with Puimrê. One of the interesting things in the inscription for one of the scenes in his tomb is that it tells us that Tuthmosis III himself dabbled in the fine arts, and designed vessels for his craftsmen to execute—doubtless with much the same skill as usually attends royal attempts in this direction.

His tomb is unfinished, and has a long transverse hall, with two small annexes projecting from its rear wall. On entering we have first, entrance-wall, right hand, a scene in which cattle and geese are being paraded (1). Next, on the same wall (2), is a scene of craftsmen making weapons, vases, etc., while the gold for their work is being weighed out. It is here that the inscription just referred to occurs. It says: 'Viewing the work-shop of the temple of Amûn, the work of the craftsmen in real lapis lazuli and real malachite, which His Majesty made after the design of his own heart.' What was Menkheperasonb's own



TOMB OF MENKHEPERRASONB

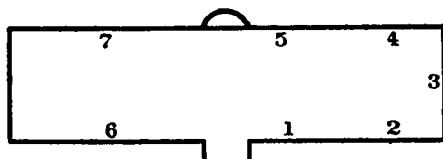
opinion of 'the design of His Majesty's own heart' is not stated—loyalty, no doubt, forbidding. The short wall, right hand (3), shows gold being brought in by the Captain of the Mercenaries of Coptos, and the Superintendent of the Gold-country of Coptos, with an inscription: 'Reception of the gold of the highland of Coptos, as well as the gold of Kush.' Besides the gold, other articles of tribute are being brought in, bows and arrows, ostrich feathers and eggs, and various animals. The rear wall, right hand (4), has in the first place a representations of a magazine, with rows of jars, and, nearer the door (5), a highly interesting scene of foreigners bringing in beautiful vases of gold and silver, plumed bronze helmets, and all sorts of weapons, children and horses. The inscription says that among these folk are 'the Chief of Keftiu, the Chief of the Hittites, the Chief of Tunip, and the Chief of Kadesh'. On the left hand of the door, entrance-wall (6), are harvesting scenes, and on the left-hand rear wall (7) is a ruined canopy under which the king was once seated. The chapel is otherwise unfinished.

CHAPTER XXVII

EL-SHEIKH 'ABD EL-QURNA (II), DEIR EL-MEDĪNA, AND QURNET MURA'I

No. 90. NEBAMÛN (UE)

IN the southern angle of the upper enclosure, Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna. This Nebamûn of the innumerable company of Nebamûns was Standard-Bearer of the Sacred Barque, called 'Beloved of Amûn', about the time of Tuthmosis IV, or Amenophis III. He was also Captain of the Troops of the Police on the West of Thebes, i.e. the Necropolis Guard—a fact which may have gained him the enmity which has resulted in his name being erased throughout his chapel. The entrance-wall of the transverse hall, right hand (1) has Nebamûn and his wife before offerings, and next (2) the funerary feast, much wrecked. The



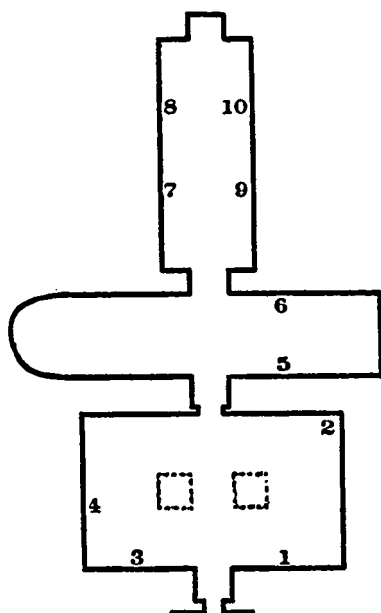
TOMB OF NEBAMÛN

short wall, right hand (3), has a wrecked stele. The rear wall, right hand (4), has a temple façade, with lake and garden, and the preparation of a sacrifice. Below is a house and winepress, with soldiers, and a scene of branding cattle before Nebamûn. Nearer the door (5) is a wrecked figure of Nebamûn, with the standard of the royal barge, leading captives from Syria. The entrance-wall, left hand (6), shows Nebamûn and his wife seated and receiving offerings of golden bowls from their daughters, and also musicians of various sorts, of whom some have been painted

in full face, contrary to the usual Egyptian practice. The rear wall, left hand (7), shows the captain of the negro troops parading his men before Nebamûn.

No. 92. SUEMNUT (UE)

Suemnut was Royal Butler, 'clean of hands', in the time of Amenophis II. His chapel is one of the group in the southern angle of the upper enclosure, not far from Nos. 89 and 90. His



TOMB OF SUEMNUT

name should be distinguished from that of Senmût, the chief supporter of Hatshepsut. His tomb has some interesting variations in plan from the typical Theban tomb, consisting of a transverse hall, much nearer a square on plan than usual, and once possessing two pillars, a real transverse hall,

with an apsidal termination to its left wing, and an inner chamber of the corridor type, with a niche. Entering the first hall, we have on the entrance-wall, right hand (1), an unfinished painting in outline, interesting as showing the system of squares on which the artist built up his picture. On the one end of what would be the short wall in a hall of the usual proportions, right hand (2), are funeral offerings, with statuettes of the king and queen—an intimate touch suitable to the royal butler. On the opposite short wall, left (4), are scenes of Suemnut inspecting agricultural operations. The true transverse hall has on its entrance-wall, right hand (5), unfinished paintings of Suemnut and his wife seated to receive offerings from their son. The rear wall, right hand (6), has the usual fowling and fishing scenes in the papyrus thickets. The inner shrine has funerary scenes, mainly of the ordinary type (7, 8, 9, 10); but the scenes on the right wall near the niche (10) may be noticed. Here Suemnut and his wife are seated facing their son, who was Hereditary Prince of Neferusi and Overseer of the Prophets of Thoth of Hermopolis, an important and learned person, therefore, of whom his parents might be proud, as they evidently were.

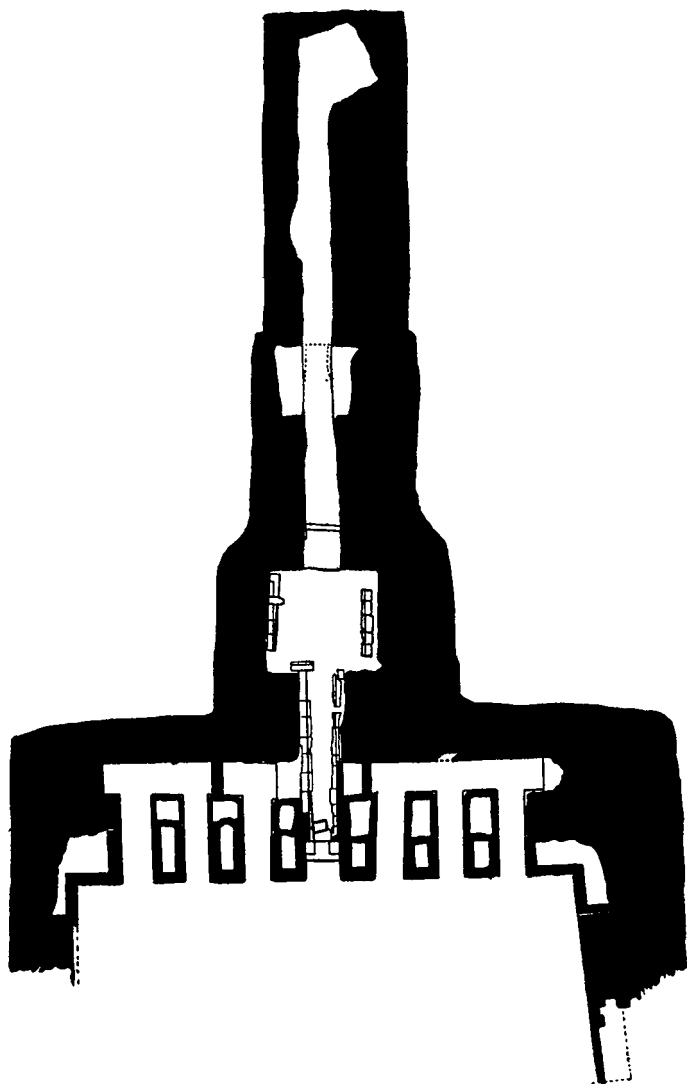
NO. 103. DAGI (UE)

This is a tomb of great interest, from its age, and the position of its owner, as well as from its own striking character. Dagi or Dega was a very great man indeed, in the latter days of the XIth Dynasty, when Thebes was rising into prominence under Mentuhotpe Neb-hepet-rê. He was Hereditary Prince and Governor of Thebes, and in addition was Vizier of the whole kingdom. The offices which he held, as enumerated in his tomb, run to the number of twenty-eight, ranging down from that of Royal Chancellor and Sole Companion, to that of simple priest of Horus. His tomb was designed to correspond in dignity with the exalted position of its owner; and when it was intact its façade must have been one of the most imposing in the whole necropolis. It stands on the north side of the hill of El-Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna, not more than a few hundred yards away from the XIth Dynasty temple at El-Deir el-Bahari, which was contemporary with it; and it has been suggested that Dagi's choice of so imposing a frontage for his tomb may have been influenced by the long colonnaded line of the front of Mentuhotpe's temple,

as in its time it certainly influenced the design of such tombs as No. 67 (Hepusonb), No. 83 (Ahmôse), and No. 81 (Ineni).

The tomb had an open forecourt, with flanking walls, partly of native rock and partly of brickwork. At the back of this rose the façade, which had six piers mainly of native rock, but partly also of brickwork, giving access through seven openings to what was really a compromise between the usual transverse hall of a Theban tomb, and a colonnade, much as in the case of No. 81 (Ineni). Thence a short corridor, lined with fine limestone, and, curiously enough, cut off by this lining from the arms of the transverse hall, gave access to a square hall, also lined with limestone. Thence another corridor ran, latterly with a sudden dip, to a second square chamber, whence it dipped down steeply to the burial-chamber. All the work beyond the first square hall is quite rough and unfinished. The work on the fine limestone lining, from a little within the entrance, is executed with great care and fineness of detail in low relief, and must once have been very beautiful; but only fragments of it have survived, as the limestone blocks were mainly used by the Copts who occupied the tomb. The paintings on the entrance and the six piers were boldly painted on the coarse rock surface, with no attempt at fine detail; and it is these which have survived best.

The west wall of the most easterly (left-hand) entrance shows the titles of Dagi, and probably had a life-size figure of the vizier facing outwards. The scene was probably a water one; but no more can be said of it. The east side had a vintage scene of which a fragment has been preserved. The west side of the second entrance had the familiar scene of cattle being taken across the water. A lurking crocodile, fantastically painted red with black spots, causes the boatmen great anxiety, and they excitedly call out to one another to be ready for him, and point out the place where they think he lies. The east side has a scene in the papyrus marshes, with the separation of the papyrus fibres for weaving. The third entrance has on its west side a scene in which Dagi watches the capture of birds and fish; and on the east side another scene in which he receives the trophies of the chase. The fifth entrance has on its west side a scene of the down-stream voyage to Abydos, with sail furled and mast lying on its crutch. The east side has the return voyage up-stream before the north wind, with the sail set. The sixth entrance, west side, has a scene of storing grain, and



TOMB OF DAGI, THEBES

the east side has an interesting scene of weaving. The seventh entrance has on its west side an interesting scene of the baker's business, which is labelled, 'Daily Provisions for the *Ka* of the Prince, the Superintendent of the Pyramid City, Dagi'; and the east side has a corresponding scene of brewing. Of the scenes on the back walls of the colonnade, which would correspond to the rear walls of the transverse hall in an ordinary Theban tomb, only terribly damaged fragments survive. They show cooking and shipbuilding operations and pastoral scenes, the weighing of precious metals for the treasury, etc.; and there is a figure of Dagi with his twenty-eight titles displayed above his head. The scenes of the main entrance corridor and square hall, which must have been of the highest standard of early Middle Kingdom art, only survive in a few fragments.

NO. 120. MAHU (UE)

North of Senmût's tomb (71). Mahu, whose name is now given by Mr. de Garis Davies as Onen (see *Bulletin of Metropolitan Museum*, section II, 1929, pp. 35 sq.), was Second Prophet of Amûn, and though formerly supposed to belong to the time of Tuthmosis III, is now definitely shown to be of the reign of Amenophis III. His tomb lies open on the hillside, and is little better than a ruin. It turns out, however, to be a remarkably interesting one. Mahu, or rather Onen, seems, according to Mr. Davies, to have been the brother of Queen Tiy, whose supposed Asiatic descent now therefore becomes less and less probable. Onen was thus maternal uncle to Akhenaten, and this close relationship of the king to the Amûn priesthood which he did his best to destroy lends additional piquancy to the situation. Akhenaten has not spared his uncle's figure in this tomb, though he has allowed the figures of his father and mother to survive. Mr. Davies has studied and copied one large fragment of fine painting from the tomb, giving a court scene, with the lower parts of the figures of Amenophis III and Tiy, seated on chairs of state. Beneath the chair of Tiy is a vigorous representation of a cat hugging to its bosom a duck, who strongly objects to the process, while a monkey, in a state of high excitement, leaps over the pair. Figures of Libyan, Keftian, and other nationalities appear on the dais on which the royal chairs are set; while the king's

chair has a design showing him as a royal sphinx, trampling down Libyan, negro and Asiatic enemies.

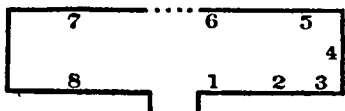
NO. 50. NEFERHOTPE (SG)

Neferhotpe was Divine Father of Amen-Rê in the time of Haremhab. This is therefore a tomb belonging to the time of the reaction against the heresy of Akhenaten. The priests of Amûn, of whom Neferhotpe was one, were on the top of the wave, and were showing, in art as everywhere else, the devotion to convention which finally destroyed the vitality alike of Egyptian religion and art. The reliefs *en creux* are already departing from the freedom of style which marked the art of the middle XVIIIth Dynasty even before the rise of the Amârna style, and are beginning to degenerate into the stiffness and formality of a later day. The transverse hall contains some well-preserved scenes, with Neferhotpe being decorated by the king. The rear wall of the hall, left-hand side, has a funerary feast, and beneath the main scene is the scene which gives to this tomb an interest which its artistic merits might not have won for it. This is a scene of a harper with the text of the song which he is singing written before him; while on the right-hand rear wall is a second copy of the song. These versions of the Song of the Harper are of very high literary interest. They are not altogether original, being based on the earlier Song of the House of the blessed King Intef, which is written before the Harper, of the XIth Dynasty, preserved for us in Papyrus Harris 500. The version in Neferhotpe's tomb, however, has an interest of its own, as its later verses contain what Erman describes as a sort of apology for the *carpe diem* philosophy of the old Middle Kingdom song which the harper had been obliged by custom to chant as the prelude to his own song on the subject. These later verses have a singularly pathetic and gentle beauty of their own in their contemplation of the rest and peace of the other world, after the strife and hatreds of earth: 'I have heard,' the harper of Neferhotpe's tomb sings, 'the songs that are in the tombs of ancient time [one of which he has just been chanting]. What they say, when they extol the life on earth, and belittle the region of the dead—to what purpose is it that they act thus towards the Land of Eternity, the just and the right, where no errors are? Wrangling is its abhorrence, and there is none

that girdeth himself against his fellow. This land where there is no foe, all our kindred rest in it, since the earliest day of time, and they that shall be in millions of millions of years, they come thither every one. There is none that may tarry in the Land of Egypt. There is not one that doth not pass yonder. The duration of that which is done upon earth is as a dream. "Welcome, safe and sound" is said to him that hath reached the West.' Neferhotpe's tomb has a near neighbour which far eclipses it in artistic interest (No. 51); but it deserves attention for this passage of its record, whose solemn and touching music ranks it high among Egyptian poems.

No. 51. USERHÊT (SG)

Userhêt was First Prophet of the Royal Ka of Tuthmosis I, in the reign of Seti I, XIXth Dynasty. The hall of his tomb-chapel contains some scenes of singular beauty and grace. The entrance-wall right-hand side (1), has Userhêt kneeling before twenty-four of the forty-two assessors who help Osiris in his judgment of the dead. They sit in front of Osiris, who is enthroned in a shrine between Thoth and Anubis. Next (2) Userhêt's father, also high-priest of Tuthmosis I, is purified by two priests, and Userhêt makes offerings (3). Beneath these scenes, Userhêt and his friends bring offerings to the shrine of Harakhte, beside whom is Mertseger, the Lover of Silence, a goddess of the necropolis. The short wall, right hand (4), has a scene of great beauty and interest. Userhêt and his wife and sister sit beneath a fig-tree laden with fruit, wagtails flitting among the boughs. Above the two women their souls, in the shape of human-headed birds, flutter among the branches. A lake lies before them, out of which rises a tree-goddess, who pours the Water of Life out of a golden vessel into the cups from which Userhêt and the two women drink. She also offers them bread, figs, grapes, and a honeycomb, and Userhêt stretches out his hand to take a fig. Between Userhêt and the goddess is another lake, T-shaped, beside which the souls of Userhêt and his wife walk in the shape of human-headed birds, drinking the Water of Life out of their

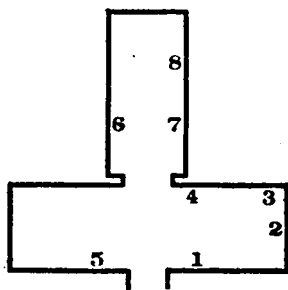


TOMB OF USERHÊT

cupped hands. This delicate and symbolic scene, in spite of its somewhat damaged condition, is certainly one of the most attractive in the whole necropolis, and should on no account be missed. The rear wall, right-hand side (5), has scenes of offerings by Userhêt's son, Userhêt, to his father and mother, and members of Userhêt's family make offerings (6) to the deified Tuthmosis I and Osiris. The rear wall, left-hand side, has a scene (7) of a statue of Tuthmosis I being dragged on a sledge, with singers and fan-bearers accompanying it. The entrance-wall, left-hand side (8), has the weighing of Userhêt's heart, this time not against the feather of Maet, but against the figure of a man. Below this are other funerary scenes; but the main interest of the chapel is the graceful scene of the right-hand short wall.

No. 53. AMENEMHÊT (SG)

This chapel is outside the upper enclosure, and forms one of a group with Nos. 134 and 135, not far from the important tomb of Ramôse (No. 55). Amenemhêt was Agent of Amûn in the reign of Tuthmosis III. The transverse hall and corridor are decorated. The entrance-wall, right hand (1), shows Amenemhêt

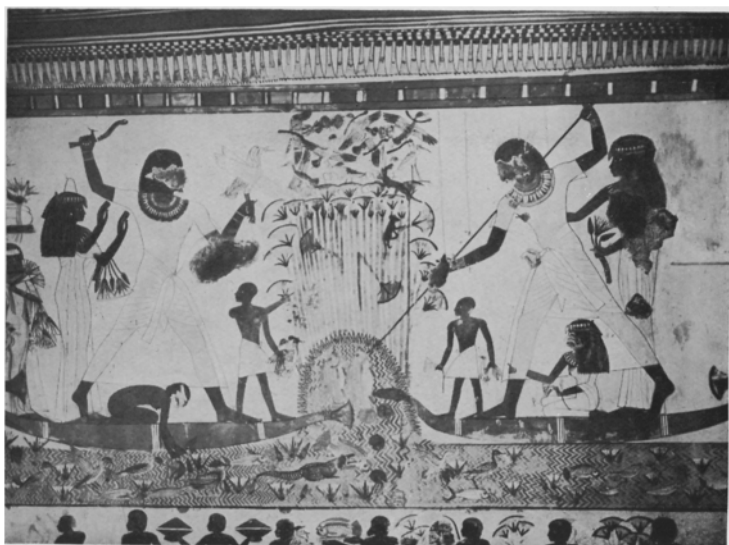


TOMB OF AMENEMHÊT

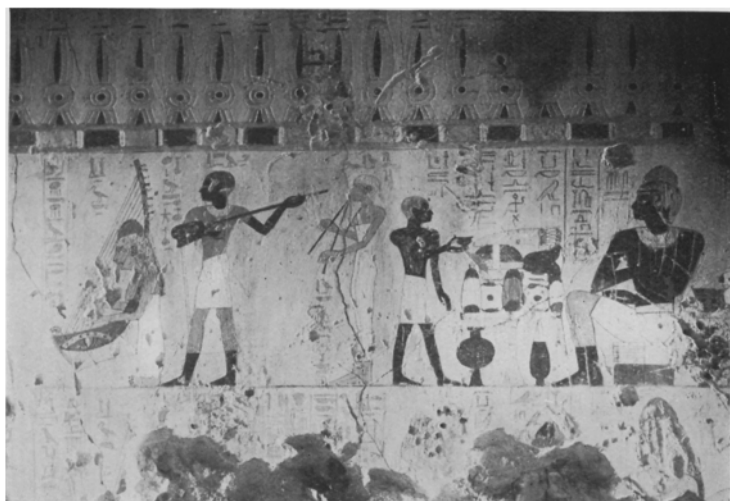
hunting. The short wall, right hand (2), has the funerary stele, with Amenemhêt making offerings to two royal princesses. The rear wall, right-hand side (3, 4), has Amenemhêt hunting the hippopotamus, and fishing and fowling; while the entrance-wall, left hand (5), shows the funerary feast in which one of the guests is sick, and the others are entertained by acrobats. The inner corridor has funerary scenes (6, 7, 8).

No. 54. HUY (USURPED BY KENRO OR KEL)

Just outside the upper enclosure, and near the main entrance. Huy was Sculptor of Amûn in the time of Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis III; and Kenro, who usurped his tomb, was a priest, and Head of the Magazine of Khonsu, early in the XIXth Dynasty.



TOMB OF MENENA. MARSH SCENE WITH FOWLING AND FISHING



TOMB OF AMENEMHÊT. MUSICIANS, AND OFFERINGS MADE TO AMENEMHÊT
WALL-PAINTINGS FROM THEBAN PRIVATE TOMB-CHAPELS (2)



TOMB OF USERHÊT (NO. 51). FOR DESCRIPTION SEE TEXT



TOMB OF USERHÊT (NO. 56). HUNTING SCENE

Notice a scene of the worship of the deified Pharaoh Amenophis I and his queen Ahmôse Nefertari, on the right-hand entrance-wall. The other scenes are not of any special interest.

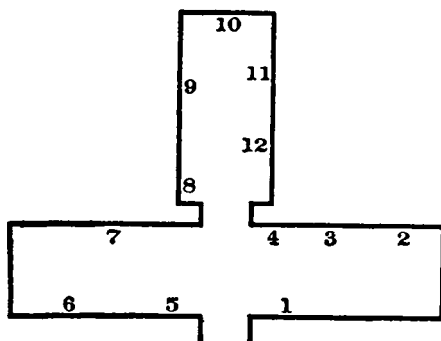
No. 55. RAMÔSE

This great tomb, which lies not far from the group 53, 134, 135, is, from an artistic point of view, perhaps the most important in the whole necropolis; while historically its importance is only rivalled by that of Rekhmirê (No. 100). The tomb has recently been cleared and restored for the University of Liverpool by Mr. Mond, and a new roof has been constructed by the Department of Antiquities. Ramôse was Governor of Thebes and Vizier during the reign of Amenophis IV (Akhenaten), and was thus the most important person in Egypt, after the Pharaoh, at the time when the revolution in religion took place and the court was transferred from Thebes to El-'Amârna. This tradition accounts for the fact that the tomb-chapel has never been finished. Ramôse must have been one of the earliest converts to the new faith, and his tomb is one of the earliest documents for the reign. Akhenaten's name still occurs as Amenophis, and he is represented in the tomb-chapel both in the normal old style of Egyptian art, and in the new and freer style of Amârna art. The inscriptions are also of great importance, as in them the young Pharaoh claims that he received the new doctrine of the Aten by direct inspiration from the god himself, and Ramôse answers: 'Thy monuments shall endure like the heavens, for thy duration is like Aten therein. The existence of thy monuments is like the existence of the heavens; thou art the Only One [of Aten], in possession of His designs.' The prominence of Ramôse's brother Amenhotpe, who may have been clerk of works for his busy brother the Vizier in the construction of the tomb, has suggested that Amenhotpe, who was Steward of the Royal Palace at Memphis had to do the work because of the early death of Ramôse; but this seems unlikely on other grounds. The interesting point in the decoration of the tomb is the transition from the careful and delicate mid-XVIIIth Dynasty work, which is here represented by relief work of great delicacy which has never been painted, to the more summary and free Amârna style, which is shown (not, however, as yet fully developed) in the scenes of mourners

and mourning women, and one of the scenes in which Akhenaten himself appears. From the open court we enter the transverse hall, which, in this case, is a large columned hall with four rows of eight columns each. The unpainted reliefs of the east wall of this hall are of singular delicacy and beauty. They show, in four groups, the friends of Ramôse and his wife. These are an official of Amûn and his wife, the King's Master of the Horse, May and his wife, a priestess of Mût, the father of Ramôse, named Neby, with his wife Apua, and Ramôse's brother Amenhotpe the Steward, with his wife May. These sit opposite to two groups consisting of Ramôse and his wife Meriptah, and Ramôse's brother Amenhotpe, with his wife May and his daughter Meriptah. The south wall of the chapel has funeral scenes painted in the beginnings of the Amârna style, which has not as yet had time fully to develop itself. Notice the group of mourning women between the two groups bearing funerary furniture and flowers. The upper row of these scenes evidently represented the actual funeral procession, with the coffin and its canopy on a boat being dragged along upon a sledge, and the curious figure wrapped up in a hide, which may represent either an original human sacrifice or an emblem of the resurrection, also being drawn along on a smaller sledge. This series of scenes has, however, been carefully plastered over—whether by the command of the king, who may not have approved of these ceremonies, or not, we do not know. The west wall has the two scenes of Akhenaten already referred to. On the left half of the wall, the king is represented seated under a canopy with Maet, the goddess of truth, beside him. Below the throne are names and symbols of the vassal nations of the empire which he was so soon to wreck; while Ramôse stands before the king, bearing the insignia of his great office. The scene is unfinished, and is all the more interesting on that account, as the methods of the artist can be traced. On the right half of the wall Akhenaten and his wife, seated on a balcony of the palace, throw down golden decorations to Ramôse in the regular style with which we became familiar in the Amârna tombs. Again the scene is unfinished, the figure of Ramôse, in particular, being only sketched in. Still more to the right, Ramôse leaves the palace with his decorations, and is congratulated by the people. The corridor has eight papyrus columns, but is neither finished nor painted.

No. 56. USERHÊT (SG)

South of Ramôse's chapel is the tomb of another Userhêt, who was Royal Scribe and Child of the (Royal) Nursery in the days of Amenophis II. On the entrance-wall, right hand (1), Userhêt and his wife stand before offerings which are made to them by their son. On the rear wall, right hand (2), Userhêt offers a table of fruit and flowers to his Pharaoh, who wears a red tunic with yellow spots, and carries a small battle-axe in his hand. The king's face is unfortunately destroyed. In the middle of this wall (3) is a scene of bakers and bread, with guests of Userhêt sitting below. Near the door into the inner room men bring in bags of gold-dust to be counted by overseers (4). In the lower registers are men sitting under trees



TOMB OF USERHÊT

in a garden, and two barbers busily at work cutting the hair and shaving the heads of two men, while others wait their turn. On the rear wall, left hand (7), is a feasting scene, in which all the women figures have been destroyed by the Mrs. Grundy piety of a Christian hermit, who at one time used the tomb for his cell. The entrance-wall, left hand (6), has rural scenes, branding of cattle, and bringing in of grain; while near the door Userhêt and his wife and daughter once stood before offerings (5). Here again the sickly piety of the virtuous hermit blotted out the figures of the women, lest the poor creature might be led into

temptation. On the left-hand wall of the inner chamber, however, we have a notable scene (8) with which the dear man did not need to find fault, and which is accordingly left for our edification. Userhêt here figures in his chariot, the reins tied round his waist, his bow bent, with the arrow drawn to its head. He is shooting into a confused mass of animals, gazelles, hares, hyenas, jackals and so forth. The action of some of the fleeing creatures is exceedingly good; and though Userhêt's own chariot horses still partake of the rocking-horse action from which the Egyptian artists could never get away in the rendering of a horse, the draughtsman has contrived to impart a considerable feeling of spirited action to the conventional attitude. Altogether, this is a fine example of its kind, which, of course, is not uncommon. Beyond this scene are the usual fowling, fishing, and vine-tage scenes (9). The end-wall (10) had seated statues, of which only fragments remain. The right-hand wall (11, 12) has funerary scenes.

NO. 57. KHAEMHÊT (SG)

Same group of tombs as No. 56. This is another of the most admirable chapels in the necropolis. The relief work in it belongs to the time when the art of the XVIIIth Dynasty was at its height (middle of the reign of Amenophis III); and while the general effect is not lacking in vigour, the detail is exceedingly finely wrought. In the first transverse hall, entrance-wall, left hand, we notice in the doorway Khaemhêt offering prayer to the sun-god. Though this relief is in the *en creux* style, which is not usually susceptible of such delicate handling as the genuine low relief, notice the delicacy of the treatment of detail, especially in the head, with its elaborate wig and careful arrangement of Khaemhêt's own hair beneath. We turn to the left, and the entrance-wall (1) offers some beautiful low-relief work: Khaemhêt first receives offerings. Then (2) the snake-headed goddess Renenet, who presided over granaries and the harvest, is shown seated in a shrine and nursing a child who stands for the new harvest. Three admirably modelled male figures bring offerings to her; and behind them (3) is a representation of the port of Thebes with its quays bristling with the masts of many corn-galleys. Note the carefully studied detail of the mast-heads and rigging, and the steering oars, each tipped with a head of the Pharaoh. At the left end of the hall is a niche (4),



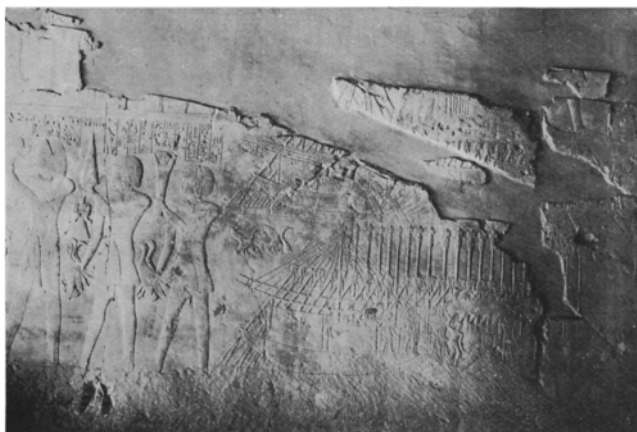
RELIEF



WALL-PAINTING
SHOWING EARLY EXAMPLE OF THE AMARNA SCHOOL OF REALISTIC ART
DETAILS FROM TOMB OF PRINCE RAMÔSE



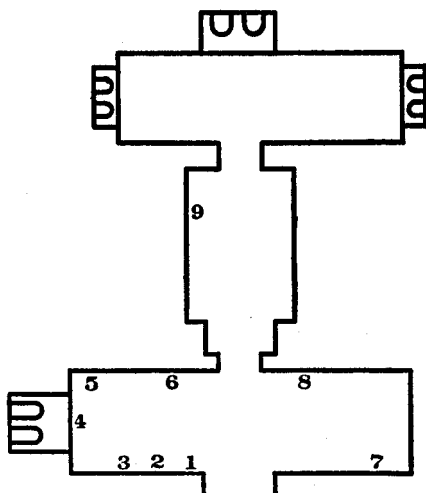
KHAEMHÊT ADORING THE SUN (SUNK RELIEF)



THREE FIGURES BEARING OFFERINGS. BEHIND THEM THE PORT OF THEBES, WITH SHIPS MOORED TO THE QUAY (RELIEF)

DETAIL OF RELIEFS FROM TOMB OF KHAEMHÊT

with badly wrecked statues of Khaemhêt and the Royal Scribe Imhôtep (No. 102). The rear wall, left side (5), has servants bringing in cattle, and the much damaged figures of Amenophis III and Khaemhêt (6). The latter is presenting a report of the harvest to the king, in his capacity as Overseer of the Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt. The royal canopy has the nine captive tribes at its foot, according to the usual amiable custom, and between the lion legs of the throne are a captive negro and a



TOMB OF KHAEMHÊT

captive Asiatic. The arm of the throne shows Amenophis as a lion slaying an Asiatic.

The entrance-wall, right hand (7), shows Khaemhêt making offering, and agricultural scenes, measuring of land, sowing and reaping, etc. Khaemhêt's chariot waits for him, the driver dozing in it, and the horses grazing. The rear wall, right hand (8), shows the Pharaoh, now defaced, sitting on a throne which bears a representation of him as a sphinx, and receiving the homage of Khaemhêt and his assistants. Khaemhêt in another scene is decorated for his good service. This scene is of interest as

giving us an exact date for this part of the tomb. Khaemhêt was decorated in the thirtieth year of the reign of Amenophis III, or just six years before the king's death. The scenes in the corridor (much defaced) relate to the life after death. Note the much mutilated but finely executed scene of Osiris enthroned (9), with Hathor standing behind him.

The second transverse hall had large seated statues of Khaemhêt and his relations, once of fine workmanship, but now badly damaged.

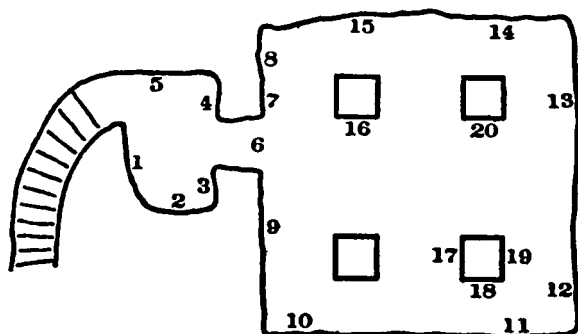
NO. 93. QENAMÛN (UE)

Just inside the upper enclosure, near the southern entrance. Qenamûn was Chief of the King, who in this case was Amenophis II. His tomb must once have been one of the finest in the necropolis, with fine paintings on yellow stucco; 'paintings', says Dr. A. H. Gardiner, 'in which the minuteness of the detail is little short of marvellous'; but the work has been terribly blackened and mutilated, so that comparatively little remains worthy of notice. The tomb has a large forecourt, from which the ten-columned hall is approached. On the right entrance-wall, Qenamûn received the cattle-tax, in his capacity as Chief Steward of the King. On the rear wall, right-hand side, Amenophis II, represented as a child, is being nursed, while musicians entertain him. On the rear wall, left, he is enthroned, and receives offerings, among which figure statues of himself and Queen Hatshepsut; these, with weapons and costly furniture and jewellery are presented through Qenamûn. The entrance-wall, left, has funerary scenes. The corridor is vaulted, and shows remains of hunting scenes, in the desert and the marshes. The shrine has on the side-walls Qenamûn and his wife seated at table; while the rear wall has Qenamûn praying to Osiris and Anubis.

NO. 96 (A AND B). SENNÛFER (UE)

96A is the large upper rock-tomb, which is of no particular interest, and is now used for storage purposes; 96B is the underground portion of the tomb, which has paintings of great interest, and is variously known as the 'Tombeau des Vignes' or the 'Gardener's Tomb'. Sennûfer was Mayor of the Southern City (Thebes), and also Overseer of the Granaries and Fields,

the Garden and Cattle of Amûn, offices which may perhaps have suggested that decoration of the roof of his chapel by the clustering vines, which forms so conspicuous and delightful a part of its adornment. Access is gained from the courtyard by a steep staircase, first to an antechamber, which is low, and shows only the roughest attempt at rectangularity. To the left hand (1) we see a figure of Sennûfer, to whom a figure of his daughter Mit-tuy (damaged) and ten priests in two rows bring offerings. On the right-hand wall (2) Sennûfer sits with his daughter behind him, while servants bring offerings of funerary equipment, including *shawabtis*, and a cartonnage mask to fit over the head of the



TOMB OF SENNÛFER

mummy in its coffin, of which we have seen a glorified specimen in the gold mask of Tutankhamûn. On the right (3) and left (4) of the doorway into the pillared hall are figures of Sennûfer and his sister Sent-nofret, who was nurse to the king, worshipping a (probably double) figure of Osiris which occupied the lintel. The ceiling of the room is painted so as to represent a growing vine, with its clusters of grapes, and here and in the next chamber effective use has been made of the rough surfaces of the rock to increase the feeling of reality which the vines present. The inner hall has four square pillars, and the vine decoration continues, extending downwards to form a frieze. Above the doorway (6) Anubis in jackal form is shown twice, seated on his shrine. On

the left entrance-wall (7), Sennûfer and his sister-wife Meryt are seen going towards the doorway, as the inscription says : ' coming forth to earth to see the sun-disk every day '. Next (8) Sennûfer and Meryt are seen seated. On the left wall (15) we have scenes of servants bringing furniture to the tomb, and setting up two obelisks in front of the chapel, with the muffled figure of the man who may either represent the long-extinct human sacrifice or the emblem of the resurrection. Then follows a damaged scene of Sennûfer and Meryt before Osiris and Hathor (14). On the rear wall (13) are scenes of Sennûfer seated, receiving offerings, and (12) of Sennûfer and Meryt (statues) seated in a shrine in a boat and being towed by another boat on the voyage to Abydos. The right-hand wall has a scene (11) in which Sennûfer and Meryt make offerings to Osiris and Anubis, and next a scene (10) in which they are purified with holy water by a priest clad in a leopard skin. Sennûfer's figure in this scene has been the subject of what in modern days we call an outrage, and if it happened in ancient times, a *graffito*—a tourist in Greek times having scribbled on one of the amulets round the great man's neck the name ' Alexandros ' in hieroglyphics. His scrawl shows that the tomb was accessible in Ptolemaic times, so that he has been of more use than he deserved. Finally on the entrance-wall, right hand (9), we have Sennûfer and his wife seated before a table of offerings. Sennûfer is sniffing a lotus bloom, and Meryt holds tight to her husband's legs.

NO. 100. REKHMIRÊ (UE)

Professor Breasted has described the tomb-chapel of the great Vizier of Tuthmosis III as ' the most important private monument of the Empire '. From some points of view the tomb of Ramôse (No. 55) may be considered its not unworthy rival in this respect ; but there can be no doubt that Rekhmirê's tomb at least ranks with the very greatest in the necropolis both for the interest of its scenes and for the importance of its inscriptions, which give us a detailed account of the duties of an Egyptian vizier of the palmy days of the Empire, and of the principles by which his administrative work was guided and ruled. Rekhmirê was vizier during all the latter part of the reign of Tuthmosis III, when the Egyptian Empire had nearly reached the summit of its power and influence, and when it had no real rival for the

supremacy of the Near East. Rekhmirê had therefore some claim to be considered the second most important man in his world; for he was only responsible to his Pharaoh, who was unquestionably the greatest figure of the time, and no other man in the Near East, king or subject, had anything like the influence which Rekhmirê was able to exert, subject only to the financial check of the Egyptian Treasury. Rekhmirê was quite well aware of his own importance, and had a quite sufficiently good opinion of his own capacity. 'There was nothing,' he says in his inscriptions, 'of which he was ignorant in heaven, in earth, or in any quarter of the underworld', which somewhat goes beyond any claim that even the most self-complacent of modern Prime Ministers would feel inclined to make for himself! But he had an even higher respect for the abilities and the knowledge of the great man whom he served. 'Lo,' he says, 'His Majesty knew that which occurred; there was nothing which He did not know, He was Thoth [The god of wisdom] in everything, there was no affair which he did not complete.'

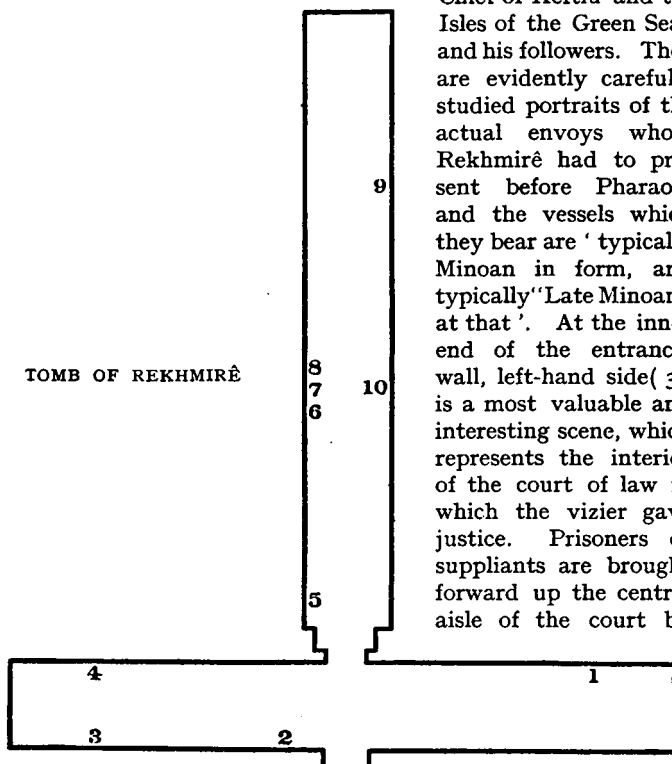
This model vizier lived long enough to crown the son and successor of Tuthmosis III, Amenophis II, so that he cannot have died until after 1447 B.C. His tomb is thus dated pretty accurately.

The tomb is of somewhat unusual form. It consists of the usual transverse hall, and from this access is gained to a long and lofty corridor, whose roof gradually increases in height as it goes farther into the rock. At the extreme end, high up in the wall, is a niche which was once closed by a false door, and which probably held a portrait statue of the vizier. The paintings, which have several scenes of great interest, have unfortunately been much blackened by the smoke from the fires of the *jellahîn*, who made the tomb their home, until the place was taken over.

The first scene of any interest which we see on entering the transverse hall is on the rear wall, right hand. Here (1) we have a winepress, with the workmen treading out the grapes, whose juice is caught in great jars. On the rear wall, left hand (4), is a scene of the reception of tribute and gifts from foreign lands. The bearers are arranged in five rows. First are the people of Punt, the district with which the Egyptians always believed themselves to be connected by origin; second, the princes of Keftiu and the Isles of the Green Sea (the Aegean Islands); third, Nubians; fourth, Syrians; and fifth, people of the South.

The Nubians bring a panther, elephants' tusks, gold, giraffes, monkeys, etc.; the Minoans bring beautiful vessels of characteristic shapes; and the Syrians bring chariots and horses, a bear and an elephant, and costly vases. Specially interesting, in view of the resurrection of the great Minoan civilization, are

the figures of the 'Great Chief of Keftiu and the Isles of the Green Sea' and his followers. They are evidently carefully studied portraits of the actual envoys whom Rekhmirê had to present before Pharaoh, and the vessels which they bear are 'typically Minoan in form, and typically "Late Minoan" at that'. At the inner end of the entrance-wall, left-hand side (3), is a most valuable and interesting scene, which represents the interior of the court of law in which the vizier gave justice. Prisoners or suppliants are brought forward up the central aisle of the court by



the officials of the court. The foot of the throne is indicated by four mats; attendants stand on either side of the court to carry out the vizier's orders; while without are messengers, and other people who make obeisance before entering the presence of the great man. Immediately on the left of the entrance (2) is

a scene showing the reception of tribute, cattle, gold in rings, chests of linen.

We now pass into the inner corridor. On the left hand we have first (5) Rekhmirê seated, and watching craftsmen at work. Next (6) come men fetching water from a lake among trees. Then comes a scene (7) in which seated and standing statues are being polished and are having the finishing touches put to them. Beyond this (8) are the customary funerary scenes, with the Voyage to Abydos, etc. The right-hand wall has first (10) the funerary feast, with the usual provision of musicians, garlands, servants, and abundance of food. More interesting is the scene beyond (9) where a boat sails on a lake surrounded by trees. This is a picture of the pleasure with awaits Rekhmirê in the Egyptian heaven, whither he expects to go, and is of the same type as the scene, so frequently seen in papyri of the *Book of the Dead*, in which the dead man paddles his own canoe along the canals and lakes of the Elysian Fields.

The scenes are in a lamentable state since the tomb was used for generations by a modern Egyptian family, who have only been removed in recent years.

NO. 130. MAY (SG)

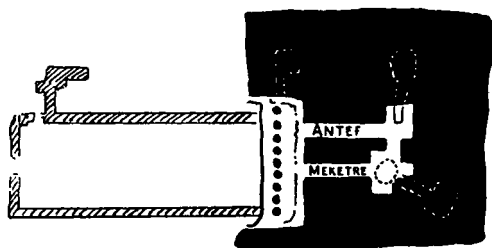
May was harbour-master of Thebes in the time of Tuthmosis III, when the river-front of the city would be kept busy with the arrivals of the Syrian cargoes and the building operations of the great conqueror. The transverse hall has on its entrance-wall, left hand, scenes of offerings made to May and his wife Tui by his son and daughter and other relatives. The left-hand short wall has the funerary stele, with May and Tui in adoration of Osiris and Anubis. The rear wall, left hand, has May and Tui receiving offerings; under the chair of Tui, in one of the scenes, a tame monkey is fastened. Rear wall, right hand, May and Tui make offering to Hathor, and farther on we have the funerary feast, with guests and musicians. The short wall, right hand, shows a frieze with grapes and lotus-blooms, and, beneath, the ceremony of the Opening of the Mouth is shown. The entrance-wall, right hand, has never been painted, but only plastered ready for painting.

On the left-hand thickness of the doorway into the inner chamber is May coming out to see the sun, and, on the right, is

an unfinished scene of May and Tui. The inner chamber has on its left-hand wall a scene of May and Tui offering to Osiris, and another in which are river boatmen offering their homage to their defunct harbour-master. The right-hand wall has a scene of offering to May and Tui. Under the chair of the latter is a cat of semi-wild aspect. Other scenes show the funerary procession on water and on land.

No. 280. MEKETRÊ (BEHIND UE HILL)

This great Middle Kingdom tomb lies on the hill-side south of the temple of Mentuhotpe at El-Deir el-Bahari. It was cleared in 1920 by the Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum, when a remarkable set of funerary models was discovered, which have been divided between the Cairo Museum and the Metropolitan



TOMB OF MEKETRÊ

(The outlines dotted in white at right-hand end of plan are the burial-shafts and chambers of Meketre and Intef. The famous models (Plates XXVI, XXVII) were found under the corridor of Meketre)

Museum. For these models, perhaps the finest ever discovered, see illustrations, and Cairo Museum, Nos. 6077-6086, U27, centre cases. The tomb lies open. Meketre, its owner, was a great man in the days of Sankhkerê Mentuhotpe (the last Mentuhotpe of the XIth Dynasty), having been Prince, Chief Steward, and Chancellor.

A steeply sloping causeway (see plan), 240 feet long by 75 feet wide, leads up to a portico with nine columns, painted to imitate granite. In the centre of the portico opens a corridor 60 feet in

length, at the end of which is the chapel of Meketrê, which connects, by a sloping passage 45 feet long, with the burial-chamber. A second corridor on the left of the portico leads to another chapel and burial-chamber, belonging to a certain Intef or Antef, who was Prince and Chancellor, and may have been the son of Meketrê. The funerary models were discovered in the serdâb of Meketrê, which is situated under the corridor, as shown in the plan. Originally the tomb must have been one of great magnificence, but its very splendour has proved its ruin. Portico, corridors, and chambers all were once upon a time decorated with sculpture in white limestone, the fineness of which was the undoing of the tomb, for it has served as a veritable quarry in later times until hardly a scrap of sculpture as large as the palm of one's hand was left.

We now reach the last two sections of the Theban necropolis, Deir el-Medina (the Place of Truth), and Qurnet Mura'i. Curiously enough, it is here, in the extreme south of the area, that the earliest numbers are found, the numbering, as already mentioned, being in order of discovery, not of locality.

NO. 1. SENNÛTEM (DM)

Sennûtem (Sennozém) was Servant in the Place of Truth in the early Ramesside period to which most of the officials buried at Deir el-Medina belong. His vaulted tomb-chamber, which was discovered in 1886, has not yet acquired the stiffness in its decoration which characterized the later Ramesside period, and there is a good scene of the funerary feast; but some of the work is already of the conventional and strictly formal type, and is rather bizarre in its detail. A quantity of funerary furniture was found in the tomb, and is now at Cairo (Nos. 2000-2007, U 17, Cases N, O, P, J, K, Q, L, M). The tomb of Sennûtem lies a short distance to the left of the track from the Tombs of the Queens, close to the group 218, 219, 220, and Nos. 2 and 28.

NO. 3. PESHEDU (DM)

Close to the rest-house of the Antiquities Department. Peshedu, like many more, was Servant in the Place of Truth on the West of Thebes in the XIXth-XXth Dynasty. This tomb is among those most worth seeing at Deir el-Medina. Entrance is gained

by a steep staircase to sundry chambers and a vaulted corridor, which has Anubis couchant on his shrine displayed on either wall. Thence we pass to the burial-chamber, which is decorated with paintings of some interest, if also of great conventionality. On the right-hand entrance-wall Peshedu crouches in prayer beside a highly conventionalized and decorative palm-tree which grows by the side of a lake. On the two long walls are scenes of Peshedu with his relatives, in adoration of various gods, with inscriptions from the *Book of the Dead*, which had now crystallized into an approach to its final form. The sarcophagus stood against the rear wall, and, with a return to an ancient custom, was composed, not of a single block of stone, but of limestone slabs.

No. 5. NEFERABET (DM)

Close behind the little temple of Deir el-Medina. 'Neferabet was another Servant in the Place of Truth on the West of Thebes, Ramesside period. Entrance is gained by a staircase to a vaulted chamber, which has a scene of Neferabet and his friends adoring the divine Hathor cow, which is issuing from the Mountain of the West, in the fashion familiar to every reader of the *Book of the Dead*, and frequently repeated in the necropolis. There is also another scene of the adoration of Horus. Thence we proceed by a second set of steps to a second chamber, which has a set of purely religious scenes representing the purification of Neferabet by Thoth and Horus, the deified Amenophis I adoring Mertseger, 'The Lover of Silence' and Goddess of the Necropolis, and the solar disk, with the two lions of Yesterday and To-day. The burial-shaft opened in front of the rear wall of this chamber, and above it are representations of Neferabet and his wife in mummy form. Here, and elsewhere at Deir el-Medina, will be noticed the disappearance, not absolutely complete, but almost so, of the familiar scenes from daily life which gave such animation to the XVIIIth Dynasty chapels. These are now displaced to a great extent by purely religious and conventional scenes.

No. 217. IPY (DM)

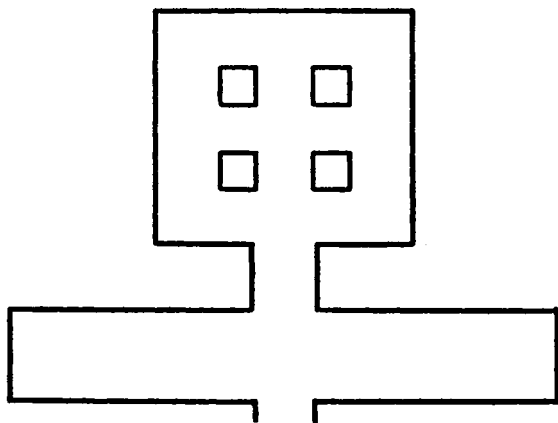
A little distance north of the rest-house, grouped with Nos. 266, 267, just south of No. 6 and 6B. Ipy was a sculptor in the time of Ramses II, and his tomb is the exception at Deir el-Medina

inasmuch as it provides us, much to our relief, with a repetition, in a small way, of the natural scenes from daily life, which make up so much of the interest of the earlier Theban tombs. The entrance-wall of the chapel, right hand, has in six compartments scenes of agricultural and pastoral life, ploughing, reaping, flocks and herds, an open-air offering to the serpent-goddess Renenet, lady of the harvest, the vintage, and the fowling scene in the marshes (unfortunately badly destroyed). The right-hand short wall has a fishing scene, and very good scenes of carpenters making parts of the tomb equipment, two shrines, a funerary barque, amulets, etc. (a good deal damaged in parts). The rear wall, right-hand side, has scenes of adoration which are now almost entirely destroyed, and the left-hand side of the same wall has the funerary feast. The scenes of the entrance-wall, left-hand side, are perhaps the most interesting of all. In the upper registers are scenes in which the Pharaoh leans out from a balcony in the regular Amârna style, to confer honours upon a group of courtiers below. The fifth register has very charming scenes in which the country villa of Ipy, with fig-trees, ornamental water, and flowers, is depicted. Four men, Semites to all appearance by their facial characteristics, work in the villa garden, with practicable shadûfs.

NO. 40. AMENHOTPE, ALSO CALLED HUY (G.M.)

This tomb lies on the face of the hill of Qurnet Mura'i, between Nos. 221 and 222, and a little distance above the tomb of El-Sheikha Warda. The scene from it in which Huy presents the foreign tribute to Tutankhamûn has been familiar since the time of Lepsius, who gave a representation of it in his *Lenkmäler*. Huy's chief titles were Royal Son of Kush and Governor of the Southern Lands, and his district embraced all the land from El-Kâb, about fifty miles south of Thebes, to Napata (Gebel Barkal) at the foot of the Fourth Cataract. The great event of his official life was evidently the presentation of the tribute to Tutankhamûn, for this occupies the greater part of the surviving decoration of his tomb. Entrance-wall, left hand, Huy being invested as Governor; right hand, Huy with two Nile boats, and Huy as Governor, with five rows of tribute-bearers. End-wall, left, ritual scene of Huy offering to Osiris and to Anubis. Rear wall, left, Huy bearing the crook and scourge as Governor,

with three rows of Nubian chiefs. The tribute is behind him, bowls of gems, gold dust in sacks, rings of gold, shields, chairs, footstools, etc. Among the Nubian chiefs is a chieftainess, who has an umbrella held over her, and travels in an ox-drawn car. The end of the line is brought up by two negro women, one with a child on her back, and leading another child. Then comes the arrival of Huy with his precious cargo from Nubia. Rear wall, right hand, here we have the scene so often reproduced from Lepsius. The king is enthroned under a canopy, and Huy presents to him the Syrian tribute, which includes a number of



TOMB OF HUY

elaborate gold vases. The remaining decorations are mostly destroyed. The importance of the tomb, however, rests mainly not upon its scenes, but on the inscriptions which accompany them; and the question is what weight is to be given to these as representing the actual historical position in Syria in the time of Tutankhamûn, so soon after the disastrous losses of the reign of Akhenaten. Samples of the inscriptions run as follows: 'The chiefs of Retenu the Upper, who knew not Egypt since the days of the gods, are craving peace from His Majesty. They say: "Give to us the breath which thou givest, O Lord! Tell us thy victories; there shall be no revolvers in thy time, but

every land shall be in peace." ' This is the inscription of the actual tribute : ' Bringing in all the tribute to the Lord of the Two Lands, the presents of Retenu the wretched ; by the King's messenger to every country, the King's Son of Kush, Governor of the Southern lands, Amenhotpe, triumphant. Vessels of all the choicest of the best of the countries in silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, every costly stone. All the chiefs of the north countries they say : " How great is thy fame, O Good God ! How mighty thy strength ! There is none living in ignorance of thee ! " ' (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, 1028 sq.). It is difficult to take all this at its face value, in view of our other knowledge of the actual situation in Syria, immediately before and after the brief reign of Tutankhamûn.

Before we leave the neighbourhood of Thebes, mention should be made of the scanty remains of the little shrine of the Pharaoh Sankhkerê Mentuhotpe V, which are to be seen on the summit of the conspicuous hill which lies to the north-east of the entrance to the Valley of the Kings. This little chapel, when explored in 1909 by Petrie, was found to contain fragments of a sarcophagus, or rather an imitation sarcophagus, for it was never meant for use, and of an Osirid figure of the king. The chapel may have been erected for the *Sed*-festival with which the kings of Egypt celebrated their jubilees ; but there is little now left of it save a few bits of brickwork, and the place is scarcely worth visiting.



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BOOK V—FROM THEBES TO ASWÂN

CHAPTER XXVIII

ARMANT (HERMONTHIS), GEBELEIN, ESNA

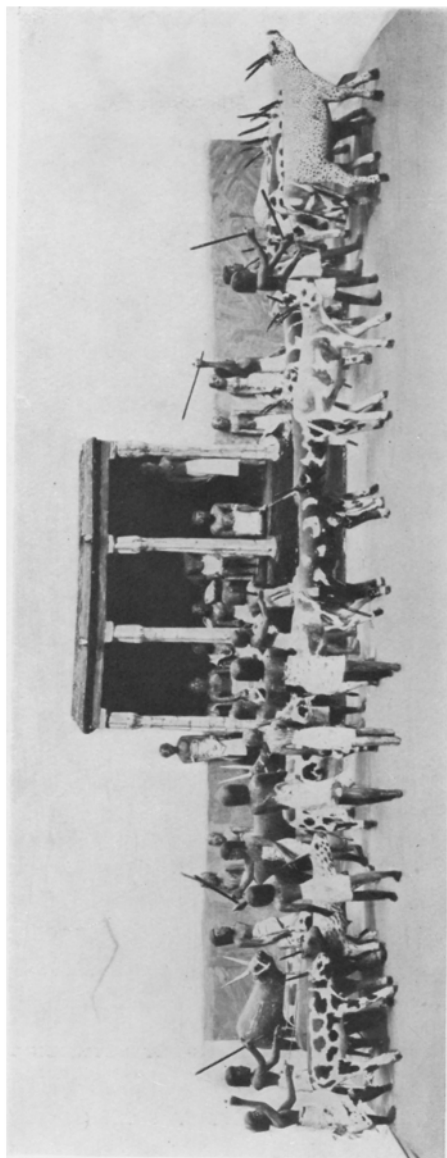
WE now leave Thebes and proceed up-river. The first ancient site is the modern Armant or Arment, which is the ancient Egyptian city of the Southern Òn, so called to distinguish it from Heliopolis, which was the Northern Òn. Armant was the abode of the local war-god Montu or Month, and therefore his city was called Per-Month, the House of Month, whence came the Greek version of the name, Hermonthis, which has now become degraded into Armant.

Armant is only about $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles by river from Luxor ; but the tourist steamers do not give time for a visit to it, and the access to it by train from Luxor is rather troublesome. The city is on the west bank of the Nile, while its station is on the east bank. It is possible to leave Luxor by the morning train, and to reach Armant station in about forty minutes. Thence a ride of less than a mile brings us to the river, where a ferry carries us across to the west bank, and a further ride of about half an hour brings us to the ruins. But as it is advisable to bring donkeys from Luxor for the expedition, this involves a considerable amount of trouble, which is, perhaps, scarcely repaid by what is left of the ancient remains. The tourist who is travelling by private *dahabiya* has, of course, the matter in his own hands ; and although the ruins can scarcely repay him, the country around them is unusually beautiful. 'The appearance of the country here', says Mr. Weigall, 'is very different from that usually associated with Egypt. Along the bank of the river there is a splendid row of *lebbek* trees, and amidst these are the ruins of the ancient quay of Roman date, into which are built various blocks from a Ptolemaic temple. The main ruins are reached by a charming road running along the river's edge at first, and later

passing a few yards farther inland. The path is deeply shaded by trees, through which the sun penetrates in broken patches of yellow light. On the west side there are wide fields of sugarcane, edged by European-looking bushes; and one catches a glimpse here and there of a running stream of water. In the autumn, when the cane is green, the fields present an extremely beautiful scene; but the winter visitor is likely to find them bare after the harvest' (*Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, p. 294).

Montu and his city were probably of importance at an earlier stage than Thebes, and it is possible that he was the original chief god of the district of the Theban nome. It is conjectured that his city was in full prosperity during the Middle Kingdom; but it was gradually overshadowed by Thebes and the cult of Amûn. The hawk-headed Montu, however, still retained a position of honour. He had, as will be remembered, a temple at Thebes, close to the great temple of Amen-Rê at Karnak, and his name is naturally, and almost inevitably used by each conquering Pharaoh to express his own valour. In the so-called poem of Pentawêr, describing the battle of Kadesh, it is said of Ramses II: 'His Majesty issued forth like his father Month'; and when Ramses makes his appeal, at the crisis of the battle, to Amûn for deliverance, he says: 'I pray at the limits of the lands, yet my voice reacheth unto Hermonthis.' Montu, therefore, still maintained his position, and it is believed that from a feature of his worship was derived the title of 'Strong Bull', which was added to their titulary by the Theban Pharaohs.

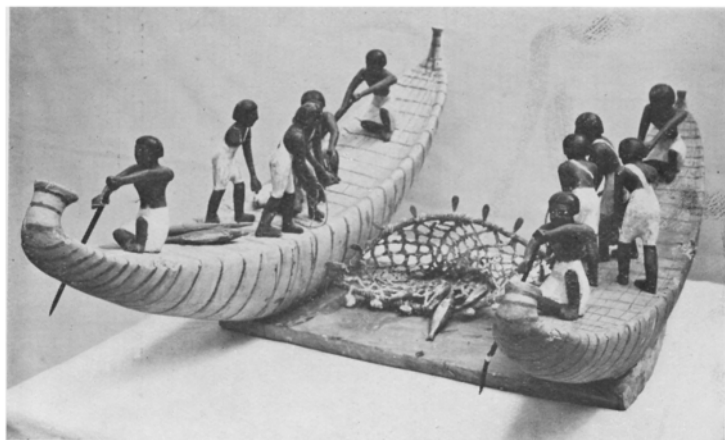
As Rê, at Heliopolis, had his sacred bull, the Apis, and as Ptah at Memphis had his, the Mnevis bull, so Montu at Hermonthis had the sacred bull Bakh, the *Buchis* or *Bacis* of the classical writers; and this feature of his cult may have furnished the Pharaohs with the title. The bull Bakh, like the other sacred bulls, is described as having very peculiar features, which must often have been very difficult to find in any new candidate for the position. It is not common for bulls to change their colour every hour, and 'to have long hairs growing backwards, contrary to the nature of all other animals'; but of course such peculiarities, even in the still more difficult cases of the Apis, presented no difficulty at all to an enterprising priesthood, and a bull having 'all the good marks' was always found after a longer or shorter interval, when his predecessor had succumbed to age or overfeeding.



MEKETRÉ INSPECTS HIS HERDS, 'RING-STRAKED, SPECKLED, AND GRISLED'
EGYPTIAN COUNTRY LIFE (1)



MEKETRÊ'S SAILING BARGE



TWO FISHING-SKIFFS WITH DRAG-NET BETWEEN THEM

The Middle Kingdom temple, with its successors of the XVIIIth Dynasty, have, of course, disappeared, though we know that Akhenaten did some building here, and the inevitable cartouche of Ramses II has been found at the place. The Menkheperre whose cartouche has been found here is not Tuthmosis III, but probably the priest-king with the same prenominal of the XXIst Dynasty. Cleopatra built here a temple for herself and her son Caesarion, which appears to have been a fairly large building. Only a few fragments of it remain, however, as it has succumbed to the march of progress, and its stones have been used to build the sugar-factory ! In the village are the remains of a Roman bath, and a few relics of what was once a temple of the Ptolemaic period. Nothing else survives of any interest to the visitor, though it is interesting to note that Armant had its sacred burial-place for the divine bull Bakh, just as Memphis had its Serapeum at Saqqâra for the Apis bulls, and that this was discovered by Mr. R. L. Mond and Mr. W. B. Emery in 1927.

From Armant, a secondary railway line runs along the west bank of the Nile as far as Esna. Four miles from Armant is the station of El-Rizeiqât, west of which, at the edge of the desert, lies a large cemetery of Middle Kingdom and Early New Empire date, which may have been that of Armant. However interesting it may have been at one time, this necropolis has now nothing to offer to the visitor, for it has been systematically plundered for a good many years, and nothing now remains but half-empty graves, to show the respect which the modern Egyptian cherishes for his ancestors.

Near the station of Armant, which is on the east bank of the Nile, lies the village of Tûd, which has been identified (somewhat uncertainly) with the ancient Tophium. Here there stood in the Ptolemaic period another large temple to Montu, corresponding to that on the west bank at Armant. Little now remains of the structure, save some broken columns and a fragment of wall, which possibly represents the pronaos ; but one chamber is still preserved for modern uses, being now the house of the local sheikh.

GEBELEIN

Gebelein is reached either from El-Shaghab, the station on the main line (east bank), or by riding or by means of the secondary railway on the west bank from Armant, the station being

Gebelein. The name Gebelein means the two hills, and is explained by the presence here of two limestone ridges, which form prominent landmarks from the river. They lie *en échelon* on the western bank. Under these two ridges stood in ancient times two cities. One of these was named Per-Hathor, 'House of Hathor', from the goddess to whom it was sacred; and this title was easily modified into the Greek form Pathoris or Pathyris. As Hathor was identified by the Greeks with their own Aphrodite, another name for the city was Aphroditopolis. The other city was called Crocodilopolis, which implies that there must have been here at one time a shrine of Sobk or Sebek, the crocodile-god. The main association of the locality, however, is with Hathor, whose temple crowned the more southerly of the two ridges. It is referred to in the *Asclepius* of Hermes Trismegistus, who says that Asclepius, the god of medicine, was buried at Crocodilopolis, and that on the Libyan hills near at hand there was a temple dedicated to him. This Crocodilopolis is the only one of the cities of that name in Egypt which has a temple on a hill near to it, and though the reference is far from being accurate, as the temple is not to Asclepius (or rather to his Egyptian equivalent, Imhôtep), but to Hathor, it seems possible enough that this is the spot to which the statement applies. It need scarcely be said, however, that there is absolutely no other evidence, either for or against the idea that Imhôtep, the famous architect of King Zoser of the IIIrd Dynasty, was actually buried at Gebelein. *A priori* one would have rather expected that he would have been buried at Saqqâra, beside the Pharaoh whose reign he adorned; but speculation is useless where there is no hope either of its confirmation or its disproof.

Actually, there is very little left of the work of the past at Gebelein. Along the north and east face of the larger hill lies an extensive necropolis of the prehistoric time, and of the Middle Kingdom and Early Empire periods, with some tombs of Roman date; but it has been repeatedly plundered, and there is nothing left of any interest.

On the top of the southern hill are the tumbled remains of a brick fortress which was built here by the same Menkheperre, of the XXIst Dynasty of priest-kings, who has been already mentioned. An important stele of this same Menkheperre, now in the Louvre, tells how there had been trouble in his time with a number of nobles who had been banished to the oases, and how

Amûn at this time gave assent to their recall and decreed that no Egyptian should henceforth be thus banished. 'O my good lord,' Menkheperre is reported as saying, 'thou shalt make a great decree in thy name, that no people of the land shall be banished to the distant region of the oasis from this day on. Then the great god nodded exceedingly'—his assent having doubtless been arranged for before the problem was put to him. It was probably in connexion with the banishment of these people that the fortress was erected at Gebelein, to command the caravan route to the oasis of El-Kharga which runs across the open desert near here.

Mixed with the ruins of the fortress are those of the temple of Hathor which stood on this hill from probably the time of the Old Kingdom. The earliest inscription found on the spot is a stele of poor and coarse work of the Pharaoh Dudumose Zednefer-rê, of the First Intermediate Dark Period, between the VIth and XIth Dynasty; but the fact of its erection here obviously implies the previous existence of the temple, and other inscriptions carry on the history of the building through the XIth, XIVth, XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, though nothing is now left upon the site that is worth seeing.

Gebelein had important sandstone quarries, which were used, as inscriptions show, by Seti I, XIXth Dynasty, for the building of his mortuary temple at El-Qurna and by Nesbenedbed, the Tanite Pharaoh of the XXIst Dynasty, for the repairs rendered necessary at Luxor by the unusually high inundation of that time. Nesbenedbed records that 3,000 men were sent to Gebelein to cut stone for the repairs, so that Gebelein must have been a busy place for a while. These quarries of Gebelein are on the east bank, opposite the ancient towns, and consist of two large cuttings whose roofs are supported by rude pillars left by the quarrymen, while there are also open cuttings. Besides the two more ancient inscriptions just mentioned there are three inscriptions in red paint, dating from the reigns of Caracalla, Elagabalus and Alexander Severus. Apart from these inscriptions, the quarries are only of interest to the specialist, as better examples of the Egyptian quarryman's skill will be seen farther on at Silsila.

On the west bank of the river, a little farther south, lies the village of Asfûn el-Matâ'na the ancient Asphynis; but between Gebelein and Esna there are no remains of any interest to the

traveller, though the neighbourhood has several extensive prehistoric cemeteries and a few rock tombs of the Middle Kingdom and a cemetery of the New Empire. The cemeteries are all plundered, however, and the rock-tombs too badly damaged to be worth a visit.

Thirty-six miles up-river from Luxor lies Esna or Isna, where there is a barrage, through which the tourist steamers are locked. This dam was erected in 1908-9 to regulate the irrigation of the province of Qena. Our concern, however, is not with anything so modern, nor even with Esna itself, though it was once one of the most important towns in Upper Egypt, and is to-day a district capital with over 20,000 inhabitants, but with the Ptolemaic temple of Khnûm which is the chief, and indeed the only important relic of antiquity about the place. Esna is on the west bank of the Nile, so that passengers by the railway have to walk from the station to the river, ferry across, and then walk the short distance from the bank to the temple—no great hardship, as it is only a matter of a ten minutes' walk through a rather picturesque town, imposingly planted on the ruins of the ancient cities which have preceded it. The traveller by the river has his path made easy, for the steamers allow enough time to visit the temple.

The ancient city was called *Ta-sne(t)*, whence, by an easy process of corruption, comes the modern name. In Greek times it was called Latopolis, from the fact that the fish *Lates Niloticus* was venerated here as at other places in Egypt; but the more ancient name triumphed in the end. Khnûm, to whom the temple of Esna was sacred, was one of the creator-gods of Egypt, who was represented as having shaped man in the beginning on a potter's wheel. He was also regarded as a cosmogonic god, and in an inscription here (late, of course, as is the whole structure), he is described as having 'raised the sky upon its four pillars, and uplifted it from eternity'. He was regarded with special veneration in the region which we are now entering, as being the god of the cataract region, where, with the two goddesses Sâtet and Anûqet, he formed the triad of Elephantine. A temple to him most probably existed at Esna at least from XVIIIth Dynasty times; but the present building dates only from the Ptolemaic period, and its decoration largely belongs to Roman times.

While Esna, as we have seen, occupies an imposing position,

the ancient temple, by reason of that very fact, is invisible, and has to be sought for. In point of fact, the greater part of it is still buried under the houses of the town, and only the vestibule has yet been excavated. Those who are familiar with Miss Edwards's delightful *Thousand Miles up the Nile*, will remember her vivacious description of her first sight of Esna, which, though perhaps a little imaginative, applies still in the main to the place to-day. 'A strange-looking, stupendous mass of yellow limestone masonry, long, and low, and level, and enormously massive. A few steps farther, and this proves to be the curved cornice of a mighty temple—a temple neither ruined nor defaced, but buried to the chin in the accumulated rubbish of a score of centuries. This part is evidently the portico. We stand close under a row of huge capitals. The columns that support them are buried beneath our feet. The ponderous cornice juts out above our heads. . . . A low mud parapet and a hand-rail reach from capital to capital. All beyond is vague, cavernous, mysterious—a great shadowy gulf, in the midst of which dim ghosts of many columns are darkly visible. From an opening between two of the capitals, a flight of brick steps leads down into a vast hall so far below the surface of the outer world, so gloomy, so awful, that it might be the portico of Hades.'

This is, of course, somewhat high-strung; but it gives the impression of this buried temple not altogether unfairly. The excavation of the pronaos, which is all that has been accomplished, was done in 1842 by Mehemet Ali 'not in any spirit of antiquarian zeal, but in order to provide a safe underground magazine for gunpowder'. It will be remembered that the ruinous condition of the Parthenon at Athens is largely due to its having been used for the same purpose, and blown up by a shell in the Venetian bombardment of 1687. Before its excavation, the Esna temple or the little of it that was available had been used as a cotton store.

What is visible to-day, and approached by a steep flight of steps, is a rectangular pronaos, whose roof is still intact, and supported by six rows of four columns each. The pronaos faces towards the river, and measures 108 feet wide by 54 feet deep; the columns are each 37 feet high and $17\frac{3}{4}$ feet in circumference; and the over-all measurement of the façade is 120 feet by 50 feet high. The elaborately carved capitals which emerge from the earth are impressive enough on a first view; but further

inspection will reveal the fact that the relief work in the building is coarse and poor, with all the Ptolemaic faults, and several more of the Roman period added. The whole of the pronaos is of the Roman period, the first emperor whose cartouche is represented here being Claudius. This may only mean, however, that the decoration of an already existing building was begun by this emperor, and carried out by his successors, Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Severus, and Caracalla, whose cartouches all appear here; while that of Caracalla's murdered brother and co-Emperor Geta has been erased by order of his brother and murderer. A great gateway in the rear wall of the pronaos presumably leads into the remaining portions of the temple, and this gateway bears cartouches of Ptolemy VI and his father and mother. There is an old tradition that Champollion, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, penetrated into the sanctuary of the temple, and found there the name of Tuthmosis III; but even Mariette admits that 'these statements are not sufficiently authenticated'. The last Roman Emperor who figures in the building is Decius, who is shown on the small door to the left hand of the gateway in the rear wall in the act of sacrificing to Khnûm. The temple therefore appears to have taken from about 180 B.C. to A.D. 250 to complete.

The pronaos is adorned with four rows of reliefs, which show various Roman Emperors as Egyptian Pharaohs sacrificing to the gods, and carrying out various other ritual acts. Among these reliefs may be noticed one near the foot of the north wall in which the Emperor Commodus is shown in company with the hawk-headed Horus and the ram-headed Khnûm, drawing a clap-net full of waterfowl and fish, while the goddess Seshet or Saffkhet and Thoth look on—a curious company. But those who have become familiar with the work at Abydos, Karnak and Luxor, to say nothing of the Old Kingdom work at Saqqâra will scarcely care to waste much time over the ill-proportioned and clumsy Roman work. Yet the capitals of the columns are undoubtedly striking; and two in particular, bearing the cartouche of Hadrian, and adorned with bunches of grapes, may be mentioned as worthy of attention.

The ancient necropolis of Esna lies on the edge of the desert, and in order to visit it it is necessary to go through the town and across country to the westwards by a path which leads to the

south of the small village of Hagar Esna. But it is questionable if the journey, which takes about three-quarters of an hour, is worth the trouble. The cemetery has been frequently plundered, and the small remains of ancient work, none of them earlier than of the Ramesside period, are of poor style and execution. Esna had opposite it on the east bank another example of the twin towns which are not uncommon on the Nile; but of Contra-Latopolis, which occupied the site of the present village of El-Hilla, and of its temple (Ptolemaic), nothing survives.

Between Esna and El-Kâb and El-Kôm el-Ahmar, which are our next important sites, there is little to attract attention. Two and a half miles south-west of Esna station, on the eastern side of the river, are two rock-cut steles of Akhenaten (Amenophis IV), relating to quarrying work done here in the earlier years of his reign. On the west bank near the village of Basaliya, stand the ruins of a small pyramid, which is locally known as El-Kûla. It is much wrecked, but still stands about 30 feet high, by 50 to 60 feet square; but there is nothing left to give a clue as to its builder or its date. On the west bank also there are one or two cemeteries of prehistoric times, and a cemetery of the late dynastic period in which mummified gazelles were found; while the east bank has one or two late dynastic cemeteries. But there is really nothing worth the delay which inspection would imply. Fifty-six miles out from Luxor (by river), we reach El-Kâb, which was the ancient city known to the Greeks as Eileithyiaspolis, with its twin site El-Kôm el-Ahmar, which was the Greek Hieraconpolis, on the west bank opposite to it. There is so little that is spectacularly interesting in connexion with either of these places, especially in view of the fact that Edfu, with its wonderfully preserved Ptolemaic temple lies only twelve miles ahead, that the tourist steamers do not allow any time for a visit to them. Nevertheless, they are of great importance in the early history of Egypt; and even after the glory had to some extent departed from them both and Hieraconpolis had long since been superseded as the capital city of Upper Egypt by the conquests of the early kings, the conservative and reverent Egyptian still honoured them, and the greatest nobles and officials of the land bore their names proudly among their other titles. Our next chapter, therefore, will be devoted to their history and antiquities.

CHAPTER XXIX

EL-KÂB AND EL-KÔM EL-AHMAR (EILEITHYIASPOLIS AND HIERACONPOLIS)

THE two cities which are now represented by El-Kâb and El-Kôm el-Ahmar were in the earliest days of Ancient Egypt among the most important cities in the land—one cannot as yet say the kingdom, for we are speaking of a time when the unified kingdom of Egypt did not exist. The name El-Kâb is probably a corruption of the old name Nekheb, by which the city on the east bank was known ; and from the very earliest days the vulture-goddess Nekhebt was recognized as the tutelary goddess of Upper Egypt, as the serpent-goddess Wazet of Buto was recognized in Lower Egypt. It is almost needless to insist upon the association of these two in the emblems of royalty down to the latest times of dynastic history—the most apt illustration of it which occurs is the vulture and uraeus which deck the brows of Tutankhamûn in all the items of his funerary furniture. The Greek name for Nekheb—Eileithyiaspolis—was derived from the association of the goddess Nekhebt with Eileithyia, the goddess of women in labour. The twin city on the western bank, now named El-Kôm el-Ahmar, or the Red Mound, a name which occurs in innumerable instances throughout Egypt, was known to the Ancient Egyptians as Nekhen, and, from its association with the hawk-god Horus, came to be known to the Greeks as Hieraconpolis, the City of the Hawk. Nekhen's fame was as ancient as that of Nekheb. Relics of the very earliest kings of Egypt whom we can recognize as individual personalities have been found at the place, and show that previous to the establishment of Memphis as the capital of the unified kingdom in the days of Mena (Menes), Hieraconpolis or Nekhen was the royal city of Upper Egypt. The kings of the time when Egyptian unity was being founded were buried at Abydos, but they appear to have been crowned at Nekhen ; and the Horus name which every Pharaoh bore so long as there were Pharaohs was simply

the survival of the title which the early kings of Upper Egypt held as chieftains of the Hawk tribe whose centre was at Nekhen. We shall shortly have to mention the relics discovered by Mr. J. E. Quibell at Hieraconpolis, which prove the importance of the city and its association with the earliest recognizable Egyptian kings ; meanwhile it is sufficient to notice that, in spite of the supersession of the two cities, first by Memphis, then by Itthtaui, Heracleopolis and Thebes, Nekheb and Nekhen never ceased to be of considerable importance, and were always held in reverence, as one would have expected of the conservative Egyptian nature. Nekheb, on the east bank, seems to have maintained a greater degree of prosperity from a material point of view than its neighbour of the western bank, owing to its position as the terminus of a caravan route from the gold-bearing regions of the Arabian desert ; but the honour in which Hieraconpolis continued to be held is reflected in the title attached to Nekhen', which was borne for so long by the judges of Egypt. In the latter days of the Old Kingdom it would almost appear, from the relics found in the city, that Nekhen was being used as a storehouse of the great historic relics of the national art ; but to say this is perhaps to assign to the Egyptians feelings and propensities which were alien to the times and the people.

In the Middle Kingdom, the eastern city seems to have risen into prominence. It was a time when Egypt, under its strong Pharaohs of the XIIth Dynasty, was beginning to assert itself in the south ; and the huge wall which was now built around Nekheb is perhaps the reflection of the strife between Egypt and Nubia. With the war of independence against the Hyksos conquerors, Nekheb again comes into prominence—not because of its own position, but because the city sent to the armies of Ahmôse and Tuthmosis I two of its own sons who have succeeded in writing their names boldly upon Egyptian history. Ahmôse, son of Ebana, and Ahmôse Pen-Nekhebt have succeeded in giving to El-Kâb, as we may henceforth call it, a fame which it would not otherwise have had ; and their tomb-inscriptions rank with that of Amenemhab at Thebes as the most individual and picturesque documents which have come down to us from the ancient wars of Egypt.

Evidence, scanty enough, but sufficient, shows us that under the New Empire both El-Kâb and Hieraconpolis continued to receive attention from the Pharaohs who reigned at Thebes,

though the overwhelming predominance of the latter city must have diminished the importance of all the other cities of Upper Egypt. The pictures from the tomb of the great local magnate of the time of Tuthmosis III, which we shall see in due course, suggest a standard of comfort and luxury fairly comparable with that of the capital; but there is no need to suppose that 'in these days Eileithyiaspolis was a wealthy and somewhat profligate city', on the evidence of a single more or less standardized scene of funerary feasting.

El-Kâb continued to maintain its prosperity throughout the time of the New Empire, and it is possible that the establishment of the viceroyalty of Ethiopia in the XVIIIth Dynasty may have given back to the city some shadow of its former association with royalty, if, as has been suggested, the 'Royal Sons of Kush' made it their residence and the seat of their government. Meanwhile it would seem that Hieraconpolis was gradually sinking into the background, though its name was still honoured. It would serve no purpose to give a list of the Pharaohs whose names are associated with one city or the other in the later days of the native monarchy, but whose association, so far as we are concerned, is limited to a cartouche or an inscribed block of stone. The latest name of native royalty at either site is that of Nectanebis I of the XXXth Dynasty. Under the Ptolemys, El-Kâb was the capital of the third nome of Upper Egypt, and Ptolemy Euergetes II and Ptolemy Soter II erected a temple in the city. The latest reliefs of Roman days still show Nekhebt of Nekheb, the vulture-goddess of El-Kâb, associated with Wazet of Buto, the serpent-goddess of Lower Egypt, crowning the Pharaoh with the Double Crown; but by that time El-Kâb, to say nothing of Hieraconpolis, was but *magni nominis umbra*.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF EL-KÂB AND HIERACONPOLIS

We shall deal first with the city of the eastern bank, and, to avoid the confusion almost inevitable between Nekheb and Nekhen, we shall call it by its modern name, while we call Nekhen by its Greek equivalent of Hieraconpolis.

As already mentioned, the tourist steamers do not usually stop to allow of a visit to either of the cities, so that it is necessary to travel from Luxor by the early morning train to Esna, and motor thence to El-Kâb, returning by the afternoon train to

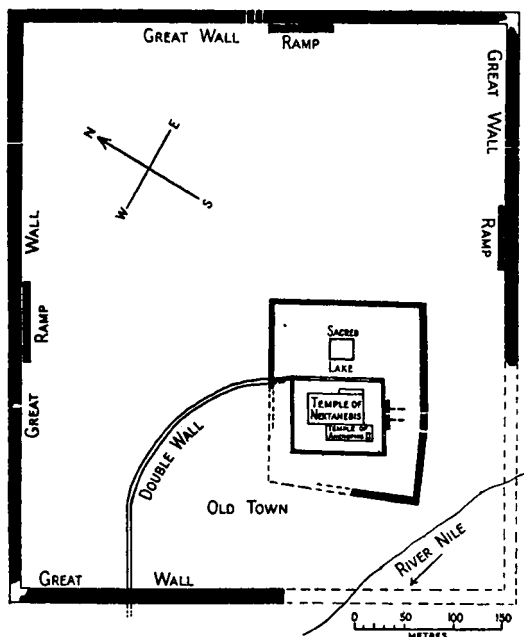
Luxor. Those who wish to see Hieraconpolis have, in addition, to contemplate the Nile ferry, and a considerable ride on the western bank to the edge of the desert.

The most striking feature of the ruins at El-Kâb is the Great Wall, which possibly dates from the Middle Kingdom, and still dominates the whole neighbourhood, as it has done for nearly four thousand years. It is of crude brick, and is a colossal work, measuring 1,860 feet by 1,770, with a thickness of 37 feet. The area which it encloses measures almost 3,300,000 square feet. The wall has gates on the east, north and south sides, the main gate having been that on the east. In addition, there are broad ramps which give access to the top of the wall, and it will be worth the visitor's while to climb up for the sake of the fine view and the general conception of the ruins which are gained from this viewpoint. It will at once be seen that the actual city of El-Kâb occupied only a small fraction (about one-fourth) of the area enclosed by the great wall. This fraction is itself enclosed by another wall. Another small portion in the south-east corner of the city enclosure was occupied by the temple, which stood within its own *temenos* wall. The remainder of the huge space was devoid of any permanent buildings, and the only explanation of this fact is that it must have been used for a fortified camp, and as a place of rest and security for the gold-trains coming in from the Arabian desert.

The temple ruins are very scanty, and in nowise correspond to the honourable position which was held by Nekhebt in the Egyptian records. Hakar, of the XXIXth Dynasty, did a considerable amount of restoration here; and as we have seen he was followed in this by Nectanebis I of the XXXth. But a few bases of columns, part of a pavement, a granite altar, and some wrecked walls are the only witnesses to whatever glory the building may have had in the past. An inscription of Ramses II tells us that that indefatigable builder was at El-Kâb as well as everywhere else. 'Ramses II; he made it as his monument for his mother Nekhebt, making for her a great pylon of fine white sandstone, its length is 15 cubits; its door is of cedar, the mounting thereof of copper, with the great name of My Majesty . . .' as was to be expected. The dimensions of the pylon would seem to show that the temple cannot have been of first-class importance.

In the desert east of the city, are several small temples which

are of some interest, and may be visited before we turn to consider the tombs of the nobles. They may have been erected for the convenience of those using the caravan track by which the gold-trains came in from the Arabian desert. Leaving the great enclosure by the eastern gate we pass a small ruined chapel



THE GREAT WALL OF EL-KÂB

(For description, see text)

quite near the wall. After a walk of a little more than half an hour we come to a tiny temple which was built in the reign of Ramses II by Setau, Viceroy of Ethiopia, on behalf of his royal master. The sides of the doorway show the viceroy praying, while within the temple he is seen again, bearing his fan of office. On the walls within, Ramses is shown offering to Thoth, Horus,

Nekhbet, and other gods too much damaged to be made out clearly.

A little distance to the north of this shrine is a temple built against the rock-face. It is approached by a staircase of forty-one steps, with a balustrade on either side. This leads to a platform from which we enter, through a ruined doorway, the Pronaos, which had columns with elaborately carved floral capitals. The façade was formed by means of screens in the intercolumniations. This was the largest part of the temple—nearly 33 feet square. Another ruined doorway leads into a smaller hall, 20 feet square, which also has screens in its intercolumniations. Behind this is the Sanctuary, which was originally a rock-hewn tomb of the Empire, and has never been finished. Outside the entrance is the figure of a Queen Cleopatra; but her husband, who once was there also, has disappeared. The vaulted ceiling has vultures hovering with out-spread wings; but this part of the decoration is incomplete. The frieze is formed of the cartouches of Ptolemy Soter II, standing on the *nubti* sign for gold, alternating with Hathor heads. The temple thus dates from the Ptolemaic period, and was the work of the two Pharaohs, Ptolemy Euergetes II and Ptolemy Soter II. It was dedicated to Nekhebt.

From the Ptolemaic temple, a rough pathway brings us, in about a quarter of an hour more, to the delightful little temple of Amenophis III, also dedicated to Nekhebt, 'Lady of the Mouth of the Desert'—a title which evidently refers to her function as tutelary goddess of the ravine by which the gold-train track emerges between two hills on to the plain. The Pronaos (of Ptolemaic date) is now ruined. It had papyrus columns, whose capitals still lie around. Beyond this is a rectangular hall, whose roof is supported by four sixteen-sided columns, with Hathor-headed capitals. Above the doorway into this hall is a figure of Amenophis III dancing before the gods, and to the right of the door is a figure of Khaemwêset, the favourite son of Ramses. He is here shown in the presence of his father, whose jubilee of the forty-first year he is celebrating. The inscription runs: 'Year 41. Came the king's son, *sem*-priest of Ptah, satisfying the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands, Khaemwêset, to celebrate the fifth royal jubilee in the whole land.' The reliefs within the hall still keep a good deal of their colour, and are not without artistic merit. The west wall (entrance-wall), right and left, shows Amenophis III with his father,

Tuthmosis IV, before offering-tables. On the north wall, Amenophis offers to the sacred barque of a god, possibly Horus; he makes offering to Nekhebt, here shown as a woman, and is embraced by Amen-Rê. On the south wall (right) he offers to Nekhebt, and to the sacred barque, and is embraced by Horus of Hieraconpolis. On the east wall (rear) he worships Nekhebt. The frieze, of Hathor heads alternating with Amenophis cartouche, evidently inspired that in the Ptolemaic temple we have just seen. No notice need be paid to the foolish inscription in hieroglyphics to the glory of 'His Majesty, Lord of the World, Napoleon III'. A very small dose of time (from the Egyptian standpoint), has already sufficed to make its silly insolence manifest. The eastward view from the temple shows plainly why Nekhebt was here called 'Lady of the Mouth of the Desert', as the gateway of the hills by which the ancient caravan track debouched is right in view. The rocks which we pass in going and returning bear a number of inscriptions mostly dating from Old Kingdom times, and drawings of boats, animals and men, mostly prehistoric.

THE TOMBS OF THE NOBLES AT EL-KÂB

Though none of these is of outstanding merit, and though all of them are comparatively small, they are yet of notable significance from the fact that two of them contain the life-stories of two of the famous soldiers who fought for Egypt in the early days of the New Empire, one when the nation was just struggling to free itself from the Hyksos incubus, and the other, whose career to some extent overlaps that of his predecessor, when Egypt was committing itself to its great new adventure in Asia. Apart from the tombs of the two Ahmôses whose interest is thus more historic than artistic, there is one tomb, that of Paheri, which is worthy of attention for its pictures of contemporary Egyptian life and the frank comments which accompany them.

The tombs were excavated in the southern face of a mass of sandstone rock lying to the north-east of the town, and separated from the cliffs behind it by a narrow gully. They follow an ascending line which keeps to the stratum of good rock; but they are by no means in chronological order, so that, while we follow the ascending line from south-east to north-west, it is necessary to keep in mind that of the three most important

tombs, that of Ahmôse, son of Ebana, is the earliest (dating from the expulsion of the Hyksos and the wars immediately following), that of Ahmôse-Pen-Nekhebt follows and to some extent overlaps the period of the son of Ebana, and that of Paheri, who was grandson of the first Ahmôse, is the latest. It is interesting to notice that this short chronological sequence in El-Kâb practically covers the whole aggressive period of the New Empire, for the first Ahmôse saw Egypt in its humiliation under the Hyksos, his grandson Paheri lived during the greatest expansion of the Empire under Tuthmosis III, and the children of Paheri lived into the reign of Amenophis II, when the Empire simply maintained its level without further expansion. The decline began after the short reign of Tuthmosis IV, the successor of Amenophis II, for in spite of the surpassing material glory of the reign of Amenophis III it is certain that in his reign the ebb of Egypt's fortunes had already set in. Thus this little family group of four generations covers the whole period of Egypt's rise from the nadir to the zenith.

The first tomb in the row, beginning at the south-east, is that of the lady Thentas, who was a sistrum-player of Nekhebt, the city goddess, in the later days of the Empire. It has a rectangular chamber, with an inner room opening from it, in the walls of which are five niches which show usurpations of the tomb at a later date. At the doorway is a small stele with the name of the original owner. We now pass five uninscribed and undecorated tombs, and arrive at the tomb of the second Ahmôse, who is best known, in distinction from his namesake, as Ahmôse-Pen-Nekhebt. Artistically this tomb is of no importance, for it is much damaged, though there still survive figures of Ahmôse with his son Khaemwêset, who reached the dignity of Chief Royal Son of Eileithyiaspolis; while on the other side of the doorway are figures of others of the family, and the funerary statues have been broken. But its historic interest more than makes up for its artistic poverty. Ahmôse-Pen-Nekhebt served under no fewer than five Pharaohs: Ahmôse I, Amenophis I, Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis II, and Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. Unfortunately, Pen-Nekhebt had not the slightest trace of the journalistic instinct in him, and his narrative of his warlike service under so many kings, and through so interesting a period, is little more than an appallingly dry catalogue of the slaughters he accomplished or the prisoners he took. Here is a sample of his style

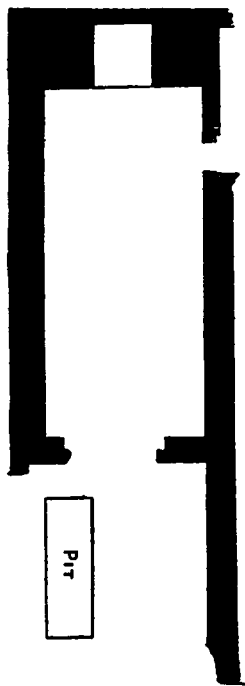
when describing that advance into Asia which began Egypt's world-conquering period. 'The Hereditary Prince, Count, Wearer of the Royal Seal, Chief Treasurer, Herald of his Lord, Ahmôse, called Pen-Nekhebt, justified'; he says: 'followed King Nebpehtirê [Ahmôse I], justified, I captured for him in Zahi [Phoenicia] a living prisoner and a hand.' Under Amenophis I his tale of captures has gone up, but his style of telling of his feats has not improved the least in vivacity. 'I followed King Zeserkerê, justified; I captured for him in Kush [Ethiopia] a living prisoner. Again I served for King Zeserkerê, justified; I captured for him, on the north of Imukehek [the Libyan campaign], three hands.' Tuthmosis I's great Asiatic adventure now claims his attention; but though one can see that Pen-Nekhebt was bursting with pride at his achievements in this memorable campaign, and 'fine writing' is visibly trembling on the point of his pen—'damme, he despises it'. 'Again I served for the king Okheperkerê, justified; I captured for him in the country of Naharin twenty-one hands, one horse and one chariot.' He had evidently, on this occasion abandoned his habit of taking living prisoners, and considered that 'stone-dead hath no fellow'; but twenty-one dead Asiatics seems a fairly large bag even for a man so sombre and unbending as this warrior of El-Kâb. Later still his scorn of rhetoric is still more finely shown in his account of his service in the Arabian campaign of Tuthmosis II. 'I followed King Okheperkerê, justified; there were brought off for me in Shasu very many living prisoners; I did not count them!' That last touch of contempt for such small matters as the tally of his prisoners almost redeems Pen-Nekhebt's narrative from the charge of dullness which we have brought against it. In his old age this grim warrior was honoured by Queen Hatshepsut with a charge which would at least keep him out of mischief. 'The Divine Consort, the Great King's Wife, Maetkerê [Hatshepsut] justified, repeated honours to me. I reared her eldest daughter, the Royal Daughter Nefrurê, justified, while she was a child upon the breast.' Nefrurê died young, as the epithet 'justified', tells us; was it the nursing of Ahmôse which killed her? (see Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 17, 40, 83, 123, 344).

We next reach the tomb of Paheri, who comes later in the chronological sequence, being as we have seen, the grandson of the other Ahmôse, the son of Ebana, who was an older man than Ahmôse Pen-Nekhebt, though their careers overlap. Paheri was

a man of more than local importance, though he bears none of the ornamental titles which the Egyptian courtier-tribe loved to flourish in their tomb inscriptions. He was 'Prince of Nekheb, Prince of Ônyt, who acts and inspects in the corn-lands of the South district, the Scribe of the accounts of corn'. But in addition he held the position of tutor to the 'King's Son Wazmôse', as his father Atefrurê had been in his day to an earlier royal prince of the same name. He came, as we have seen, of good soldier stock, well established in El-Kâb, his maternal grandfather being the first Ahmôse, the son of Ebana. His wife was the lady Henut-erneheh, who was daughter of Ruru, 'chief of transport' (caravan-leader? if so, an honourable position). His tomb, which is the only one at El-Kâb whose artistic merits are in any way important, is conspicuous by the wide opening which results from the destruction of its original doorway. The façade of the tomb was cut back into the rock to obtain sufficient height; and the level platform thus left was flanked with rock faces on either side. On the right hand this flanking face shows a figure of Paheri kneeling and looking outward, while he adores the patron goddess of El-Kâb, the goddess Nekhebt. The original doorway was decorated on its jambs and lintel with scenes and inscriptions, of which some mutilated columns of hieroglyphics still survive. The mummy-shaft was sunk in the platform outside the door, and the interior of the tomb is very simple in plan, consisting merely of an oblong main chamber, whose length is along the main axis, and a niche or shrine, with three statues. The roof is vaulted. The sandstone rock in which the tomb is hewn does not offer anything like so good a surface for sculpture as the limestone rock of the Theban necropolis; nevertheless the low-relief sculptures are well executed, and their colour is well preserved. The tomb is a good example of provincial work of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and its inscriptions are conspicuous for the frankness with which the actors in the various scenes discuss their efforts or the conditions in which they find themselves, and also for the puns and jokes which they perpetrate, though it must be said that if the Egyptian is to be judged by modern standards in this respect he must be pronounced to have joked, like the Scotsman of tradition, 'wi deeficulty'.

On the one half of the entrance-wall Paheri is represented 'going out on the earth to see the sun's disk'. The other half of the wall is now destroyed; but it probably bore another figure

of Paheri facing the indoor banquet which is represented on the east wall of the chamber. The west wall, or left-hand wall, has three series of scenes. The first shows Paheri superintending



TOMB OF
PAHERI AT EL-KÂB
(For description, see text)

agricultural operations, the stock-taking of the herds, and the reception of tribute. The standing figure of the nomarch shows the blunders of the sculptor, who forgot the wig, artificial beard, etc., of his subject until the stone had been cut away too much for it to be possible to include them. The defect was probably made up with stucco, which has now fallen away, leaving the traces, none of them complete, of two profiles, two eyes, two ears, and two wigs.

In front of Paheri the upper register gives measuring, winnowing, and thrashing the corn. Here we have some specimens of the comments of the workmen to which reference has already been made. One man carrying the pole of an empty corn-basket observes: 'Haven't I stuck to the pole all day like a man? That is what I like.' Over the five unmuzzled oxen who tread out the corn is the famous verse, quoted by every writer on Egyptian literature:

Hie along oxen:

Thrash the corn faster—
The straw for yourselves,
The corn for your master.

The next register has the harvest, both of flax and of corn, the flax being pulled up by the roots, while the corn is cut, high up the stalk, with sickles of wood and flint. An old man stripping the flax which is brought to him in bundles by a youth exclaims, 'If you bring me eleven thousand and nine, I am the man to strip them all.' To which his companion, with all the irreverence

of youth, answers in a rude sentence whose atrocious play upon words has been translated thus : '*Quick*, do not chatter, you old *quack* of a labourer.' The third register shows ploughing, sowing and breaking the clods. In front, near the feet of the standing figure of Paheri, is the great man's chariot, with its two horses, its primitive four-spoked wheels (chariots were still a novelty at this date), and his groom, who remarks to the impatient horses : 'Stand still!—do not be disobedient—you good horse whom your master loves, and of whom the prince boasts to everybody.' Below this scene is the numbering of the cattle, with the seated Paheri diligently recording the totals himself ; while next we see the grain being shipped, while the workmen remark : 'Are we to spend the whole day carrying wheat and white barley ? The granaries are full, and heaps are pouring over their edges, the barges are heavy-laden, and corn is dropping out. But still the master urges us on. Well, we are men of bronze.'

We next have on this west wall Paheri's unofficial life and amusements, where he watches his fishermen and fowlers, and again, sitting with his wife, sees fruits and flowers and game brought in. Above the couple the vintage is going on, while in another part of the wall Paheri sits with the young prince Wazmôse, distinguished by his long side-lock, sitting upon his knees. The inner end of this west wall shows the funerary rites, which are too familiar to need description—we have seen them much more elaborately depicted, in any case, in the Theban tombs.

The east, or right-hand, wall has been pierced by a doorway of later date, leading to the later chambers, which have nothing to do with the original tomb. There are two scenes. In the first, Paheri and his wife sit in front of a table, ruthlessly cut away in the making of the above-mentioned door, while their son Amenmôse makes offering before them. They are presiding at the funerary feast, which occupies the rest of the scene, and they are represented on fully life-sized scale. Then come Paheri's father Atefrurê and his wife, and his grandfather Ahmôse, son of Ebana and his wife, represented on a medium, but still important, scale. Lastly come the ordinary guests who have to be content to squat on mats and to be insignificant, while musicians entertain the whole party, and drink and eatables are handed round. Some of the inscriptions in this scene are the terrible documents which have earned for El-Kâb the reputation of having been in the XVIIIth Dynasty, a 'somewhat profligate city'. The

actual scene in question shows two cousins of Paheri, Sit-amûn and Nub-mehy, with a servant offering wine to them. Sit-amûn refuses the cup, and the servant remarks : ' For thy *Ka*, drink to drunkenness, make holiday ; O listen to what thy companion is saying, do not weary of taking.' What her companion, Nub-mehy, is saying is this : ' Give me eighteen cups of wine ; behold, I should love to drink to drunkenness ; my inside is as dry as straw ! ' Not very refined certainly ; but after all the lady and her attendant are only jesting, and to suggest that the scene is one of luxurious dissoluteness is to display a sense of humour as dry as Nub-mehy's internal organization. The remainder of this wall shows Paheri with his wife and three of his children offering to the gods. Paheri holds two lamps or censers with five wicks each, and beyond the offerings are several sistrum-bearers.

The back wall has a long inscription telling of all the virtues of Paheri. Its appearance, with its rounded top, and the niche with the statues opening in the middle of it, is somewhat like that of a gigantic stele, which is, doubtless, the idea that the architect of the tomb had in mind when he planned this arrangement. The inscription is not of any interest, owing to the absence of any of the personal touches which lend occasional gleams even to such a biography as that of Paheri's grandfather, Ahmôse the Admiral, son of Ebana. The broken statues in the niche are those of Paheri, his mother Kem, and his wife Henut-erneheh. On the right-hand wall of the niche Paheri offers to two royal princes to whom he and his father had acted as tutors, and to his father Atefrurê and his mother Kem. The left-hand wall shows Paheri and his wife sitting before a table of offerings, while his son Amenmôse performs before them the ceremony which will enable his parents to enjoy them. The execution of the tomb is probably to be dated to the early part of the reign of Tuthmosis III, and the incised hieroglyphics are filled in with blue paint.

We pass an uninscribed tomb, and enter that beyond it, which belongs to Setau, high-priest of Nekhebt at El-Kâb in the days of Ramses IX. This is the latest grave with inscriptions at El-Kâb ; but it is unfortunately much ruined. A short stairway of four steps leads down to the hall, which has three other chambers leading off from it. The left wall had scenes of ploughing, harvesting, etc., which are now almost entirely destroyed, leaving

only four funeral boats visible. Over these mention is made of a jubilee festival of Ramses III in his twenty-ninth year, the ritual of the feast being performed by the Vizier Ta. Setau must therefore have begun his official career during the latter part of the reign of Ramses III, and he lasted until that of Ramses IX—no very difficult task, as the later Ramessides were ephemeral. On the right-hand wall we see Setau and his wife seated, while their son-in-law, who was a Divine Father of Amen-Rê, makes offering to them. Below Setau's chair sits a baboon, and Setau's relations sit opposite him in rows. This spectacle is cut into by a door of a later date which leads to one of the chambers. More to the right, we have Setau and his wife offering. The stele on the rear wall has been much ruined. An inscription gives the date of the making of the tomb as the fourth year of Ramses IX, which gives the extreme dates represented in the tomb as 1174 and 1152—no undue space of years for a comfortable high-priest to cover in office.

Passing another uninscribed tomb, we reach that of the elder Ahmôse of El-Kâb, Ahmôse, son of Ebana, or, as he might be called from one of the offices which he held, Admiral Ahmôse. The tomb is unimposing, and consists of a rectangular chamber, with a vaulted roof, and a second chamber on the right hand, from which the mummy-shaft leads off. On the right wall appears Ahmôse himself, with his staff, standing in front of the long inscription which tells us of his warlike feats. He is accompanied by his grandson Paheri, whom we have already met in his own tomb, and who added to his other accomplishments that of being an artist. He was responsible for the construction of his grandfather's tomb, but he never finished it, and the red squares by which the artist fixed the proportions of his figures may still be seen on the left wall. The rear wall shows much damaged figures of the old Admiral and his wife seated, with their pet monkey under their chair, and their relatives in front of them.

The main interest of the tomb of the old warrior, who was 'soldier and sailor too', is, however, not artistic but historical, for he lived and fought through what was precisely the crisis of the early destiny of the Egyptian Empire, when the nation cast out its Hyksos oppressors, and, carried away on the wave of awakened national consciousness, began the invasion of Asia which resulted in the establishment of the short-lived Asiatic

Empire of the Pharaohs. Ahmôse was the son of one Baba, who served under King Seqenenrê III, of Thebes, at the very beginning of the war of independence, and his mother, whose name is always associated with his own, was Ebana. He began his inscription thus: 'The Chief of the Sailors, Ahmôse, son of Ebana, justified.' He says, 'I speak to you, all men; I will cause you to know the honours which have come to me. I have been rewarded with the Gold [the technical name for the Egyptian reward of valour], seven times in the sight of the whole land, and with men slaves and women slaves in like manner, and how I have been endowed with many fields [67 acres in all, so that his endowments were not lavish after all]. For the fame of a valiant man lies in what he has done; it shall not perish in this land for ever' (see Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, §1 sq.) He then goes on to tell us how his father, Baba, son of Royenet, was a soldier under Seqenenrê, and how he himself began to serve in his father's stead 'in the ship "The Wild Bull", in the time of the Lord of the Two Lands, Nebpehtirê [Ahmôse I], justified, when I was a youngster, and had not taken a wife, but was sleeping in a sailor's net hammock.' He then recounts his service against the Hyksos at Avaris, which earned for him no less than three awards of the Gold of valour. Next he transports us with the triumphant Egyptian army into Palestine, and we see him serving at the long siege of Sharuhén in a manner which earned him a fourth award of the Gold. His next exploit carries us down south into Nubia, where King Ahmôse was re-asserting Egyptian dominion. There we find him accumulating prisoners as usual, and gaining his fifth award of the Gold. Gifts of slaves and land had, of course, been accumulating all the time as well as the more showy but less substantial awards.

We now find him under the new king, Amenophis I, piloting the royal fleet on a second raid into Nubia, where, as he modestly tells us, he 'fought incredibly' (literally 'more than what is true'). The campaign against the Nubians, however, was interrupted by news of a Libyan raid against Egypt. Ahmôse had to hurry his king northwards to meet the danger, and apparently he did it to such purpose that the royal galley covered two hundred miles in two days, and the grateful Pharaoh gave the veteran a sixth award of the Gold. In the fighting which followed, he distinguished himself to such purpose that the king appointed him 'Warrior of the Ruler', which would seem to

signify some more or less honorary commission in the Household Brigade. He had still one more step to earn, and this he won under Tuthmosis I, during another Nubian campaign. 'I showed great bravery in His presence in the bad water, in the passage of the ship by the Bend. One [i.e. the king] appointed me Chief-of-the-Sailors', or as we may call him, Admiral. The old warrior had still another adventure before him, before he should retire to El-Kâb to pass the remainder of his days on his hard-earned estates. This time the scene was Syria. He tells us that Tuthmosis, in invading Asia, was deliberately exacting vengeance for the Hyksos conquest of Egypt. 'One [i.e. Pharaoh] journeyed to Retenu to wash his heart among the foreign countries.' Admiral Ahmôse was now presumably about 65 years old; but his valour was not abated, any more than his own opinion of it. 'Meanwhile,' he said, 'I was at the head of our troops, and His Majesty beheld my valour. I brought off a chariot, its horses, and him who was upon it as a living prisoner, and took them to His Majesty. One presented me with the Gold in double measure. For, though I had grown old, and had attained old age, my honours were as they used to be at the beginning.'

On this satisfactory note the story of the old champion ends, and we are left to picture him sitting in the shade on his 67 acres, ticking off on his knotted old fingers the numbers of his captives and his awards, and walking over now and again to see how his clever grandson was getting on with the making of his tomb. He never saw it finished; but his inscription remains priceless. It is somewhat more human than the sombre catalogue of slaughter which satisfies his grim junior Ahmôse-Pen-Nekhebt, and one seems to realize an actual personality beneath the phrases of the old Admiral.

Beyond the next two tombs, which have nothing to interest us, lies the tomb of Reneni, who was Hereditary Prince and Superintendent of Priests in the early XVIIIth Dynasty. The left wall of the tomb-chamber has a chariot and horses, with harvest scenes, and figures of Reneni and his wife presiding at a funerary feast, with their friends seated opposite. The right wall has funerary scenes, with the usual figure muffled in a hide and dragged on a sledge, who may be either a human sacrifice or a type of the resurrection. There are the customary scenes of the Opening of the Mouth, the offerings, and the boats with the figures

of the dead, and mourners. Mention is made of the herd of 1,500 swine which belonged to the prince, and Paheri also possessed swine, which is curious, as swine were generally no more popular with the Egyptians than with the Hebrews. It has been suggested that, as Herodotus asserts that swine were sacred to Selene, who is identified with Nekhebt, the goddess of El-Kâb, swine were tolerated here for religious purposes.

We now pass several more tombs, some of them lying open owing to the crumbling away of the cliff. A short flight of steps leads to the entrance of the tomb of Baba and his wife, who was a 'royal handmaid' somewhere in the obscure period between the XIIIth and XVIIth Dynasty. The tomb has a vaulted ceiling, and the end-wall has a long inscription, with figures of Baba and his wife. Baba is mentioned to have possessed nine pigs, so that swine evidently had a traditional position at El-Kâb. Beyond two more badly wrecked tombs lies that of Sebeknakht, Hereditary Prince and High-Priest under the Pharaoh Sekhem-sewaztaurê (Sebekhotpe III of the XIIIth Dynasty). It is now inaccessible, but possessed a vaulted chamber with good ceiling decoration. None of the other tombs possesses any interest.

HIERACONPOLIS

We now cross the river to the village of El-Muissât, near which lie the remains of the once famous city of Nekhen, known to the Greeks as Hieraconpolis because of its devotion to the hawk-headed Horus. The site of the ancient city is known to-day as El-Kôm el-Ahmar, or the Red Mound, a title which is derived from the red pottery which is abundant on a mound to the east of the fort which is the most prominent of the ancient remains. It had best be stated at once that there is little here to repay a visit from anyone but a specialist, as the site is a 'chaos of small mounds and pits, overgrown with brambles and weeds'. Yet the place has its own interest when we realize that from this unpromising spot came some of the most splendid of the treasures of the earliest kingdom which now adorn the Cairo Museum, the statuette of Khasekhemui (3056, U 42, Case C), the great slate palette of Narmer (3055, U 42, west), the superb copper statues of King Pepi I and his son (230 231, G 32, centre), and the unsurpassable golden hawk's head (4010, U 3, Case 3).

The obvious first point of interest is the ruin of the ancient

fort which is still an imposing feature of the landscape in spite of the five thousand years which have passed over it. It has massive walls of crude brick, measuring between 15 and 16 feet thick. In advance of this chief wall, and at a distance of between 7 and 8 feet from it, is a secondary wall nearly 8 feet thick. In parts, on the south-west side especially, the main wall still stands to a height of between 26 and 30 feet. This stronghold probably dates, like the similar structure at Abydos (the *Shûnet el-Zebîb*) from the Ist or IInd Dynasty. 'The area enclosed by the walls is covered with untidy heaps of rubbish and sand; but the visitor should not fail to enter the enclosure, for, shut in by the huge walls, and cut off from the sights and sounds outside, there is a wonderful impression of solemnity to be experienced.'

A short distance north-east from the fort, and within the cultivated area, lay the remains of the ancient city, surrounded by what was once a wall of crude brick; and in the south-west angle of the roughly rectangular enclosure of the city lay the temple, also enclosed within its own wall of crude brick. It was here that Mr. J. E. Quibell in 1898 made the famous discoveries which were described in the two volumes issued in 1900 and 1902 (*Hierakonpolis*, I and II), the slate palettes, of which the larger bore the record and pictures of the triumphs of Narmer, or Mena, the founder of the Ist Dynasty; the mace-heads, of the Scorpion Pharaoh, and of Narmer; the clever slate statuettes of Khasekhemui; and those wonderful works of the early Egyptian sculptor, the copper statues of King Pepi I and Prince Merenrê, and the golden hawk head, which had been attached to a copper body and had worn tall plumes of gold. Unattractive as the site may be at present it remains one of the classical sites of Egypt for the contributions which it thus made to our knowledge of Ancient Egyptian history and art in their earlier stages.

At the extreme south-east end of a prehistoric cemetery which extended some distance south of the fort, Mr. Quibell in his second season (1898) discovered the famous prehistoric painted tomb of the second predynastic period, which as Professor Gordon Childe has said, 'is at once the ancestor of the later sepulchral frescoes, and the lineal descendant of the prehistoric vase-paintings' (*The Most Ancient East*, p. 93). The details of this remarkable work of art are too well known to need description.

Immediately west of the fort is a mound into which several tombs have been cut. Two of these had scenes and inscriptions

of the usual type, with painted decoration and some figures in low relief. The first belonged to a 'Treasurer of the Hawk' of the reign of King Pepi I, whose name appears to have been Ni-ankh-Pepi. The second belonged to a certain Haremkhauf-maet, who was Superintendent of Priests and Fields under an Old Kingdom Pharaoh. Both tombs, however, are now much choked with sand.

Farther west still is a group of ten rock-tombs, of which some are much ruined. The first two are merely rough rectangular chambers devoid of any inscriptions or carvings. The third has an inscription cut round the door, and the lintel bears the cartouche of Tuthmosis I. The tomb belongs to an overseer of the sculptors, named Thôut. It has a rectangular chamber with vaulted roof, with a secondary chamber opening from it on the right. The large chamber has a niche, with mutilated statues of Thôut and his wife. The stele asserts that Thôut possessed the virtues which the Egyptian is always claiming for himself in his tomb inscriptions. The fourth, fifth and sixth tombs are of no importance, and the seventh, though it once may have been interesting, has now fallen in, as has also the eighth. The ninth tomb is merely a rectangular hall with a secondary chamber, The tenth consists of a long chamber with a secondary chamber, at the rear end of which is a niche which contains the remains of two statues. At one time the main chamber has been well decorated, and some remains of scenes can still be made out, with women dancing and carrying garlands of flowers and vine-leaves. The name of the owner of this tomb was Harmôse, and he was High-priest of Horus of Hieraconpolis, in the reign of Tuthmosis III. The tomb has been usurped in later days, as the cartouches of Ramses XII also appear upon its walls. These tombs, however, are by no means so interesting in their present condition as those of El-Kâb, across the river, and can scarcely be said to repay the trouble expended in a visit to them. In fact Hieraconpolis has little to show to the casual visitor, for time has dealt very hardly with a city which must have been at one time among the most interesting and important of Egyptian cities.

In the twelve miles between El-Kâb and Edfu, there are one or two ancient cemeteries, but there is nothing that calls for special mention, or is of any interest to the traveller.

CHAPTER XXX

EDFU: ITS TEMPLE AND HISTORY

EDFU is one of the stopping-places of the tourist steamers which give time for a visit to the great temple. As the place is a half-way house between Luxor and Aswân, it may be visited by train from either place with almost equal convenience. In making the visit by train, however, it must be remembered that the railway station is on the east bank, while Edfu is on the west, and that the time for the ferry and the donkey ride from the landing on the west bank must be deducted from the time available for seeing the temple. The early trains from either Luxor or Aswân reach Edfu station about 10 o'clock, and the return trains leave Edfu about 1.30. It is easily seen that three hours and a half, with two ferries and two donkey rides thrown in is not a large allowance for a temple so important as Edfu. All the same, visitors ought to make every effort to see the temple, which, though late in date, is the most perfectly preserved of all large Egyptian temples, and gives the clearest idea of the essential elements of the plan of such buildings.

The town of Edfu was in ancient times called Dbu, or Edbu, which means 'The Town of the Piercing'. The Coptic form of this name, Atbô, gives the modern form of Edfu. The ancient religious name was Behdet or Behudti, and its local god, another of the numerous Horuses, was called Hôr Behudti, or Horus of Edfu. Both names have reference to an ancient legend, which, though it has only come down to us in a comparatively late form, doubtless represents an ancient original tradition of intertribal warfare. The legend tells how Hôr Behudti, in the form of a great many-coloured solar disk with wings, conquered Sêth and his followers. Horus, who is to be distinguished from the better-known Horus, Son of Isis, of the Osiris legend, was assisted in his warfare with Sêth and his followers by a number of men who understood the art of metal-working, and it seems likely that we have here a traditional account of an actual conquest of primitive stone-using tribes by a race of invading metal-users. However

that may be, Horus of Edfu, Hôr Behudti, a hawk-headed deity, holds a prominent place in Egyptian mythology. Later his legend became confused with the Osiris legend, and himself with Horus the son of Isis; but his original position was in the Rê cycle of legends, and not in the Osirian cycle at all. His emblem, the winged, many-coloured solar disk, became, as is well known to everybody, the symbol of protection against evil things which is placed over the gateways of all Egyptian temples.

Little can be said of the early history of the place. The scanty materials which have come down to us from the troubled period immediately following the break-down of the Middle Kingdom—a stele found here referring to a prince who was the son of an obscure Pharaoh called Dudumôse, whose place seems to be in this time, a pendant of a King Intef, which mentions a Great Royal Wife Sebekemsaf, and another stele of the same queen's family—these only serve to make darkness visible. Queen Sebekemsaf's tomb at Edfu was restored by the steward of the famous Queen Ah-hotpe, of the early XVIIIth Dynasty. By the time of Tuthmosis III, the annual journey of Hathor of Dendera to spend some days at Edfu with her consort Horus becomes a regularized festival, and the son of the union of these two divinities, Harsmataui, or 'Horus the Uniter of the Two Lands', takes his place as the third member of the triad of Edfu and Dendera. In the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, work was evidently done on the temple then existing at Edfu by Seti I, Ramses III and Ramses IV, as cartouches of all these Pharaohs have been found there. The first notable evidence of work earlier than the present temple is found in the great granite shrine of Nectanebis I, which stands in the sanctuary of the great temple. Edfu was now a city of importance, being the capital of a nome (the IIInd), and it was named by the Greeks Apollonopolis Magna, Horus of Edfu being equated with Apollo. Evidently the old temple of the Ramesside period, probably comparatively small, and suffering from the progress of years and neglect, was felt to be inadequate to the needs of a nome capital, and those energetic builders, the Ptolemys, set about the task of replacing it by a new and more worthy building.

The new building was begun in the tenth year of Ptolemy III, Euergetes I, or 237 B.C. The main building was finished in the tenth year of Ptolemy IV, Philopator, 212 B.C., having thus taken twenty-five years to complete. Its decoration, however, took



PALETTE OF KING NARMER



COPPER STATUE OF PRINCE MERENRÉ

OBJECTS FROM HIERACONPOLIS IN THE CAIRO MUSEUM

PLATE XXIX



PYLON OF THE TEMPLE OF EDFU



TEMPLE OF KOM OMBO. HYPOSTYLE HALL IN CENTRE

six years longer, and was completed in 207 B.C. Trouble in Upper Egypt interrupted the work, and after it had been resumed again the building was formally opened in 142 B.C. under Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II, the small hypostyle hall being finished two years later in 140 B.C. The temple had thus taken ninety-seven years to complete, so far. There remained yet to be added, however, the large hypostyle hall, the forecourt, and the pylons, and these were only completed in the end of the year 57 B.C., in the twenty-fifth year of Ptolemy XI, Neos Dionysos, better known as Ptolemy Auletes, or Ptolemy the Piper. Thus the whole structure as we now see it took a little over one hundred and eighty years to complete, and by comparison with the great older temples of the Pharaonic Empire, must be considered as having been built almost with a single effort. To this fact, of course, is due its clearness of plan and consistency of architecture. It is interesting to realize that the great temple had only been in full use for twenty-seven years when Augustus, in 30 B.C. did away with the last relics of the Ptolemaic sovereignty, and brought Egypt definitely under the rule of Rome.

None of the larger temples of Egypt offers so complete an example of the essential Egyptian conception of what a temple should be as does this building which was reared by Pharaohs who had little, if any, Egyptian blood in their veins. Moreover, it is one of the very few Egyptian temples to which it is almost possible to apply the epithet 'beautiful' without the sense that the word is being used in a special meaning. It is true that the beauty is restricted to a general impression of symmetry, and to the larger and broader detail, such as the scheme of decoration of the capitals of the columns; still, even so, the building is undoubtedly imposing, and not even the poorness of all the other detail, and the ungainly exaggerations of Ptolemaic sculpture, can altogether undo the effect which is produced by the first sight of the great fabric. The pylons have been characterized as 'somewhat ungainly', owing to the loss of their cornices; but, after all, that is not the blame of the architects, and it is not difficult to complete them in imagination with the deep cavetto, and so see them as they appeared when first completed. In any case, even as they are, they are undoubtedly impressive. According to Mariette's measures, the height of the two towers is 144 feet 10 inches; while the breadth of the façade, across the two towers, is 249 feet 10 inches. The scale of Edfu may be

realized by a comparison with the corresponding figures for St. Paul's. The height of the façade of St. Paul's, to the top of the statue of the saint on the pediment, is 135 feet; but the breadth of the west front is only 179 feet, as against the 249 feet of Edfu. The over-all length of Edfu is 451 feet 6 inches, as against the 513 feet of St. Paul's.

We owe Edfu as we now see it mainly to the energy of Mariette, who found it in 1860 in a most deplorable condition. 'The modern village had invaded the temple, its very terraces being covered over with dwellings, stables, and storehouses of every kind. In the interior the chambers were filled with rubbish almost to the ceiling.' The work of expropriating the villagers and of clearing up after them was thoroughly done; and since Mariette's time important conservation work has been done by the Department of Antiquities, shaky walls having been taken down and rebuilt, the ruined roof restored, and the whole building put into a better state than it has known for many centuries. The mutilation of the reliefs, which is so conspicuous, is due to the misguided enthusiasm of the early Christians.

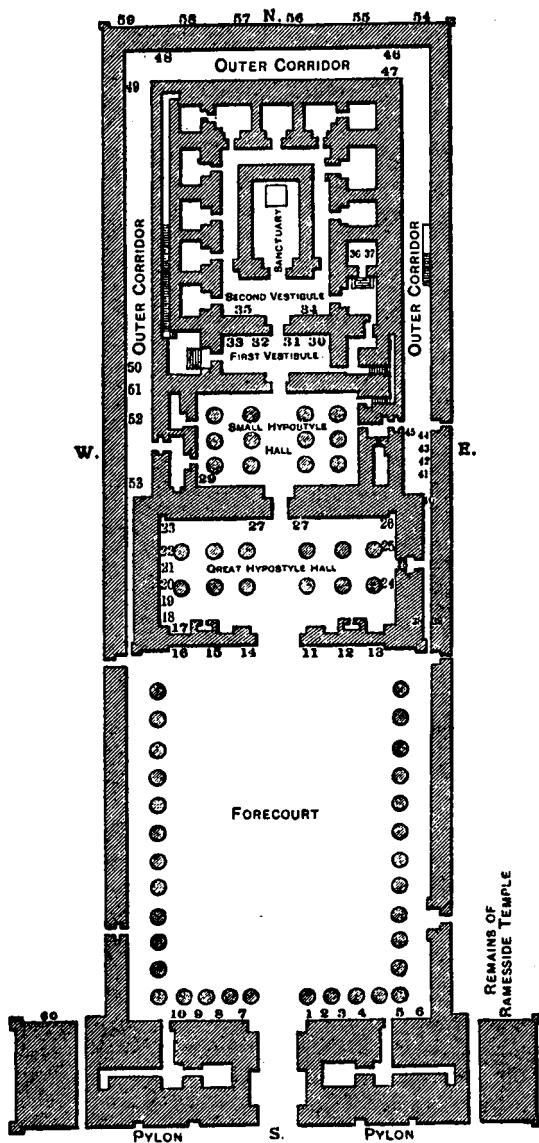
As we approach we see that the two towers of the façade bear colossal reliefs of King Ptolemy Auletes smiting his enemies before Horus of Edfu and Hathor of Dendera. Above this scene, on either tower, the king offers before two rows of the local divinities. Above the huge doorway between the towers appears the winged disk, here particularly in place, as representing Hôr Behudti. The great slots in the towers, with the two pairs of square openings in the upper stories above them, are, of course, for the fixing and steadying of the gigantic flagstaves which stood in front of every Egyptian temple, and which, in this case, must have been at least 150 feet high. In front of the pylon there stand two colossal hawks in granite, emblematic of Horus of Edfu.

Passing through the great gateway, which in ancient days was closed, by a cedar door inlaid with bronze and gold, we find ourselves in a large forecourt, which has a colonnade running round both sides and the end next the pylon, the fourth side being occupied by the columns of the front row of the main temple, with their screen-walls. There are thirty-two columns in all, and their capitals are carved with the elaborate floral and palm-leaf designs which the Ptolemaic architects so much affected. The columns themselves have reliefs *en creux* of the king, whose name has not been carved, offering before the local

gods ; and the walls behind the colonnade have an elaborate series of reliefs in three registers, showing the king in the discharge of certain ritual acts. As these reliefs are repeated over and over again till they become a weariness, it will be enough to notice a single series of them, taking that which begins on the right-hand side of the entrance (rear wall of the pylon). The king, unnamed, comes out from his palace, wearing the White Crown of Upper Egypt (1). Before him go an incense-burning priest, and the four standards of Upper Egypt, the jackal of the First Cataract, the ibis of Hermopolis, the hawk of Edfu, and the totem of Thebes. He is then purified by Thoth and Horus of Edfu (2), crowned with the Double Crown by Nekhebt and Wazet (3), receives from Horus the sceptre in the presence of Atûm, Sakhket and Maet (4), is led by a god, who holds to his nose the *ankh*, the emblem of life, into the presence of Horus of Edfu (5), and finally stands before Horus of Edfu and Hathor of Dendera (6). Beneath these scenes is a series of representations of the festival voyage of Hathor of Dendera up-river to meet her consort Horus of Edfu. On the other side of the entrance are similar scenes, the only difference of import being that the king wears the Red Crown of Lower Egypt (7, 8, 9, 10). The forecourt is paved with broad flagstones, and has four exits, which are now built up.

Before passing on into the main temple, we stand in the middle of the court, to view the colossal reliefs on the towers of the pylon. These show Ptolemy Auletes worshipping Horus and Hathor, as the reliefs on the front walls showed him slaying his enemies before these two divinities—Ptolemy Auletes being, in point of fact, distinguished neither for valour nor for piety. A door leads from the court into each tower of the pylon, and an easy staircase of two hundred and forty-two steps leads to the top. For the sake of the view the dark and somewhat wearisome climb may be endured ; while the conception of the plan of the temple which is gained from this lofty viewpoint is worth a little labour.

Returning to the Forecourt, we now approach the front of the main temple. The façade of the Pronaos is constituted by the six end-columns of the rows within the Hypostyle Hall, with three screen-walls on either side of the central doorway, whose jambs are built against the middle pair of the six. The reliefs on the screens show Ptolemy Euergetes II offering to Horus of Edfu (11, 14) (the two screens on the right and left of the doorway),



TEMPLE OF EDFU

to Hathor of Dendera (12, 15) (the two middle screens), and to Horus again (13, 16) (the two side screens). The general effect of this façade, with its elaborately carved floral and palm-leaf capitals and its carved screens, is decidedly attractive, though the detail is poor.

We now enter the Pronaos, or Large Hypostyle Hall, which has eighteen columns (counting those of the façade), in three rows of three columns each on either side of the central avenue. Practically no colour is left anywhere, so that in spite of its good preservation we can never see this hall as its founders saw it. At present, it tends to look heavy and sombre; but the colour must have made a great difference in this respect. The most pleasing feature is the variety and beauty of the capitals of the columns. It should be noticed that a true idea of the proportions of this fine hall is not gained merely by passing through it in the direction of the main axis of the temple. It should be viewed from a point at right angles to the axis, where the effect of its length is appreciated, together with the grouping of the columns. To the right and left of the entrance, are two small chapels, of which that on the left is the 'Chamber of Consecration', where the golden vases were kept with which the celebrant, and in particular the Pharaoh on the occasion of his acting as high-priest at the great annual festival of Horus and Hathor, was purified—a scene on the rear wall of this chapel shows the king being purified in this way by Horus and Thoth. The chapel on the right was the temple library, 'the chamber of the papyrus-rolls of Horus and Harakhte'. Under the winged disk above the doorway is a representation (unfortunately damaged) of the senses of hearing, sight, taste and reason, each pictured as a human figure worshipping a scribe's palette—a significant token of the extraordinary esteem in which the Egyptians held the written word. Among the wearisome ritual reliefs should here be noticed those which refer to the building of the temple. These begin to the west of the Chamber of Consecration, and continue along the west wall of the hall. The king, in company with Horus and Sakhmet, pegs out the ground for the future building (17), cuts the first sod (18), purifies the ground, so that the building on it may be holy (19), raises the first block of stone (20), censes the whole temple (21), presents the completed building to Horus (22), and finally offers to Horus the emblem of its decorations (23). These are a welcome oasis in the wilderness of ritual. The rear

wall, which is also the front of the Small Hypostyle Hall, has another series of ceremonies in connexion with the building of the temple, in one scene of which (27), the Pharaoh is shown dancing before Horus at the foundation ceremony. The other reliefs in the hall do not require any description, as they are entirely of the ritual sort, of which the spectator has by this time had more than enough.

We now pass through the doorway leading from the Pronaos into the Small Hypostyle Hall. On the architrave of this doorway is a scene of Ptolemy Philopator offering an image of Maet (truth) to the boat of the sun, which is steered by two figures of Horus. On the sides of this door is another version of the four senses which we have already seen in the library of the temple. The Small Hypostyle Hall, which is now before us, while not so impressive as its larger companion which we have just left, is on the whole a more beautiful and well-proportioned architectural composition. Its twelve columns, with their richly carved floral capitals, are not so heavy as those in the larger hall, and the general impression is one of less crowding than is common in Egyptian hypostyle halls. The reliefs are here of somewhat better quality, though the heavy and exaggerated Ptolemaic style is still present. They are more or less merely a repetition of what we have already seen, though the rear wall shows scenes of the high-priest (who wears the royal war-helmet), walking beside the sacred barque of Horus, on the one side, and of Hathor on the other. This hall has four doors in its east and west sides. On the east side, one door leads into the outer corridor, and the other gives access to the stairway which leads to the roof. On the west side, one doorway leads into a room in which holy water was apparently kept, as the scenes show the king, with Hapi, the Nile god, offering holy water to Horus and Hathor, and other gods. This room also gives access to the outer corridor. The second room appears from its wall decorations to have been a store-chamber for the sacred utensils used in the worship.

We now enter the First Antechamber, known in ancient times as 'The Hall of the Altar of Offerings'. The scenes are of the usual ritual type appropriate to such a chamber, and need not be detailed. Here, in all probability stood the altar at which the regular daily sacrifices were offered. The east doorway gives access to the stairway leading to the roof, and the west

doorway leads into a chamber from which the western stairway to the roof is gained. From this antechamber we pass into the Second Antechamber, which stands immediately before the Sanctuary. This room was known as 'The Hall of the Repose of the Gods'. Notice on the left entrance-wall a scene where the king binds four kneeling captives before Horus and Hathor (35), and above this relief another which shows the child Horus rising from the reeds of the marshes amidst which legend placed his birth-place. Here, evidently, we have an instance of the later confounding of the legend of Horus of Edfu, which belonged to the Rê cycle, with the legend of Horus, Son of Isis, which belonged to the Osiris cycle. The doorway on the east side of this antechamber leads into a small court, which has on its north side a little chapel approached by six steps, and having two columns with floral capitals. Its roof shows the goddess Nût, with various shapes of the sun in their corresponding barques. The reliefs in this chapel show the king and queen offering to King Ptolemy III and Queen Arsinoë (36), and the king and queen adored by two images of dead kings (painted blue) (37). Over the doorway of the little court is a scene of the seven Hathors, the fairy godmothers of Egyptian legend, who gave good or bad luck at the birth of children, beating their tambourines. On the west side of the antechamber is a small chamber which was the chapel of Min, the god of fertility, generation and growth. The chief seat of the worship of Min, it will be remembered, was at Coptos.

To the Sanctuary, which we now enter, none but the high-priest, or the king, acting in his capacity as supreme high-priest of all the gods, was admitted. It is practically a separate building within the temple building, and is lighted by small apertures in the roof. In the middle of the room stands a low altar on which the sacred barque of Horus rested when not being used in processional services. In the north corner stands the splendid monolithic shrine in dark-grey granite already mentioned. This was made by King Nectanebis I, and must thus have been transferred from the older temple to its present position. It was originally closed with bronze doors, and held an image of the sacred hawk, the emblem of Horus of Edfu. At present the rear wall of the Sanctuary is the point from which the huge proportions of the temple can best be realized, as it is possible to command a vista right through all the halls which we have

traversed, out to the pylons ; but of course this was impossible when the temple was in use, as each court was shut off from its neighbour on either side by great doors overlaid with bronze and gold, and access to the successive courts was progressively restricted, until at last, as we have seen, none but the king and the high-priest dared to approach the Sanctuary. The reliefs here are interesting, as they show the king acting in his function as high-priest, opening the lock on the shrine of Horus, opening the door of the shrine, appearing before the god, offering incense to his parents, Ptolemy, Euergetes I, and Berenice, and offering incense before the sacred barque of Hathor.

The Sanctuary is surrounded on three sides by a corridor, out of which open ten chambers. Entering on the right (east) side, beyond the chapel already mentioned, we have the Chamber of the Spread Wings, with reliefs showing the gods who defend Osiris. The next room is the Chamber of the Throne of the Sun, and shows the sun-god (hawk-headed) with other gods. Here some of the original colouring still survives in good condition. The third room is the Chamber of Khonsu, the hawk-headed moon-god, who is shown with other gods. Three of the chambers on the western side are specially devoted to Osiris and his cult. The second last chamber on the west side, the Chamber of the Throne of the Gods, also keeps its colouring in good condition.

We now return either to the Small Hypostyle Hall or to the First Antechamber, and proceed to ascend the eastern stairway to the roof. The stairs are easily climbed, and we are accompanied, as at Dendera, by reliefs representing the great procession in which the sacred images of Horus and Hathor were carried round the whole temple and up over the roof, so that they might view their whole domain. We cannot exactly follow their whole course, owing to the damaged state of the roof ; but after crossing the roof the gods were carried down the stairway on the western side of the building, and restored to their shrines. Once more, as we descend, we are accompanied by the descending procession.

One of the architectural features of Edfu is the great girdle-wall which encloses the whole rear part of the temple, with the ambulatory which is formed between this wall and the walls of the main temple buildings. The girdle-wall is itself elaborately decorated with reliefs, of which those on the east side are mainly of the usual, and by this time rather wearisome, ritual type. Those on the west wall, however, have more interest, as they

largely consist of scenes in which Horus is depicted slaying the enemies of Rê, who are shown as crocodiles or hippopotami. Notice, high up on the western wall, at its north end (49), a scene in which the king pulls a sledge which carries the sacred boat of Horus. On the lower register are successive scenes in which Horus is shown, sometimes in company with the Pharaoh, spearing hippopotami. One scene, in particular, may be noticed some distance farther to the south than that of the king pulling the sledge. This (50) represents a boat with bellying sail, in which Isis, kneeling at the bow, holds a hippopotamus by a chain, while Horus, from the stern of the boat, plunges his spear into the unlucky brute, which turns its head in anger. The king, from the shore, thrusts his spear into the creature's neck. The relief, which must originally have possessed some merit, has unfortunately been considerably mutilated. Another scene (52) shows Horus standing on a chained hippopotamus and spearing it. Near the point where the ambulatory is narrowed by the projection of the pronaos or large hypostyle hall, is a curious scene (53) showing three figures, of whom the first is killing a hippopotamus with a knife, the second, who is Imhôtep, the famous architect and wise man, reading from a roll, and the third, the king, artificially cramming a goose to fatten it for sacrifice. The lion-headed waterspouts of the main building may be noticed.

Outside the walls are many reliefs, of the usual type, which require no special notice. Near the south-west angle of the temple stands the ruin of the birth-house, as at Dendera. This building was the work of Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II, and Ptolemy VIII, Soter II. It had a sanctuary surrounded by a colonnade with foliage-capitaled columns, and cubes adorned with the grotesque figure of the god Bes. The forecourt was enclosed by columns with stone screens between them. The whole object of the birth-house being the glorification of maternal love and joy, the reliefs are all in line with this purpose. The infant Horus is seen being suckled by the goddess Hathor, and the seven Hathors are shown nursing the infant. On the pillars of the colonnade and the forecourt, Hathor beats a tambourine, plays the harp, or suckles Horus.

From the east side of the ambulatory a subterranean staircase leads to the nilometer, which is a round well outside the temple on its east side, with a spiral staircase winding round it. It

had, of course, an underground connexion with the Nile ; but this is now cut off.

The remains of the ancient city of Edfu lie to the east, south and west of the great temple. They are of considerable extent, and the mounds which cover the site were of considerable height. They have been destroyed by the labours of the *sabbakhîn*, the *fellahîn* who dig away old city mounds for the sake of the fertilizing properties of the soil found in them. This process is supposed to be regulated by the Government ; but much material is thus irrevocably lost year by year, and many antiquities which are found by the diggers are as good as lost, passing into the hands of dealers, and being finally dispersed uselessly among private collections, where they gather dust until they are cast out as rubbish, or are again dispersed by an auction sale, to repeat the same dreary destiny. The remains of the *temenos* wall of crude brick can still be seen to the south-east and south-west. Part of the ancient town has been recently excavated by the Ecole Papyrologique de Lille.

Westwards from Edfu, and only about a hundred yards from the edge of the cultivated land, low hills border the desert, and in these lie the rock-tombs which were hewn for the wealthier inhabitants of the city in ancient times. On the way to these, one passes the Coptic monastery of Mâri Girgis ; but though the place has its own picturesqueness, it lies beyond our subject. Nor are the tombs behind it of much account. They consist mainly of one or two small chambers opening on the hill-side, though some are more elaborate, and have a small court in front of them, or a stairway leading down into them. None of them, however, is decorated or inscribed—a somewhat curious fact, in view of the importance and evident wealth of the city whose better-class population they represent. They are not worth while visiting.

CHAPTER XXXI

EDFU TO SILSILA

THE twenty-six miles between Edfu and the famous quarries of Silsila are not marked by any conspicuous antiquities, save for those who are willing to turn somewhat out of their way, and spend a little trouble and time. For such there are two places of not inconsiderable interest, one on the west bank of the Nile, the other on the east, or rather about thirty-seven miles away from the river to the east. These are the Shatt el-Rigâl, about four miles to the north of Silsila, with its carvings and inscriptions, and the temple of Seti I, usually called the temple of Redesiya, but actually situated in the Wâdi 'Abâd. With these we shall deal in due course ; meanwhile we must mention the minor antiquities on the west bank as we proceed up-river.

About four miles south of Edfu a small stone pyramid stands in the desert south-west of the town. It has an area of only a few square feet, and while its present appearance suggests that it must have been built in steps, it is probable that what we see is only the core of a pyramid from which the outer casing has been removed. As we know absolutely nothing of its builder, or of whether he was royal or merely a local magnate, speculation is vain. A few miles farther south is a late cemetery (El-Hasâya), the tombs of which, cut in the sandstone rock, are in a few cases adorned with inscriptions in badly cut hieroglyphics. They belonged to a family of note, whose chief members held the title of Prince of Edfu, and claimed also that of Prince of Thebes, which is another matter. The poor quality of their tombs may incline one to believe that there was more of claim than of reality in the second title. These tombs belong to the period of the XXVIth to the XXXth Dynasty, when claims were easily made, so far away from the central power, because there was nobody to refute them. In any case, the tombs will not repay a visit.

Travelling southwards, we pass several other groups of tombs, but none of any importance or interest. At the village of El-Hôsh we find a number of large quarries, whose courtyard-like

appearance has given its name to the place (The Courtyard). A number of ancient quarry inscriptions are to be found here, including a Middle Kingdom one, possibly of Senusret I. There are also several Greek inscriptions, including one of the eleventh year of Antoninus Pius, when blocks were quarried here for a temple of Apollo, who was probably Horus of Edfu.

We now reach the Shatt el-Rigâl, or Shatt el-Sab'a Rigâl, 'The Shore of the Seven Men', and its carving, already mentioned. Here is a narrow gorge going westwards between hills of dark-coloured sandstone; in the mouth of the gorge, left-hand side, a large relief is carved upon the rocks. It consists of four figures, a colossal Mentuhotpe III (Neb-hepet-rê), of the XIth Dynasty, wearing the Double Crown, and having behind him a smaller figure of his mother Ioh (the moon), and a lesser royal figure 'The Son of the Sun, Intef', whose name is written within a royal cartouche, but who wears no crown, and has no kingly title. Behind him stands the chamberlain Khety or Ekhtai, fully as big as Intef. Explanation of this set of two royalties, of whom one is evidently the superior and the other the inferior, lies perhaps in the fact that the Intef side of the XIth Dynasty was probably related to the Mentuhotpe side, and that the Mentuhotpe line seems to have superseded its cousinly stock, the members of which may have accepted subordinate positions, while still retaining the royal 'Son of the Sun', with their names. Some countenance is lent to this view by a phrase on the stele of one Aty, an official of this dynasty, at Gebelein. Alluding to a time of scarcity, Aty remarks: 'I followed my great lord, I followed my lesser lord, and nothing was lost therein.' This looks like an allusion to a kind of subordinate kingship, such as is suggested by the relief at Shatt el-Rigâl. A little farther up the gorge, Khety, the chamberlain, again does homage to Mentuhotpe, this time without Intef before him. Probably Intef's provincial authority lay to the south, and the Shatt el-Rigâl reliefs represent his homage to his overlord, on the occasion of a visit of the latter to the domains of his vice-king. Nothing more worthy of notice is to be seen on this bank below Silsila.

We now return to the east bank of the river, for the journey to the temple of Redesiya, or Wâdi 'Abâd. This temple is usually called Redesiya, not because it has any connexion with the village of that name, which lies about five miles above Edfu, but because Redesiya was the spot at which Lepsius, the famous German

archaeologist, made his preparations for his visit to the temple. In point of fact, the temple is most easily and naturally visited from Edfu, though the route from the gold-mines actually had its terminus at El-Kâb, as we have seen.

The journey to the temple is but rarely made, even by archaeologists, as it is a matter of seven hours' camel ride from Edfu, and the actual remains on the spot are not of first-class importance; but the excursion is a picturesque and interesting one for any traveller who has time to spare, with the good excuse of a little-visited Egyptian temple of the XIXth Dynasty at the end of the ride. The temple consists of a rectangular hall hewn out of the sandstone rock against which the whole fabric stands, with a masonry forecourt in front of it, backing against the cliff-face. The roof of this portico is supported by four bud columns, and four square pillars uphold that of the rock-hewn chamber behind. The rear wall of this chamber has three niches for figures of the gods.

Originally the façade was undecorated; but there was later added at the east end the figure of a hawk. On the entrance-wall, left hand, Seti I is seen smiting his enemies with his mace. Amen-Rê faces him, and with one hand holds a rope which is attached to the names of eight captive lands. On the rear wall of the portico, the king offers (left hand) to Harakhte, and (right hand) to Amen-Rê. On either side of the doorway into the inner hall is a recess, with a colossal figure in high relief (much damaged) of Seti as Osiris. The ceiling pattern is one of vultures with outspread wings, with the king's cartouches and titulary, and yellow stars on a blue ground. The colouring is remarkably well preserved. Entering the inner, rock-cut hall, one sees, on the left hand of the doorway, a long inscription which purports to give the praise of the king by his soldiers, and their prayers to Amûn on his behalf for his considerateness in digging the well and building the temple. 'They say from mouth to mouth: "O Amûn, give to him eternity; double to him everlastingness. Ye gods dwelling in the well, give to him your duration; for he hath opened to us the way to march in, when it was closed up before us. We proceed and are saved; we arrive and are preserved alive. The difficult way which is in our memory has become a good way."' On the right-hand entrance-wall is another inscription in which Seti exhorts future kings to maintain this temple, and blesses them if they do so; while he invokes

curses on all officials who disregard his will or divert his endowments to other purposes. 'As for anyone who shall avert the face from the command of Osiris, Osiris shall pursue him, Isis shall pursue his wife, Horus shall pursue his children, among all the princes of the necropolis, and they shall execute their judgment with him.'

On the left-hand entrance-wall is the third and most interesting inscription, in which Seti states that his digging of the well and building of the temple was the result of a personal inspection of the place which caused him to realize its difficulties. 'On this day, lo, as His Majesty inspected the hill-country as far as the region of the mountains, his heart desired to see the mines from which the electrum is brought. Now when His Majesty had ascended away from the signs of numerous watercourses [i.e. had got out of the region where there were wells], he made a halt in the road, in order to take counsel with his heart, and he said: "How evil is the way without water! It is as a traveller whose mouth is parched. How shall their throats be cooled, how shall He quench their thirst; for the lowland is far away, and the highland is vast. The thirsty man cries out for himself, 'Land of Perdition!' Make haste! Let me take counsel for their needs. I will make for them a supply for preserving them alive, so that they will thank God for my name in after years. . . ." Lo, the God led him, in order to grant the request which he desired. Then were commanded workmen in stone, to dig a well upon the mountains, that he might sustain the fainting, and cool the burning heart in summer. Then this place was built in the great name of Men-maet-rê [Seti I], and the water flooded it in very great plenty, like the two caves of Elephantine.' The reference is to the two (quite imaginary) sources of the Nile at Elephantine. Breasted has pointed out that 'Crophî and Mophî' which are the names that Herodotus gives to the two mountains between which, according to legend, the two springs of the Nile welled out, are derived from the two words *tephet* and *qerti*, which Seti here applies to the sources. Seti I obviously knew quite well that he was doing a good thing when he made the way easier for his miners and the troops who guarded them; and he had not the slightest objection to claiming the credit which he felt to be his due. All the same this is a very charming inscription—the writing of a good man who appreciated the hard lot of his workers, and did his best to alleviate it. Moreover, it

is thoroughly in keeping with all we know from other sources about the character of this sound and good Pharaoh (see Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, §§ 162-98).

On the east wall are three groups of the king offering, first to Min-Amûn, with Isis, second, to Horus of Edfu, and thirdly to Amen-Rê. On the west wall he offers to Amen-Rê to Harakhte, to Ptah and Sekhmet, and to Osiris of Edfu and Isis. Both of these walls have near their farther end empty and undecorated recesses. The rear wall has three niches for statues of the gods. The right-hand niche has three much-damaged figures carved from the rock. They seem to have represented Horus and Isis, with perhaps the king to make up the triad. The middle recess has three steps leading up to it. It has also three damaged statues representing Harakhte, Amen-Rê, and Seti I. The left-hand niche has statues of Ptah, Osiris, and possibly Sekhmet. The ceiling of this hall is decorated, like that of the portico, with vultures, cartouches, and stars. The walls are much disfigured with the senseless scrawls of many visitors of all sorts, some of whom might have known better than to lend the weight of their names to the wanton disfigurement of an ancient and interesting monument.

The great rock against which the temple is crouched bears many archaic drawings of boats and animals. In one case a figure of the god Min, in his usual attitude, stands before the shrine which is built upon the boat. Such a locality as this was obviously one to be regarded as under the special protection of M.n, the Lord of the Eastern Desert. One curious inscription of Greek times appears on a rock to the east of the temple. It refers to an elephant hunt, and is illustrated with a very quaint sculpture of an elephant, engaged in deep meditation. Half-way between Edfu and Silsila are the considerable remains of the Byzantine fortress of Bueb.

CHAPTER XXXII

GEBEL SILSILA: ITS QUARRIES AND MONUMENTS

AT Silsila, forty-one miles from Aswân, there is a considerable amount of antiquarian material, which, if not always of first-class importance, is yet of sufficient interest to deserve a visit. In especial, those who wish to realize the wonderful power with which the Ancient Egyptians dealt with stone should certainly see the great quarries at this place, where, as almost nowhere else in Egypt, the strength and skill of Egyptian quarrying are to be seen, in spite of the demands which have been made on the ancient quarries since the beginning of this century.

Silsila can be easily reached by the early train from Aswân to Kagûg station, whence a return train may be had in the early afternoon. As this does not leave too much time for the inspection of the antiquities on the two banks of the river, it is advisable to have an arrangement made beforehand for donkeys, and also a ferry-boat to be in readiness, so that no time may be lost. It is also possible to combine this visit with one to the temple of Kôm Ombo (see Baedeker, p. 359).

At Gebel Silsila, the character of the immediate surroundings of the Nile changes for a space. The limestone which forms the bones of the country farther north is here interrupted by a bar of sandstone, and the sandstone hills, which have bordered the Nile valley from near Esna, now approach the water's edge for about a mile on either bank. The sandstone continues till near Aswân, where it is interrupted by intrusive crystalline rocks, and again resumes from near Kalâbsha, beyond Aswân, to Wâdi Halfa. The rocky defile formed by the sandstone at Silsila was therefore the most convenient place at which the Egyptian architects could obtain the sandstone which was so largely used in their building operations from the XVIIIth Dynasty onwards. It should be noted that the use of this stone is definitely a characteristic of the buildings of the New Empire. Previous to the beginning of the XVIIth Dynasty, limestone was in almost universal use, though the Pharaohs of the XIth Dynasty used

sandstone to a small extent, as, for example, in the foundations, pavements and columns of the XIth Dynasty temple at El-Deir el-Bahari. But with the rise of the XVIIIth Dynasty sandstone almost entirely superseded its rival, at least in Upper Egypt, and practically all the temples in Upper Egypt are of this material. Luxor, Karnak, El-Qurna, the Ramesseum, Medinet Habu, Deir el-Medina, Dendera, Esna, Edfu, Kôm Ombo, Philae, the Nubian temples, are all of sandstone, though limestone is also employed in some instances in small quantities. This change of use at once brought the sandstone cliffs at Silsila into prominence, and from the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty onwards, the gorge must have been one of the busiest places in Egypt, just as Tura must have been in the days of the Old Kingdom.

The present name of the place, Gebel Silsila, means ' The Hills of the Chain ' ; and a story is in existence to account for the name. The Nile, it is said, was closed against river traffic from the south at this point by a great chain stretched across the river, and the legend even points to two curiously shaped rocks as the posts to which the chain was secured in olden days. This, however, is merely one example of a well-known type of derivation which is a pure invention devised to suit the title in question, and there is no evidence whatsoever of there ever having been such a barrier at Silsila as the tale suggests. The Ancient Egyptian name for the place was *Khennui*, and it is held that the present Silsila is a corruption of this name. Later Egyptian (Coptic) called the place *Khol-khol*, which means a barrier, or a stone-wall—a title obviously suitable to the sandstone walls of Silsila. The Roman corruption of this was *Sil-sil*, and thus, in course of time, Silsila evolved.

The antiquities which we are about to survey begin with the extended use of the quarries under the New Empire ; but it is not to be imagined that the various chapels, shrines and inscriptions are nothing more than the casual relics of the work that went on here. Many of them have no special connexion with the quarrying at all, but testify to a form of reverence for the great river and the gods connected with it which is very widespread both in point of time and of locality. Hapi, the Nile-god, was everywhere revered in Egypt ; every place where the life-giving river ran was sacred ; and accordingly, wherever there are rocks by the river's edge suitable for chapels or inscriptions expressive of reverence for sacred things, such things are

to be found. From Speos Artemidos to Abu Simbel, which is the greatest and most elaborate of all, the river-bank is lined at intervals with these shrines. Silsila offered a temptation in this direction not to be neglected, and the opportunity which its sandstone cliffs, and the influx of quarrymen which their new use had brought, offered for the hewing of pious emblems and chapels was fully taken advantage of. Six Pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty and four of the XIXth, with two of the XXth, to say nothing of lesser personalities, have left their memorials here.

The deities chiefly revered in this fashion are such as one would have expected, having mainly some obvious connexion with the great river. Sobk, the crocodile-god, is perhaps the most prominent, and Hapi, the Nile-god, shares with him in popularity. Har-wêr, the Greek Haroëris, and Sobk, the two gods of Kôm Ombo, occur frequently, and Thouëris, the hippopotamus-goddess, is also popular, as one might have expected. Besides these, the triad of the Cataract, Khnûm of Elephantine, with the two goddesses Sâtet and Anûket of Elephantine and Sehêl, are also in evidence. After the XXth Dynasty the place seems to have lost something of the sanctity which formerly attached to it, and the practice of making shrines or carving steles or inscriptions along the cliffs dies away. Mr. Weigall has suggested that this loss of sanctity came about as a natural consequence of the place becoming more and more a huge business centre, where quarrying operations on a gigantic scale rapidly crowded out the religious sentiment of former days. Probably the quarrying began because the sandstone of Silsila was already holy as well as convenient. 'It was right that holy stone should be employed in the building of holy places.' It was not long, however, before the convenience of Silsila came to count for a great deal more than any shadowy remains of holiness which still clung about the spot.

Quarrying was maintained at Silsila almost without interruption from the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty down to the last days when Roman Emperors were trying to adapt their tastes to Egyptian styles of architecture. The building of Romano-Egyptian temples ceased about A.D. 200; and from that time Silsila had its Sabbath of rest from the ringing of the quarryman's tools until 1906, when, after more than seventeen centuries of repose, the ancient quarries were opened again to provide stone

for the barrage which we passed at Esna. The problem of reconciling reverence for ancient sanctities with modern utilities proved here, as at Philae, not an easy one ; but it was solved with a due regard to the value of the records of the past, and though some damage was unavoidable, it has been restricted so far as possible, and the modern inscription which now closes the long series of memorials at Silsila, and commemorates the last and by no means the least of the quarrying enterprises of the place, is not to be reckoned one of the impertinences with which the present has so often desecrated the past in Egypt.

The more important monuments, apart from the quarries themselves, are on the west bank, and are approached by ferry to the steamer landing-place, whence we turn north to reach the lower end of the defile. Neglecting the extreme north end of the western line, where there are only some small quarries and a few roughly-cut rock inscriptions of no great importance, we come to the chief shrine of the locality, the rock-chapel or *speos* hewn out for Haremhab (close of XVIIIth or beginning of XIXth Dynasty), and embellished with reliefs by him and his successors. The Speos consists of a transverse hall cut in the rock-face, and approached by five doorways, which are separated from one another by pillars of square section, left in the natural rock. Only the middle doorway of the five is now available. Behind the transverse hall is the sanctuary with a series of seven gods along its rear wall. The plan of the shrine is thus not unlike that of some of the Theban tomb-chapels.

The middle doorway, by which we enter, bears on its lintel and doorposts the winged globe and the cartouches of Haremhab. Turning to the left as we enter, we see on the short wall (south), what must have been a fine relief of the king, behind whom stands Amen-Rê and a damaged figure of Sobk, being suckled by the goddess Thouêris, here shown as a woman, not as a hippopotamus. Behind Thouêris stands Khnûm, whose figure is also damaged. Along the west wall, the rear wall of the transverse hall, is a series of reliefs which we must now follow. First, at the angle of the wall, Haremhab, with his battle-axe, is seen before Amen-Rê ; next he is shown seated in his palanquin, and carried by twelve plumed soldiers. Two of the common fan-bearers wave the big flabella about his head, while the chief fan-bearer, the ' Fan-bearer on the right of the King ', walks by the side of His Majesty, bearing the small feather fan which is

the emblem of his distinguished office. The soldiers wear the single upright feather characteristic of the Libyans, and have the usual leather aprons. A priest burning incense precedes the palanquin, while three rows of soldiers drag along Nubian captives, and a trumpeter blows a fanfare. A little farther on, after a relief, in full face, of an official named Khay, of the time of Ramses II, we have a representation of King Siptah (XXth Dynasty), whose tomb in the Bibân el-Meluke will be remembered, bringing flowers to Amen-Rê. He is accompanied by his chancellor Bay, who, as will also be remembered, is one of the few non-royalties to be buried in the Bibân el-Meluke. Beneath this scene is a damaged scene of Haremhab in his chariot, shooting his arrows against an enemy. This scene, and the other one just described, are the only representatives of the work of Haremhab in the shrine. Next, we have a stele dated in the second year of Meneptah, of the XIXth Dynasty, in which that Pharaoh, accompanied by his wife Ist-nofret and his vizier Penehsi, offers an image of Maet to Amen-Rê and Mût. Then follows a figure in high relief, with dedication to Hapi and Sobk, and representing the famous Prince Khaemwêset, who, though only the fourth son of Ramses II, was destined to be the heir of that long-lived monarch, but in the event predeceased him, leaving a great reputation for learning and magical powers, which has survived in the form of more than one Egyptian wonder-tale. This is followed by a stele which Khaemwêset, engraved in celebration of the jubilees of his father, and on which the prince and Ramses II both appear adoring Ptah and Amûn. Passing the doorway into the inner chamber, we come to a second stele of the same character, save that one of the deities is changed, Sobk in this case figuring in place of Amûn. Then comes another figure of Khaemwêset, a further list of jubilees, with Ramses II in the presence of various gods, and a stele of the vizier Khay showing the king in the presence of another batch of gods, and stating that Khay had come to celebrate another jubilee. This stele is dated in the forty-fifth year of Ramses II. In the angle which the rear wall makes with the north short wall is a damaged relief of three men praying.

It will be seen that there is much more of Ramses II than of the original founder of the shrine, Haremhab, and further that the jubilees of Ramses seem to have come with alarming frequency during the latter years of his reign. In fact several other instances

occur in this series, besides those already mentioned. The fact is that during the last twenty years of his reign Ramses II got into the habit of celebrating a jubilee whenever it pleased him to do so, the intervals between the celebrations varying from one to three years. He is reckoned to have celebrated no fewer than nine jubilees; and it is perhaps no wonder that the strain of keeping this up should have proved too much for poor Prince Khaemwêset, on whom, as high-priest of Ptah, all the arrangements fell. At all events Khaemwêset finally gave it up, and died somewhere between the king's jubilee of the forty-first year, which the prince celebrated, as we have seen, at El-Kâb, and the jubilee of the forty-second year, which was conducted at Silsila by the vizier Khay. Several more of his innumerable sons had passed away before the indefatigable Ramses at last yielded to fate, for his successor was his thirteenth son, Meneptah.

The north short wall of the transverse hall has six figures in high relief, and the entrance-wall, right hand, and the pillars have inscriptions.

On the thicknesses of the doorway into the sanctuary are representations of King Haremhab sacrificing to Harakhte and his wife Ius-aas, and to Amûn and Mût. On the entrance-wall, north side (right) are Khnûm, Sâtet and Anûqet, the Cataract triad, while the south side (left) has Osiris, Sopd, Harakhte, and Selqet, the scorpion-goddess. On the south wall of the chamber are thirty-six gods and genii, and on the north wall twenty-three. At the rear wall sit seven much-ruined figures, which represent (left to right) Sobk, Thouêris, Mût, Amen-Rê, Khonsu, Haremhab, and Thoth.

Passing southwards from the Speos of Haremhab, we reach, at a distance of about one hundred yards from it, three steles cut in a rock facing the river. Of these, the first shows Ramses IX offering to Amûn, Mût, Khonsu and Sobk; the inscription is of no importance. Next comes a stele of Sheshonq I, who has the high-priest of Amûn behind him, and is being led by Mût into the presence of Amen-Rê, Harakhte, and Ptah. The inscription states that the king opened quarries at Silsila for the works which he had undertaken at Karnak in his twenty-first year. On the third stele, Ramses III offers a figure of Maet to Amûn, Mût, and Khonsu. We pass more quarries, and a short distance farther south we find three small shrines, or rather recesses, the second of which has a painted ceiling, and, on its left door-jamb

a figure of Tuthmosis, ' Scribe of the Silver-house ' or Treasury. The third recess was the work of a hereditary prince named Min who was nomarch of this district in the time of Tuthmosis III. One or two more recesses of no special interest follow, and then comes the shrine of an unknown official of the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, in which it will be noticed that the cartouches of Hatshepsut are erased, showing how far the vengeance of Tuthmosis III upon the memory of his masterful relative reached, and how much trouble he put himself to in the execution of what, after all, was a piece of petty spite unworthy of so great a man. We pass several more wrecked shrines, and, a little farther south, we notice a cartouche of Merirê, a Pharaoh of the VIth Dynasty, which shows that the neighbourhood was not altogether neglected in the days of the Old Kingdom. We next pass a roofless tomb, which has the remains of scenes showing that it belonged to a certain Sennûfer and his wife Hatshepsut. A little farther south comes a group of six shrines, of which only three are accessible without the expenditure of considerable trouble. The first of these three, which has lost its front wall and one of the side-walls, belonged to Minnakht, whose tomb is No. 87 in the Theban necropolis, and who was a Royal Scribe and Overseer of the Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt in the reign of Tuthmosis III. There still survive the remains of two fine reliefs, of which that on the left wall shows Minnakht and a friend sitting before a table of offerings, while that on the rear wall shows three seated figures. The next shrine also belongs to an old friend, being the work of the same Sennûfer whose tomb is No. 99 in the Theban necropolis. The third of the accessible shrines belonged to Nehsi, a noble in the joint reign of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut. Of the other three shrines which are more or less inaccessible, two have considerable interest, owing to the fact that they are the work of two of the most famous personalities of the reign of Hatshepsut. Hepusonb, who owned the first of the two, was high-priest of Amûn under the great queen, and was responsible for the construction of her huge tomb in the Valley of the Kings. He did not, as has been stated, escape disgrace on the death of Hatshepsut and the fall of her supporters, for his statue at Thebes had his name erased from it (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, 160 sq.), and his tomb in the necropolis is also mutilated (No. 67), and in his shrine here the name of the great queen has been erased also. The next shrine

is also that of one of Hatshepsut's great supporters, being that of no less a man than Senmût, her architect and factotum. His shrine has suffered more thorough ruin at the hands of the agents of Tuthmosis III than has that of Hepusonb, and his figure and name have been erased wherever this was possible. The third shrine, still more inaccessible than the last two, belonged to a vizier, Amathu. Passing by another shrine the name of whose owner is lost, but which belongs to the reign of Amenophis II, we reach a shrine whose owner was a ' Steward of the Queen ', called Menkh. It would appear that Menkh's queen was one of the wives of Tuthmosis I, but that he lived on into and through the reign of Hatshepsut and into that of Tuthmosis III. Seemingly he had incurred the wrath of that king by his support of Hatshepsut, for his name is erased in his shrine, though it still remains readable. It contains several rather interesting scenes, one of which shows Menkh seated with his father Ineni (Anena), and his mother Thuau. It is possible that this Ineni is the same useful official who excavated the tomb of Tuthmosis I, ' no man hearing, no man seeing ', and whose tomb inscription at Thebes (No. 54), tells us that he never blasphemed.

We pass two more shrines both belonging to the joint reign of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut, in both of which the cartouche of the queen has been erased. The second of these belonged to another Minnakht, and has some fairly well-preserved scenes, and three wrecked statues. The last shrine of any importance is one of a very great man indeed, one Amenemhêt, who was Prince, Superintendent of the Priests of the South and the North, and High-priest of Amûn, in the reign of Amenophis II. His shrine has fine relief work, of which the colouring is in good condition. The right-hand (north) wall, shows Amenemhêt and his wife Mimi seated before a table of offerings, which are presented by their son Amenemwaskhet. Other friends are gathered around, and there are other offerings being brought in. The south wall (left) shows the couple again seated before offerings, and has a list of the supplies which have been provided for the endowment of the shrine. The rear wall has a damaged statue of Amenemhêt, with scenes of servants bringing offerings. In later days the shrine was usurped and used as a tomb, as three coffin-shaped cuttings in its floor show. We pass some more damaged shrines, and some quarries, and arrive at one of the rocks to which, according to the story, the chain across the

river used to be attached. South of this is the most important group of shrines on the west bank (apart from the Speos of Haremhab).

On our way to these, we pass a large stele of Ramses III, who is shown in the presence of Amen-Rê, Harakhte and Hapi. Immediately beyond this stele, which is cut in a rock at right angles to the line of the river and the rest of the monuments, is a group of three large shrines. Of these, the most southerly has been partly destroyed by a landslip; but the remaining two are of very similar character to one another. In either case, a recess about six feet deep has been hewn into the rock. It is bordered on either side by a bud column, and bears across its mouth, above, the usual cavetto cornice. At the back of the recess is a large stele, while the sides of the recess are occupied by a series of figures of the gods. The first of these two shrines was hewn by Menepthah in his first year. The stele shows the king adoring two triads of gods, the usual Theban triad of Amûn, Mût and Khonsu, and another triad composed of Harakhte, Ptah and Hapi. The inscription has a hymn to the Nile, and refers to festivals and offerings. Both walls of the recess are adorned with four rows of divine figures. After this shrine comes a narrow space of rock which carries a small stele on which Menepthah is shown offering an image of Maet to Amen-Rê. The king is accompanied by two courtiers, one of whom is Penehsi, his vizier. The next shrine was hewn by Ramses II, the father of Menepthah, and is very similar to the one of Menepthah which we have just seen, with a similar stele and scenes, and four rows of gods, Menepthah's shrine being obviously copied from that of his father. Next to the shrine of Ramses II is a stele which shows Menepthah offering to Amûn. He is accompanied by Roy, High-priest of Amûn, by whom this memorial was erected. Farther south is the ruined shrine of Seti I, which, as we have seen, was destroyed by a landslip. These shrines are of considerable beauty and interest, and still preserve traces of the brilliant colouring with which they were once adorned.

We now pass over to the east bank, where we encounter, some distance back from the river, a stele which is historically the most important document at Silsila, as it is also the record of the first official move of Atenism at Thebes, after the accession of Amenophis IV (Akhenaten). It is a large tablet which is the first object to strike the eye of the visitor who comes from the

station at Kagûg. The relief which crowns the tablet is greatly damaged ; but it can still be made out that it bore the figure of the young king worshipping Amûn ! Such a thing would have been an utter abomination to him in later days, as would also have been the name of Amenophis, which he still bears here. He had evidently not yet arrived at the conclusion that a compromise between the ancient creed of Amûn and his new faith was impossible. Later on he saw this, and the Silsila stele bears evidence of the fact, for the relief has been erased, so far as possible, by his orders ; but the erasure has not utterly obliterated the interesting evidence of the time when Akhenaten was still hesitating as to the necessity of proscribing Amûn and his worship throughout the land. The inscription below refers to the new temple to the Aten which the new Pharaoh was erecting at Thebes. It runs as follows, after the usual royal titulary : ' First occurrence of His Majesty's giving command to — to muster all the workmen from Elephantine to Samhudet [as much as to say ' From Dan to Beersheba ', or ' from Land's End to John o' Groats '], and the leaders of the army, in order to make a great breach for cutting out sandstone, in order to make the great Benben of Harakhte in his name [Heat-which-is-in-Aten] in Karnak. Behold the officials, the companions, and the chiefs of the fan-bearers were the chief of the quarry-service for the transportation of stone ' (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 932-5). This wholesale commandeering of court officials for the transport service of the quarry seems to suggest that the young king had resolved that his courtiers should be committed as deeply as himself to the new policy, so that there should be no doubt as to which side they belonged to.

In the neighbourhood is also an inscription of Amenophis III, recording the removal of stone for the building of a temple of Ptah ; and there are also some prehistoric rock-carvings. But the great object of interest on the east bank, apart from the stele of Amenophis IV which we have just seen, is the quarries themselves, with their evidence of Ancient Egyptian methods of handling stone, and of the perfection to which they had brought their processes. We have already seen at Tura and Ma'sara, the quarries from which the limestone of the Old Kingdom builders of Memphis was cut ; but the quarries of Silsila are still more striking. I quote the summary of Mr. A. E. P. Weigall : ' The great quarries which the visitor will presently see have not

their like in all the world ; and both for their vast extent and on account of the care and the perfection of workmanship displayed in the cutting of the stone, they are to be considered as being among the greatest monuments of human labour known. We have admired the temples and tombs of Egypt as examples of the skill of the architect and of the builder ; in the reliefs and paintings we have observed with wonder the art of the sculptor and painter ; and in the inscriptions of the great Pharaohs we have read of splendid wars and wise administrations. But here we have an enormous record of the skilful handiwork of the Egyptian labourers ; and it has been well said that " in comparison with this puissant and perfect quarrying our rough-and-ready blasting looks like the work of savages " .

Mariette's testimony is equally convincing : ' The most remarkable quarries of Gebel Silsileh ' , he writes, ' are on the right bank of the river, and are mostly open to the sky. Some are cut in sharp edges to the height of fifty or sixty feet, others are arranged in tiers of huge receding steps. The methodical care, however—we had almost said the extreme caution—with which the stone has been quarried, is remarkable throughout. It would seem as though the mountain had been cut into blocks with as much regularity as planks would be cut by a skilful carpenter from the trunk of some valuable tree.' ' The value of these quarries to the history of the world's crafts is enormous,' says Weigall again, ' and even those who take no interest in the past history of mankind will here find the abundant evidence of fine workmanship which they cannot fail to appreciate and admire.'

There are two great quarries on the east bank which should by all means be visited by anyone who wishes to carry away an impression of what the Egyptians, with what we should call their utterly inadequate tools and appliances, were able to accomplish by means of magnificent organization and limitless patience in the way of cutting and transporting stone. The secret did not lie in numbers, for numbers without an almost perfect organization and understanding of the division and subdivision of labour would only have produced the more comprehensive smash when disaster came, as it would have been bound to come with a mere horde of unorganized and unintelligent units. The entrance into the first and larger of the two quarries is through an impressive passage hewn through the rock, with towering walls on either side. This admits to a great quarry whose walls of rock rise

to a considerable height. Here and there are inscriptions in Demotic writing (the final broken-down form of the hieroglyphics) and in Greek, scrawled by the quarrymen ; and the remains of the causeway along which the blocks of stone were dragged are still to be seen. The second quarry is not so large, and one end of it has been blasted away during the process of getting stone for the Esna barrage ; but the entrance passage is preserved under the care of the Department of Antiquities. The largest quarry is closed by a gate, and entrance has to be given by the custodian. There are also other smaller quarries, and several scattered inscriptions and minor monuments, including three unfinished sandstone sphinxes, and a hawk in the same material. Between Silsila and Kôm Ombo there is nothing of importance to record.

(On the matter of Egyptian quarries and quarrying, see Somers Clarke and R. Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, chaps. II and III.)

CHAPTER XXXIII

KÔM OMBO AND ITS TEMPLE ; KÔM OMBO TO ASWÂN

KÔM OMBO, which is our next halting-place on the way to Aswân, is to be distinguished from Ombos, which we have already visited and which lies on the west bank of the Nile almost opposite Coptos and Qûs, below Luxor. ' The Mound of Ombo ' lies about 15 miles above Silsila, and 26 below Aswân, and its chief celebrity is its possession of the famous double temple of Haroêris (Har-wêr) and Sobk. The tourist steamers stop at the place to allow of a visit to the great temple ; but as the time allowed for the inspection of a building so great and so complex is an hour, it would scarcely seem that the allowance is ' ample ', as it has been called. Visitors who wish to examine the building in a more thorough and leisurely fashion would be well advised to make their visit by means of the early train from Aswân to Kôm Ombo station, from which they may be conveyed by trolley over the three miles from the station to the temple, returning to Aswân in the afternoon without having been unduly hurried.

The temple stands in an imposing situation on the high bank of the river at one of its bends. The bank or mound is partly composed of the remains of the former temple and town, upon which the later and more important Ptolemaic city and temple arose ; and on the north and west sides of the temple the site is still covered with the debris of the later town. The derivation of the modern name of the place seems to be from the Coptic *Mbo*, which in its turn was derived from the Egyptian *Nubi*. Of its early history, next to nothing is known. The site was of strategic importance. It commanded both the big bend which is here made by the Nile and the caravan-route to Nubia and to the oases ; and, in addition, there was in its neighbourhood, on both banks of the Nile, a considerable extent of cultivable land. It had on its east side a road to the gold-mines of the eastern desert,

and its ancient name of Nubi, which means ' gold ', indicates the importance of this aspect of the town's life. There are no remains of any importance prior to the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, when Amenophis I and Tuthmosis III carried out repairs on the existing temple of earlier days ; but of course the previous existence of such a temple presupposes that of a town of some importance whose foundation probably dates at least from the Middle Kingdom. During the joint reign of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut, a gateway of sandstone was erected by these rulers ; while later Ramses II added to the temple. Whatever may have been the importance of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasty temple, however, the real prosperity of the place seems to have begun with the Ptolemys, when Ombos was erected into the capital of a nome, and the building of the great double temple was begun, part of the expense being borne, according to an inscription in the temple itself, by the troops at that time in garrison in the district. The work progressed during the reign of Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II, and by the time of Ptolemy XI, Neos Dionysos, the body of the building was completed as far as the Great Hypostyle Hall, save for the decoration. The Forecourt was completed and decorated by the Emperor Tiberius ; some additional work was done by Domitian ; and the latest Imperial names are those of Geta, Caracalla, and Macrinus (A.D. 217-18). As the inception of the building seems to have been due to Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, and some of its early construction to his son Ptolemy VI, Philometor, who succeeded him in 181 B.C., the actual work of building and decorating the temple must have taken in all almost four hundred years, or more than twice as long as that of the temple of Edfu.

It appears that one of the reasons for the sudden growth of Kôm Ombo into prosperity and importance was the development by the Ptolemys of a number of military stations of a permanent character along the Red Sea littoral, and the growth of a considerable traffic between these and the Nile towns which were conveniently situated for communication with them. Towns such as Coptos and Kôm Ombo were, in particular, the depots for the taking over of the African elephants with which the Ptolemys for a time attempted to match the Indian elephant brigades of their rivals the Seleucids. The African elephant, however, proved insusceptible of the training and discipline which had made the Indian elephant formidable on the field of battle.

In addition, the Ptolemys, like ourselves, doubtless found that the Red Sea littoral was no place for keeping permanent garrisons. For both reasons the trade between the Red Sea stations and the Nile towns such as Coptos and Ombos must have fallen off; and it is probably to this fact, and not so much to the decline of the trade with Nubia, which was more or less of a permanent character, that the decline of Ombos was due. The local legend which attributes the death of the city to the quarrel between the two brothers who ruled the place, and of whom the one (Haroêris) was good and the other (Sobk) was evil, is interesting; but it is obviously an attempt to account for the presence in the temple of a double worship, in which the crocodile-god Sobk would naturally assume an evil character in the minds of the natives who lived in fear of his presence in the river. The tale tells how Haroêris the good was driven out of the principality by his brother the evil prince (Sobk), and was followed into exile by the whole of the population. Sobk, thus left with no one to sow his fields, had recourse to his magic, and called upon the dead to do the sowing for him. They obeyed, but sowed sand instead of seed, so that the whole land became a desert. So far as appears, the city came to a more sudden end than such a legend would account for, for the appearance of the debris of the ancient town plainly indicates that it perished in a great fire. This, however, may have been a mere accident, which hastened the end of a town which was already declining from economic causes such as have been indicated.

In spite of the downfall of its city, the temple of Kôm Ombo survived, and still remains a wonderfully well-preserved example of Ptolemaic architecture and sculpture. Even the original bright colouring with which the details of its architecture and carving were picked out has in many cases survived in wonderful condition and brilliancy. Up till the closing years of the nineteenth century it appeared as if the building was doomed to perish within no very great term of years. The situation of Kôm Ombo, fine though it is, places the temple between the 'devil' of the encroaching sand, on the landward side, and the 'deep sea' of the river Nile on the other. Early photographs show the great columns of the Hypostyle Hall smothered to half-way up their height in sand, and Miss Edwards, in 1873, could see only 'a few giant columns buried to within eight or ten feet of their gorgeous capitals; a superb fragment of

architrave ; one broken wave of sculptured cornice, and some fallen blocks graven with the names of Ptolemy and Cleopatras ' (*A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, p. 393, ed. 1899). Fortunately Miss Edwards's prophecy that the sand would never be cleared away, as the temple was slowly falling piecemeal into the river has been falsified by the exertions of the Department of Antiquities, and the complete temple is now cleared of its insidious enemy ; but the situation calls for the constant supervision of the Department lest the sand should win in the end.

The threat from the river seemed to be more imminent. ' There is hardly anything to be said about this monument,' wrote Mariette in 1869, ' which sooner or later is doomed to become the prey of the Nile, however carefully it may be protected.' Fortunately the Department of Antiquities, when clearing the temple of sand in 1893, took in hand its protection against the scour of the river as well. The Nile, which had already swallowed one half of the great southern pylon of Ptolemy Neos Dionysos, has now been checked by the erection of a stone-faced embankment ; and though doubtless the temple will finally ' become the prey of the Nile ', as Mariette has said, its day of doom has at least been postponed, probably for some centuries.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE

It is not definitely known how the worship of two gods having co-ordinate jurisdiction and equal honour, but whose natures might appear so opposite, came to be established at Kôm Ombo. Weigall has suggested that the presence of large numbers of crocodiles on the large and low-lying island immediately opposite the temple, with the consequent danger in crossing and loss of life in the attempt, may have led the native populace to attempt the propitiation of an enemy so subtle and so deadly. Fear is not uncommonly an important element in early worship, and it was no doubt fear and not love that inspired the worship of the crocodile-god Sobk from an early period of the city's history. The fact that the name of the earlier temple of the XVIIIth Dynasty was *Per-Sobk*, ' House of Sobk ', would seem to show that Sobk was the original deity of the place, doubtless on the principle of ' making friends of the mammon of unrighteousness '. How the worship of Haroêris (Har-wêr), ' The Elder Horus ', one of the many forms of the hawk-god whose worship is so widely spread

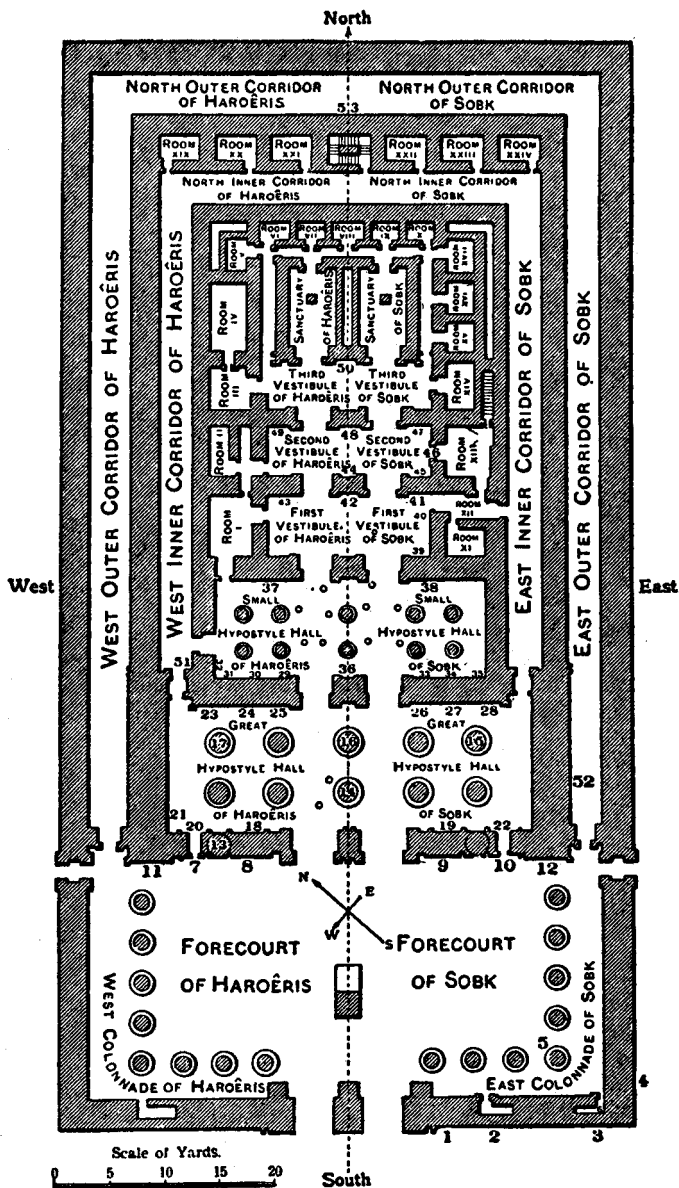
throughout Egypt, came to be united with that of the sinister local god, we do not know. Horus, in one or other of his many forms, was popular in the neighbourhood; and perhaps the Ombites were a little ashamed of having no other god than so unsavoury a being as Sobk, and thought it as well to have a foot in both camps. In any case the double worship was established, and each member of this strangely assorted pair of divinities was supplied, according to the usual Egyptian custom, with two other divinities to make up his triad. In the composition of his triad, Sobk undoubtedly came off best, for his companions were two of the most highly revered members of the Egyptian Pantheon, the goddess Hathor (who was patroness of the Western Desert, and so may have been introduced for the benefit of the caravan-conductors), and the moon-god Khonsu, who appeared as Khonsu-Hôr. Possibly these eminently respectable divinities were thought to cast the mantle of their own high repute over the somewhat ragged reputation of Sobk. Horus, whose own reputation was beyond reproach, had less need of distinguished companionship; anyhow, the other members of his triad were only Tasent-nofret, 'The Good Sister', a secondary form of Hathor, and Penebtau, 'The Lord of the Two Lands', who was the son of Tasent-nofret, and corresponded to an inferior form of Horus as once Pharaoh of Egypt.

The two triads thus established had to be provided for in the temple which the Ptolemys were erecting in place of the earlier structure; and they were provided for with the most careful attention, so that each triad should have exactly the same honour and accommodation as its companion triad. The result was a temple which is really two temples. If the reader will look at the plan of Kôm Ombo, it will be seen that each item of the plan on the west (left) of the central axis of the temple is exactly duplicated by a corresponding item on the east (right) side of the axis, so that the one half of the plan is simply a repeat of the other half. Sobk has his Forecourt, his Great Hypostyle Hall (or Pronaos, or Vestibule), his Smaller Hypostyle Hall, his three antechambers and his Sanctuary on the eastern side of the axis; Horus has exactly the same suite of chambers on the western side. No doubt there was also an exactly duplicated staff of priests as well; which was always so much to the advantage of the profession.

At the south-east corner of the temple area, where a staircase

leads up the embankment from the river, stands what remains of the great pylon of Neos Dionysos, by which the temple was approached. The other half has been, as we have seen, devoured by the Nile. The remaining tower shows its builder Ptolemy XI slaying his enemy, and making offerings to various gods, notably to Sobk and Hathor and Horus and Penebtaui. His reputation for valour and piety must rest more upon these reliefs than upon any actions in either direction that he ever performed. Passing along the front of the terrace on which the temple stands, we reach the ruined second pylon which gave access to the Forecourt. Originally this had two doorways, carrying out the general duplication of every feature of the building; but the left-hand section of the pylon has been entirely destroyed, and only the bottom portion of the pillar which divided the two doors, and of the right-hand section, now remain. On these lower courses of the right-hand section, which, it will be remembered, is the Sobk section of the pylon, are still to be seen some reliefs, the work of the Emperor Domitian. These show the figures of the Sobk triad, Sobk, Hathor and Khonsu-Hôr (1). To the right of them is a long hieroglyphic text of fifty-two lines in their praise (2). To the right again the Emperor Domitian heads a procession of the gods and goddesses of Upper Egypt, who are led by Hapî the Nile-god, and bear presents to the deities of the temple (3). Above this relief is a scene which shows the king leaving his palace, with a priest censuring him; while before him go the seven standards of the ancient provinces of Upper Egypt.

We now enter the Forecourt, which, as we have seen, is largely the work of the Emperor Tiberius. It is much broader, in proportion to its depth, than the corresponding court at Edfu, and is divided, like all the other parts of the temple, into two courts, the right-hand portion being for Sobk, and the left for Haroëris. Of the sixteen columns which make the colonnade which runs round three sides of the court, only the lower drums remain standing. The reliefs on them represent Tiberius offering to the gods, and, although the work is late and coarse, it must be admitted that the general effect is good, and highly decorative. It is when the sculptures are examined in detail that the poor-ness of the work is realized. The paving of the forecourt is well-preserved, and in the middle is the square base of an altar, with a small granite trough on either side of it, which was probably



TEMPLE OF KÔM OMBO

used for the blood of the victims sacrificed upon the altar. In the angle of the court on the south-east is a doorway (6) which led to the stairway leading to the top of the pylon; another doorway farther to the left admits to a small chamber. The east wall (right-hand) of the court still shows a long procession of figures of Hapi, led by the king, and bearing offerings of bread, flowers, etc.

We are now about to enter the Pronaos, or as it is sometimes called, the Great Hypostyle Hall. This great chamber offers a singularly imposing frontage when viewed from the forecourt. It is separated from the forecourt by stone screens, with columns rising between them, and the screens are pierced by two great doorways and two lesser ones. The screen to the right of the great double doorway (9) shows King Ptolemy XI, Neos Dionysos being purified by Thoth and Horus in the presence of the crocodile-headed Sobk, to whom this side of the temple is sacred. Farther to the right (10) is the winged disk, and an inscription. On the left-hand side of the great doorway (8) is a similar scene of purification carried out in the presence of Haroëris, to whom the left half of the building is sacred; while to the left of this (7) is another winged disk, with inscription. The screens are crowned with a row of uraei, bearing solar disks upon their crests; those on the right hand are especially well preserved.

Passing now into the interior of the hall, which has ten columns arranged in two rows (not reckoning those engaged in the screens of the façade), the general impression is striking. The architect has indulged himself in considerable freedom with regard to the capitals of his columns, as at Edfu, and some of them are elaborately floral, some palm-leaf, while two are unfinished, though picked out with paint. The ceiling is decorated with the familiar design of the vulture, with outspread wings, holding in her talons the ostrich-feather fan. The architraves bear astronomical representations, which have never been completed, and on which one can still see the framework of outline squares in red by means of which the Egyptian sculptor kept his drawing to the prescribed canon of proportion. It is interesting to notice that here we have evidence of the truth of the remark made by Diodorus that the Egyptian sculptors divided the body into $21\frac{1}{4}$ units or squares. This was not true for the earlier periods of Egyptian art. The XVIIIth Dynasty sculptors used a canon of 18 squares; but in the XXVIth Dynasty the canon was

changed to one of $21\frac{1}{4}$ squares, as Diodorus says, and here at Kôm Ombo we find this rule in use.

We now turn to the reliefs upon the columns and walls, those on the columns being *en creux*, and those on the walls in bas-relief. It is worth while to spend a little time over the reliefs in this hall, for Miss M. A. Murray has given it as her opinion, in her delightful work on Egyptian Sculpture, that 'the sculpture of the temple of Kom Ombos is probably better than that of any other Ptolemaic temple; the figures and faces are less repulsive than at Edfu' (*Egyptian Sculpture*, p. 181). This, it will be observed, is strictly qualified praise; still it implies that at Kôm Ombo we see the Ptolemaic sculptor at his best. Visitors who have come with memories of Abydos, still more those who have come with memories of the Old Kingdom work at Saqqâra in their minds, will probably feel that it is a bad best. In the mass, the effect may be allowed to be good enough; the walls are fretted with a scheme of decoration which is undeniably decorative. But Ptolemaic sculpture breaks down hopelessly whenever it is closely scrutinized. The anatomy of his figures is deplorable; there is no appearance of form or structure in any single member of the body, but only a general roundness and bulginess as of a sack very hastily and unequally packed with cotton-wool, or of a very badly filled sausage; and, while detail is rendered with excessive minuteness, it is applied simply for its own sake, without any regard as to whether it enhances or diminishes the effect of the design. In the fusion of Greek and Egyptian which produced Ptolemaic art, all that was imperfect in the ancient art of Egypt had been retained, and nothing of what was fine in the new art of Greece had been gained. The result was an art which still impresses all lovers of the second-rate, and nobody else. With this proviso we can go on to admire the sculptures of Kôm Ombo, which give us this art at its best—not asking from it what it cannot give us, but simply viewing it as a process of covering certain surfaces with patterns which are not displeasing as a whole.

On the entrance-wall, right-hand (Sobk) side, we have a group (19) showing King Ptolemy being crowned in the presence of Sobk and Hathor by Nekhebt and Wazet, the goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt; while the corresponding scene on the left-hand (Haroëris) side (18) shows the king, in the presence of Haroëris and Thoth receiving life from a cat-headed figure of Isis, who places

her arm round him, while the goddess Nût does the same. These two groups, and perhaps especially the latter, show the work of the Ptolemaic artist at its best, and are worth study both for their merits and their defects. The small doorway leading from the forecourt to the hall on the right (Sobk) side, is sometimes called the Door of the Four Winds. Its lintel had a scene (22) showing the king in the presence of four mythological creatures, a lion, a ram, a hawk, and a four-footed snake. For some reason the figures have all been erased; but they can still be traced. The jambs of the door have damaged inscriptions. The corresponding door on the Haroêris side (left) has a scene (20) showing Ptolemy before Haroêris, Tasent-nofret and Sobk. On the left-hand wall of the Haroêris side, at right-angles to the scene on the entrance-wall, is a partly destroyed scene (21) showing the king being led by two goddesses into the presence of Haroêris. The figures have lost their heads, and the scene is chiefly remarkable for the manner in which the sculptor has tried to solve the problem presented to him by the fact that the leading goddess is supposed to be turning her head towards Ptolemy, while she continues walking in the opposite direction. He has made a conscientious attempt to grapple with his difficulties; but it cannot be said that he has succeeded, or that even a goddess could ever be comfortable in the attitude into which he has twisted her. A similar scene, more perfectly preserved, will be seen in the Smaller Hypostyle Hall. The rear wall, Sobk side (right), shows Ptolemy VII before Sobk and Hathor (26); before Haroêris and Tasent-nofret (27); and adoring Sobk, Hathor and Penebtaui (28). On the Haroêris (left) side, it shows the same king with Cleopatra before Haroêris (23); before Sobk and Hathor (24); and before Haroêris and a goddess whose figure is too much damaged to allow of her identity being made out (25). It will be noticed that while the temple is divided into two sections, the two great gods do not disdain to cross the middle line, and to figure in the scenes in one another's territory.

We pass through one of the two doorways into the Smaller Hypostyle Hall. This also is ten-columned; but the columns have all capitals of the same form, open-flower papyri-form, so that there is not the variety of the other set, while the columns themselves are considerably lower, so that the general effect of the hall is less imposing. The roof has almost entirely vanished, and also much of the walls, so that the hall is almost completely

open to the air, and robbed of its mystery. Some reliefs are, however, still preserved in good condition. Turning along the entrance-wall on the Sobk (right) side, we have first King Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II, led by two gods into the presence of Sobk (33); the royal figure is damaged. Next, he is led by Nekhebt and Wazet, who wear respectively the White Crown and the Red, into the presence of Sobk again (34). Here the sculptor has been faced by the same problem which beat his brother in the larger hall, and has not succeeded any better in solving it. Nekhebt's attitude, to say the least of it, is constrained.

Next, he makes offering to Hathor (35). The scene on the wall between the doorways (36) shows the crocodile of Sobk lying upon its shrine.

Crossing to the left (Haroêris) entrance-wall, we have Ptolemy VII leaving his palace with standards accompanying him (29); purified by Thoth and Horus of Edfu (30); and crowned by Nekhebt and Wazet before Haroêris (31). On the left wall beyond the angle from this last scene is another (32) in which Ptolemy, with his wife Cleopatra, and his sister of the same name receives, not the curved sabre, as sometimes stated, but a curved wand with hawk-head crowned by the solar disk and a floral decoration at the handle, from Haroêris, who himself holds the symbol for jubilees. This relief, which is wonderfully well preserved, shows admirably all the faults and merits of Ptolemaic sculpture. The king and his two companions are emphatically well-nourished, but in the wrong places. On the two sections of the rear wall of the hall are scenes showing Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II, making offerings of a very elaborate kind, on the right hand to Sobk and Hathor (38), and on the left to Haroêris and Tasent-nofret (37). Between the doors which lead into the inner chambers of the temple are reliefs showing Ptolemy VI, Philometor, the elder brother of Euergetes II, offering to Haroêris. Along the cornice of the Haroêris doorway leading into the First Antechamber runs the Greek inscription, already mentioned, which tells of the part played by the Greek garrison of the district in the erection of the temple. It is as follows: 'In honour of King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra, his sister, the god-like Philometores and their children, the infantry, cavalry, and other troops stationed in the Ombite district [erected] this temple to Haroêris, the great god, Apollo, and the gods worshipped with him in the same temple, in consequence of the good-will of these gods to them.'

Behind the Small Hypostyle Hall lie three antechambers, into the first of which we now enter. It is roofless, and its west wall has entirely disappeared. A relief on the entrance-wall of the Sobk side (39) shows Ptolemy Philometor before Haroêris and Tasent-nofret, and another on the right-hand wall of the same part of the antechamber shows Philometor embraced by Sobk (40); while, below, he and his sister Cleopatra offer to the gods. On the rear wall the king offers to Sobk (41) (both headless). Between the doors into the next antechamber the king before Haroêris (42) performs a ceremony connected with the founding of the temple; and on the Haroêris side (43) the goddess Sakhmet is engaged with Haroêris in pegging out the limits of the new temple. This relief is much damaged. The Second Antechamber is much ruined, but still shows colour on some of the reliefs, none of which, however, is of great interest. The Third Antechamber has on its rear wall, between the doorways which lead into the double sanctuary, some scenes of interest (50). The lowest register shows figures of Hapi of the North and South, with offerings. Above this scene is another in which the king, wearing the Double Crown and a long white robe, and accompanied by Cleopatra, appears before Khonsu-Hôr, Haroêris, and Sobk-Rê, while Khonsu-Hôr marks off the number of the king's jubilees on a notched palm-branch. Above this again, Ptolemy appears before Sobk and Haroêris.

The two sanctuaries are almost entirely ruined; but the much-damaged bases (dark granite) of the resting-places for the sacred barques may still be seen. An inner corridor, which is entered from the Great Hypostyle Hall, runs round all these last rooms, from the Small Hypostyle onwards. At its northern end seven chambers open on to it, of which one contains the beginning of a stairway leading to the roof. The remaining six chambers should be visited; for although their reliefs are unfinished, this very fact enables one to study here the methods of the Egyptian sculptor, which may best be seen in the room which is first to the left from the room with the stairway. On the right-hand side of the doorway leading from the Great Hypostyle Hall into the Inner Corridor beyond the door, is a relief of the Pharaoh (51), wearing the Red Crown, going out from his palace, preceded as usual by standards and a priest burning incense. The Outer Corridor has at its northern end scenes of the Emperors Caracalla, and his brother Geta (whom he murdered, and whose name he

has here erased) and Macrinus, offering to the gods. On the back of the rear wall of the temple proper, i.e. the inner wall of the corridor, and exactly in the axis of the temple, a curious relief should be noticed in which Sobk and Haroêris with their respective symbols stand before a shrine with many mysterious symbols grouped around (53). The significance of the scene is unknown ; but it maintains to the last the steadfast duplication of the temple. On the east wall of the corridor are reliefs which show the Emperor Trajan offering to various gods, and in the north-east angle, close to a scene of Trajan kneeling before two gods, is the celebrated representation of the instrument-case of an Egyptian surgeon, as belonging to Imhôtep, the Egyptian Asclepius. Near to the doorway which opens from the Great Hypostyle into the Outer Corridor on the Sobk (right) side, is what remains of a relief (52) showing the king slaying his enemies. It has been ruined down to the royal knees, and only the lower parts of the bodies of his crouching enemies have survived ; but conspicuous still is the king's tame lion, which rushes upon the foe, and seizes in his mouth the hand of one of the wretched captives. This, of course, is in imitation of Ramses II and Ramses III, who are often represented as accompanied, in battle or elsewhere, by a tame lion ; but the Kôm Ombo example must be regarded as purely ornamental as is also the sorely defaced list of thirty-two captive lands below it.

We now leave the great temple to visit the remains of the birth-house, which stand on the terrace close to the river, in front of the ruined pylon of the forecourt, on its Haroêris side (left). It was built by Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II, and one of the reliefs is interesting as an example of the unintelligent imitation of ancient days which was so characteristic of the later days of Egyptian art. The relief is on the west face of the highest part of the walls still remaining, and it is neither more nor less than a stupid reproduction of the familiar scene from the ancient tombs showing the owner of the tomb hunting birds among the papyrus thickets. Obviously the ancient significance of the scene had been entirely lost, and the sculptor, or the priests who instructed him, imagined that there was some mystic religious meaning in the scene which fitted it for a place on the walls of a birth-house ! Behind the birth-house, and close to the ruined wall of the forecourt, are two splendid architrave blocks, of which one bears the name of Ptolemy IX, Neos Dionysos. There are also, on

this part of the terrace, two wells connected with one another, and a small chapel which was erected by that estimable character Caracalla in honour of Sobk, who seems a god eminently suitable for such a man. Near the remaining half of the pylon of Neos Dionysos is an unfinished chapel of Hathor, begun by the Emperor Domitian. One of its rooms contains mummies of some sacred crocodiles. Its reliefs are of no account. One outside the doorway shows a goddess playing a harp before Hathor. The view from the terrace is worthy of notice.

Between Kôm Ombo and Aswân there is nothing of any interest or importance to be noted. About half-way between the two places there are large quarries of sandstone, used in Ptolemaic times, and there are also a few rock inscriptions including one of the joint reign of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut. On the west bank there are two or three cemeteries; but nothing worth noticing.

CHAPTER XXXIV

ASWÂN AND ELEPHANTINE : HISTORICAL NOTES

THE importance of the ancient frontier towns of Egypt proper is by no means to be estimated by the magnitude or splendour of the surviving relics of their ancient days. Actually, some of these are of great interest, as we shall see ; but their importance is not that of magnificent building, or beautiful art. Of either of these things there is comparatively little at Aswân or Elephantine. They once possessed fine temples, of which one, though small, was of peculiar beauty ; but all that is left in the way of a temple at Aswân is the late, unfinished, and unbeautiful temple of Isis, begun, but never completed, by Ptolemy III, Euergetes I, and Ptolemy IV, Philopator ; and the tombs of the great barons of Elephantine, while of unsurpassed historical interest, are not of an artistic importance corresponding to their historical significance. Part of the reason for all this lies in the fact that the importance of the place was never the importance of a great settled city so much as that of a great entrepôt and frontier station, where Nubia met Egypt for the exchange of its products with those of the more civilized north, and where, in the intervals when trade was interrupted, punitive expeditions were passing south over the difficulties of the First Cataract, or returning north in triumph after their campaign. During the great days of the Old Kingdom, Aswân and Elephantine marked the dividing line between solid and comfortable fact and romance. Beyond the cataract, to the south of them, lay the great glaring desert which led onwards to Equatorial Africa ; and to the Old Kingdom explorer or warrior, the road to the south led to the wonderland where anything might happen, just as the road to the north led, in the days of the New Empire, to Naharin and the great unknown, where wonders were happening every day, where great rivers ran in exactly the opposite direction to that which a self-respecting river like the Nile followed, and where princes were fabled to keep their daughters shut up in a great castle of windows, on the top of a mighty rock, and

offered them as the prize of the daring man who could climb to their casements. All the romance of the later days of the Old Kingdom, before the decline began, centres upon those bold barons of Elephantine, who claimed as one of their highest honours the title of Caravan Conductor, and as another that of Keeper of the Gate of the South, who led expedition after expedition into the unknown south, ready either to trade or to fight, according to circumstances; or when trade was rudely broken off, and the wild tribes of Wawat, Arthet, and Iam poured northwards to the hoped-for conquest of Egypt, stood in the gate for Pharaoh, and spoke with his enemies to such purpose that it was not till more than twenty centuries had passed that Ethiopia at last, for a little while, succeeded in her aim, and dominated Egypt, her ancient conqueror.

Of all this, there is little visible sign at Aswân and Elephantine, save in the tomb-inscriptions of these old wardens of the marches who kept the gate of the south for their masters at Memphis; but it must have made the life of the district, in those ancient days, one of absorbing interest, and, fortunately for us, the romance of it all still lingers about the spot, thanks to these same old records of the tomb. It is not likely that the romance of modern polar exploration will leave anything more tangible to future days than did the romance of these ancient explorers of Equatorial Africa; yet, just as our polar ventures have given to modern history that breath of the spirit of romance without which it might often seem merely sordid, so these ancient merchant adventurers of the Old Kingdom have breathed life into the dry bones of early Egyptian history, and made them live again. Aswân's modern prosperity has inevitably destroyed or concealed much of the evidence of her ancient glories; but no modern improvements can now deprive the world of the story of her early days, when her lords began the great tale of Central African adventure that has scarcely ever been interrupted to this day.

Aswân and Elephantine give us another example of a thing which we have had occasion to notice more than once during our journey up the Nile—the co-existence of two cities, with the river between them, of which the one on the east bank seems to have owed its origin to the necessities of trade, while that to the west has an importance arising more either from religious or military factors. In the case of our present couple of cities, of course,

Elephantine is not on the west bank, but on an island in the midst of the Nile stream ; but the essential conditions are the same. Aswân was the trading town ; Elephantine the religious and military centre of the district. We may assume from its position that Elephantine was the earlier of the two cities to be established. It occupies a position which would render it a most desirable site for the stronghold of a young community, wishing to establish itself in the presence of dangers, either from wild beasts or from wilder men ; of which both must have been abundant when the first Egyptian tribe set up its totem on the island.

It is to this totem, which he imagines to have been the figure of an elephant, that Mr. Weigall ascribes the origin of the name of the place. Others have derived the name from the supposed fact of the Egyptians having first seen here the African elephant ; but, after all, there need be no conflict between the two derivations. Before the Egyptian tribe of the Elephant adopted the figure of the great brute as their totem, they must first have seen it somewhere ; and where more likely than here, where Egypt and Ethiopia meet, and where the elephant, and still more his ivory, must have been as common in those primitive days as the now-vanished crocodile used to be in the days when they first built a temple to him at Kôm Ombo ? Both derivations may well be true, and the fact that elephants were common in the neighbourhood, testified to by the numerous prehistoric drawings on rocks in the district, only adds to the probability of the figure of a beast, so powerful and of such frequent occurrence, having been adopted as its standard by a pushing tribe on its settlement on the border of the elephant country.

The Elephant-tribe, taking very probably its name and standard from its position on the border of the elephant-country, established itself at a very early date on the large island which we now call Elephantine, and which lies in mid-stream, opposite the present town of Aswân. Soon the island and the town which was built upon it came to be generally known by the same name—*Yébu*—Elephant. Gradually, when the Nubian tribes to the south found out that they could not drive out or kill off the intruders who had occupied so unassailable a position, they would begin also to find the advantage of trading with them ; and for this purpose a position on the mainland was obviously more suitable than the more or less cramped quarters on the

island. So, considerably later than the establishment of the island stronghold, there was established a *Swn* which probably means 'market', and was probably pronounced by the Egyptians *Swani*. The Greeks only modified this word slightly when they called the place *Syênê*, and the Coptic pronunciation of it is also close to the original—*Swan*.

It was not long before the energetic Pharaohs of the Ist Dynasty found out the natural advantages possessed by this outpost of their newly unified kingdom. The bar of intrusive crystalline rocks, which here once held up the rush of the Nile and gave rise to the First Cataract, yielded granites, both red and grey, diorite, and other kinds of hard stone which were too precious to a race which was destined to be the greatest building people of the ancient world, for them to be long neglected. Already by the middle of the Ist Dynasty the tomb of King Den Semti at Abydos was being floored with red granite, and a little later Khasekhemui of the IInd Dynasty was using for a temple door-jamb a block of that grey granite of Aswân which Pliny afterwards called 'syenite' from the Greek name of the place where it was found. Later, of course, both the red and the grey granite of Aswân, but especially the red, were to become familiar above all other hard stones to the craftsmen of the Middle Kingdom and the Empire; but already we can see that their fame was becoming known to these earliest Pharaohs.

With the rise of the great race of pyramid-builders at Memphis, Aswân entered upon a new lease of prosperity. Though the harder stones were never used by the Egyptian builders to anything like the extent that is sometimes imagined, the bulk of their work being in limestone and sandstone, yet even the more limited actual use of it must have involved an immense and profitable activity at the town from whose vicinity it came. In the Great Pyramid and the Second Pyramid a considerable amount of granite is used for linings and other finishings, while Mycerinus went the length of proposing to case the whole of the Third Pyramid in granite, though this was never accomplished, only the lower sixteen courses of the granite casing having been laid, and these never polished. Accordingly we must imagine that at this early date the quarrying industry of Aswân was already a great and important business, employing a large permanent staff of workmen in addition to the special gangs which were sent up whenever the reigning Pharaoh had a big job on

hand. These gangs were usually commanded by an important court official, who has sometimes left his name in an inscription in the neighbourhood. One such official, Khufu-ankh, has thus handed on his name on a boulder near the south end of Elephantine Island. Already, also, the Pharaohs were beginning to learn, as we have learned in our own time, the merits of the Sudanese as soldiers, and the black brigades, who in later days became the backbone of the Egyptian army, were beginning to make their appearance. We have therefore to think of the two towns as not only the centre of a large quarrying industry, and of Aswân, in addition, as a great entrepôt for the trade between Egypt and the Sudan, but probably of Elephantine also as an important military station, where the Nubian battalions were mustered and trained for their new work.

It is in accordance with these facts that we now find the barons of Elephantine beginning to take a place in the history of the land which nothing in the previous history of the district would have led us to anticipate. Aswân and Elephantine now had their opportunity, and, as often happens, they produced in due course the men who were capable of using the opportunity which fortune had laid at their feet. It is now that we begin to meet with the autobiographies of the frontier lords, Pharaoh's wardens of the marches, which add so much to, or rather constitute the interest of, Egyptian history during the remainder of the story of the Old Kingdom. If it were not for the tomb inscriptions of the barons of Elephantine, the history of Egypt during the later days of the Old Kingdom would be uncommonly dull reading; but Herkhuf and Sabni and their fellow adventurers bring a breath of romance that we can ill spare into the tale.

With the Vth Dynasty we begin to find inscriptional evidence of the place which the southern frontier was beginning to occupy in the minds of the Pharaohs. A *graffito* of the reign of Sahurê, the second Pharaoh of this dynasty, occurs as far south as Tûmâs in Lower Nubia, showing that an Egyptian expedition had advanced at least as far south as this point. Zedkerê Isesi, the eighth king of the same line, sent an expedition under his chancellor Baurded even farther south, if we may rely on the reference made to this venture in the letter of Pepi II of the VIth Dynasty, for Baurded is there stated to have brought back a member of one of the dwarfish tribes which inhabit the Central African forests. Unas, the successor of Isesi, and probably the

last king of the dynasty, has left a most important dated stele on a granite boulder on the island of Elephantine; and, while we need not read too much into these scattered writings, it is evident that even a casual visit of a Pharaoh to the southern frontier, or an expedition headed by an important court official, must have added for the time to the growing activity of the two towns.

It is with the rise of the VIth Dynasty, however, that we begin to find the evidence of the importance of the southern frontier accumulating. Teti, the first Pharaoh of this dynasty, sent an expedition again down to Tûmâs, one hundred and twenty miles south of the First Cataract. Under Pepi I, a strong and vigorous Pharaoh, we find that the Nubian mercenaries are beginning to assume in the Egyptian army the position—which they never afterwards lost—of being the spearhead of the striking forces which were put into the field from time to time. The native Egyptian makes a good, steady soldier of the routine type, when competently led; but he has never shown the least sign of that delight in a scrimmage which marks the Sudanese warrior. Consequently, whenever a Pharaoh wanted anything serious done, in the way of fighting, he called in the services of the black Sudanese battalions in his army. So it was on the occasion when Uni, one of King Pepi's most trusted servants was ordered to organize an expeditionary force for service against 'the Asiatic Sand-dwellers'. Uni came up to the frontier to organize his army. 'His Majesty made an army of many ten thousands in the entire south, southward to Elephantine, and northwards to Aphroditopolis; . . . among the strongholds among the Arthet negroes, the Mazoi negroes, the Iam negroes, among the Wawat negroes, among the Kau negroes, and in the land of Temeh' (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, § 311). Practically the whole force which Uni names consists of negroes, and what is not negro is Libyan (Temeh). So much did the Egyptian army come to depend upon the Nubian mercenaries that in later days the Egyptian word for soldier was Matoi, which is a late corruption of the tribal name Mazoi which Uni here mentions. One can imagine that Aswân and Elephantine were busy while the 'army of many ten thousands' was gathering, and busier still when the Sudanese came back in triumph with their loot from the slaughter of the Sand-dwellers. The same performance was repeated five times in the reign of Pepi I, always by the successful Uni, who,

strange to say, proved himself as good a general as he had been a judge and scribe.

Indeed Uni must have been a popular figure at Aswân, for his other visits to the neighbourhood, though more peaceful in their character, were all calculated to bring trade in their train. Under the short-lived Merenrê, who succeeded Pepi I, he was dispatched up to Aswân to bring down granite for the fine work of the king's pyramid. He had already been appointed by Merenrê Governor of the South, and his administration had been so successful that he was able to secure the transport of the costly stones by water under convoy of only a single warship. 'Never', he proudly remarks, 'had Abhat and Elephantine been visited in the time of any kings with only one warship'—a sentence which helps us to realize the troubled conditions of the busy life at the frontier station, in spite of its prosperity. Later he had to undertake the heavy task of cutting five canals to ease the passage of boats down the rapids of the First Cataract, a job which he informs us he completed in one year. Shortly before Merenrê's death, the young Pharaoh visited the cataract region in person, and the great event is commemorated by two inscriptions on the spot. Merenrê is shown leaning on his staff, with the chiefs of the Nubian tribes before him, and the inscription runs: 'Year 5, second month of the third season, day 28. The coming of the King Himself, appearing behind the hill-country, that he might see that which is in the hill-country, while the chiefs of Mazoi, Arthet and Wawat did obeisance and gave great praise' (Breasted, *op. cit.*, I, § 317).

It seems evident that the Pharaohs of the VIth Dynasty had now entered upon a settled policy for the development of the frontier territory, of which the visit of Merenrê was a visible sign. Already, during the brief reign of Merenrê, one of the local barons had been coming to the front as a caravan-conductor and explorer, and shortly after the accession of Pepi II he was appointed Governor of the South in succession to the industrious Uni, who had either retired from office or had died. Herkhuf's adventures in his dangerous duties we shall have to refer to when we come to deal with his tomb; they make up the most interesting passage in the history of early exploration in Africa. He appears to have been succeeded in his great office by another of the barons of Elephantine, named Sabni, of whose feats we shall also hear later. A third conspicuous figure at this time is

Pepi-nakht, whose chief feat was the avenging of the death of one of his fellow-barons, who had been slain by the local Arabs while he was superintending, on the Red Sea coast, the building of a ship for an expedition to Punt. One is struck with the amount of energy and the spirit of adventure displayed, within a comparatively short period, by these frontier lords. Granted the conditions of their work, they deserve every bit as much praise as our own time has given to its great explorers of the unknown parts of the world.

Soon, however, the gradual decline and collapse of the central government in the latter days of the VIth Dynasty brought all this activity to a temporary close. The position of Governor of the South Countries or Keeper of the Door of the South passed away from the lords of Elephantine to a great family of Asyût, which seems to have held it for two generations, much to the disgust, no doubt, of Elephantine, which appears to have taken to arms over the business, and to have been defeated by its northerly rival. At a period when there was chaos everywhere throughout the kingdom it is only to be expected that a turbulent frontier district would share in the confusion.

Order was restored here, as elsewhere, by the Theban princes of the XIth Dynasty, of whom one of the Intefs and Mentuhotpe III have left inscriptions in the Aswân district ; and the strong rulers of the XIIth Dynasty, in spite of the fact that they had to shift their capital north to Itth-taui, maintained a firm grasp upon their southern provinces, and gradually advanced the frontier, till Egyptian influence was so well-established as far south as the Third Cataract that a governor of this region was appointed in the person of Hepzefa, whose tomb we have already seen at Asyût, but who was actually buried, with barbaric rites and a gigantic holocaust of human victims, at Kerma, in the district over which he had ruled. Amenemhêt I began the advance. ' I tamed lions and captured crocodiles,' he says in his Instruction to his son. ' I defeated the Wawat and conquered the Mazoi ', and his inscription at Korosko runs thus : ' Year 29, of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sehetepibrê, living for ever. We came to overthrow the Wawat.' Under his son, Senusret I, as we have seen, the Egyptian advance was pushed as far south as the Third Cataract, and though there would appear to have been a retrograde movement in the reign of Senusret II, who has left us the record of an inspection of the frontier fortresses by an

official of his time, the balance was restored by the warlike Senusret III.

During this period Aswân and Elephantine must have grown into cities of great importance. They constituted the base of operations of all the Sudan expeditions which were led south by the Pharaohs. The whole of the stores which were needed for each campaign, together with the troops themselves, would have to be transhipped from the vessels which had brought them so far at the lower end of the First Cataract and portaged to El-Shallâl, above the cataract, where they would be embarked upon the vessels which had been prepared for them there; or, alternatively if the canals dug by Uni rendered it possible to haul the ships up the cataract against the current, there would be intense activity there during the time of the army's passage and return. In addition, Aswân must have been the depot for the larger portion of the army, which still consisted largely of Sudanese regiments, so that altogether we need not wonder to see the barons of Elephantine rising into more or less prominent positions again, and two great lords of the name of Sirenput holding the ancient offices of Governor of the Lands of the South and Keeper of the Door of the South. It was in the earlier days of this dynasty that the great wall which is still to be seen at Aswân was built to protect the place against a Nubian attack; but the military successes of Senusret removed any necessity for its use.

The necessity for the long portage at the First Cataract, or the tedious haulage of the ships up the old canals of Uni, by now probably pretty well choked, was averted early in the reign of Senusret III by the constitution of a new canal (by which we may understand not a modern canal, with locks, but merely such a deepening and straightening out of a part of the passage as would enable ships to be hauled up more easily). The work was commemorated in an inscription on the island of Sehêl, to which we shall pay attention in due course. Apparently the first canal was not a complete success, as it had to be cleared out again in the eighth year of Senusret—a fact also commemorated on Sehêl. This time it must have been done more thoroughly, as the work was still in use between three and four centuries later though it had to be cleared out by both Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis III when they sailed south on errands similar to that of Senusret.

The military importance of the district, however, was not its only claim to notice. From a very early date the fact of the

cataract had, as was natural, resulted in the growth of a vigorous religious tradition. The great god of the district was one of the most famous of the Egyptian Pantheon ; Khnûm was not only the god of the cataract region, he was also one of the great creator-gods who were fabled to have made the world, each in his or her own way. Khnûm's way was that of the potter's wheel on which he moulded the earth and the first men. As a creator-god he was supposed to dwell in the cataract, and his rule over the district was supreme. The Egyptian religious genius, however, delighted to supply its great gods with the other two divinities necessary to make up the triad which was the usual unit of local worship. Khnûm had his triad like the others ; but in his case it was made up of two goddesses in addition to himself. The two were the cataract goddesses Sâtet and Anûket, about whose derivation much has been conjectured, but little known.

Khnûm, the chief member of the triad, was represented with the head of a ram, and had the ram as his sacred animal. His importance was far more than local, and his reputation as a creator-god was more or less national. But he always retained a very practical hold on the reverence of the people of Egypt owing to the belief that he was the giver or withholder of good inundations, which were, of course, the chief factor in the prosperity of the whole land. We shall shortly see the evidence of the power of this superstition in an elaborately fraudulent inscription on the island of Sehêl.

After the prosperous period of the Middle Kingdom came disaster and confusion, in which doubtless the frontier provinces shared, though their subjection to the Hyksos conquerors was probably nothing like so complete as that of the more northerly provinces of the kingdom. Neither the men nor the money would be forthcoming in such a time for adventure in the south or for building enterprises ; and we may imagine that Aswân and Elephantine fell upon evil days, with the quarries as good as closed down, no military expeditions making the place their base, and the Nubian market as disturbed as was all the rest of the kingdom.

With the triumph over the Hyksos and the rise of the XVIIIth Dynasty, however, came new prosperity for the frontier towns. After his victory over the Hyksos, King Ahmôse I at once set to work to re-assert Egypt's dominance over the Nubian tribes,

which had been in abeyance during the troubled period, and Ahmôse, the son of Ebana, tells us how he distinguished himself in the campaign, in which 'His Majesty proceeded to make a great slaughter among the Nubian Beduin'. Once more Aswân and Elephantine saw fleets and armies passing up the Nile for the passage of the cataract, and military depots established. Tuthmosis I followed in the footsteps of Ahmôse, and Ahmôse, son of Ebana, gained his final step in naval rank for his good conduct of the ships of the river fleet in the passage of the cataract, 'in the bad water, in the passage of the ships about the Bend'. Tuthmosis reached as far south as the Third Cataract, and on his return he came north with the dead body of the Nubian chief whom he had slain with his own hand swinging at the bow of the royal galley—an example of the brutalizing power of warfare which was ere long to be outdone. At the First Cataract he stopped for a while; and the new official whom he had now appointed as Governor of the South, in place of the semi-hereditary governorship of the barons of Elephantine, with the title of 'King's Son of the South Countries', or 'of Kush', received the order to clear out the old canal of Senusret III, which had become choked with silt. Thure, the new 'King's Son of Kush', accomplished the task, and has left an inscription telling of the job on the island of Sehêl: 'Year 3, first month of the third season, day 22, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkerê, who is given life. His Majesty commanded to dig this canal, after he found it blocked with stones, so that no ship sailed upon it. He sailed down-stream upon it, his heart glad, having slain his enemies. The King's Son, Thure' (Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, 75).

This new appointment of a court official to discharge the duties of an office which had previously been held by a local magnate marks the new policy of the Pharaohs of the Empire, which aimed at substituting bureaucratic control for the local government of the great families of barons and princes, which had often been found conducive to the weakening of the royal control. It resulted at Aswân and Elephantine in the disappearance from history of the records of the local nobility which had played such an honourable part in the development of the earlier southern provinces. Henceforth we have no more Har-khufs and Pepinakhts figuring in the records of the country.

As an offset to this loss of prestige, the locality now entered

upon a career of material prosperity such as it had never known before. Tuthmosis I was succeeded by his son Tuthmosis II, who, if he did not invade Nubia in person, at least sent an expedition south, and himself came to Aswân to receive the submission of the Nubian chiefs. Hatshepsut, although she waged no wars, kept the granite quarries busy with work for her great obelisks and other adornments of her temples. Tuthmosis III found most of his work in Asia, but on the Nubian expedition of his fiftieth year of kingship he passed the cataract, as his ancestors had done, and found the same difficulties as they had found, the old canal of Senusret III having once more been silted up in the interval, despite the clearing under Tuthmosis I. In consequence, he provided not only for its clearance, but also for its yearly maintenance : ' His Majesty commanded to dig this canal after he had found it stopped with stones, so that no ship sailed upon it. He sailed down-stream upon it, his heart glad, having slain his enemies.' ' The name of this canal is : " Opening-of-This-Way-in-the-Beauty-of Menkheperre-Living-Forever ! " ' The fishermen of Elephantine shall clear this canal each year ' (Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, 650).

The warlike activities of Tuthmosis were, however, the least of his contributions to the prosperity of the cataract region. The quarries can seldom have been busier than in these days, when huge obelisks were being hewn out of the granite at Aswân, and sent to every part of Egypt. It is probably to this time that we are to attribute the planning of the gigantic shaft which still lies in the quarry at Aswân abandoned, not because of the impossibility of taking out so vast a mass of stone, but simply because flaws revealed themselves in the shaft as the work on it progressed. The quarry industry in the time of Ramses II may have rivalled that of Tuthmosis III ; but at no other period can the place have been so constantly in full work. The king did not only use the granite district for work elsewhere ; he also adorned Elephantine with a fine temple, which only perished in 1822, at the hands of a local governor, who used its stone as a convenient supply for some building of Mehemet Ali.

Amenophis II, the son and successor of Tuthmosis, also built here ; but he would be chiefly remembered for the act of brutality which he perpetrated at the close of his Asiatic campaign by sending up the body of a captured Asiatic chief to be hung upon the walls of Napata far in the south. Tuthmosis IV led a large

expedition through Aswân to Nubia, and, if we may believe the extant inscription which tells of it on the rocks above the cataract, it was the most triumphantly successful expedition that ever was: 'The King proceeded up-stream like Orion. He illuminated the South with his beauty; men shouted because of his kindness, women danced at the message.' It is permissible to doubt if the business was so delightful as all that, especially in view of a reference at El-'Amârna to this very expedition, which seems to indicate that it had made a great impression upon the Egyptian imagination—not because of its success, but because of some dreadful reports which were current about it' (Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, 828; but see also Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amârna*, V, pp. 30, 31).

With the advent of Amenophis III, and his great Nubian expedition, which established the frontier of the Egyptian Empire to the south at the Fourth Cataract, the prosperity of Aswân must have reached its height. Amenophis was as great a builder as Tuthmosis III, his great-grandfather, and constant supplies of granite must have been needed for the splendid buildings which he was rearing all over Egypt, and especially in the southern provinces. At Sôleb and Sedeinga in Nubia he built important temples, of which the first was the largest Egyptian temple ever built in Nubia. At Elephantine he added to the existing temples one particularly beautiful little building, in honour of Khnûm, the creator-god and god of the cataract. It was only about 40 feet by 30, and 13 feet high; but it was of singularly fine design, and approached in style to what would in Greek architecture be called a peripteral temple. This little gem also perished under the hands of the misguided local governor, who found it useful as a quarry for the erection of Mehemet Ali's palace at Aswân.

Besides all the work which was being given by the royal building activities, Aswân must have enjoyed considerable prosperity as the centre of the gold-mining industry and the depot for the gold-trains which came in from Nubia with gold-dust as part of the tribute of the province. This was the time when all the other potentates of the Ancient East were dunning Amenophis III continually with requests for presents of gold, and alleging as their chief excuse the fact that 'in my Brother's land gold is as common as dust'. No doubt a good deal of the gold-dust managed to stick to Elephantine on its way through;

and, at the least, the constant passage of the gold-trains must have meant abundance of work for the good folks of the two cities.

Naturally this high-water mark of prosperity was not maintained during the disastrous reign of Akhenaten, or the troubled and brief reigns of his immediate successors; though, as we have seen in the tomb of Huy at Thebes, the tribute of the south appears to have duly come in during the reign of Tutankhamûn. But the rise of the XIXth Dynasty, and, above all, the activity of that great builder and still greater thief of the buildings of other men, Ramses II, must have cheered the hearts of the quarrymen of Aswân once more. Of course the bulk of his work was done in sandstone; but granite was needed continually for his innumerable obelisks and statues, and Aswân must have felt that its golden age had come back again. Ramses built another temple at Elephantine, relics of which are still to be seen. His son Menepthah has left a statue of himself at Elephantine, and one or two of the later Pharaohs of the time, such as Siptah and Ramses III of the XXth Dynasty, have left their names here. Ramses III must have given a considerable amount of employment to Aswân in connexion with his big building enterprises.

For a while the district drops out of history during the weak reigns and troubled conditions which followed.

During the revival of the nation under the Saite Pharaohs of the XXVIth Dynasty, the prosperity of the two towns must have again increased for a while; not so much on account of the renewal of a demand for the local granite, as because of the general increase of the power and wealth of the religious orders in the cataract region. Khnûm and the other two members of his triad, Sâtet and Anûqet, now assumed an important position, not merely locally, but generally, and the increase in their importance is reflected in the number of inscriptions of high-priests of these divinities which are found in the neighbourhood. The cataract gods held sway far into Nubia, and their influence reached northwards as far as Silsila. The whole area of the cataract was considered sacred, and an old tradition which stated that Zoser, the famous king of the IIIrd Dynasty, had given to Khnûm the lordship of all the area stretching from Elephantine to Takompso, seventy-five miles farther up the Nile, was revived, to be used later by the priests of Philae in support of their claims. Philae itself, with its sister island of Biga,

was growing into importance as a sacred site, and altogether the cataract region had its full share in that temporary and unhealthy prosperity which substituted priestly influence for real national and international power.

Philae had, its share of temple-building during one of the latest reigns of a native dynasty, and the temple of Nectanebis I of the XXXth Dynasty still exists beneath the waters held up by the great dam. With the Ptolemys came a new access of importance, and a considerable amount of temple-building in the holy region. Elephantine was much in evidence, and large quay-walls were built along the island for the accommodation and convenience of the multitudes of visitors to the old temples of Tuthmosis III and the other Pharaohs of the Empire. But the new charm of Philae was proving a rival to the old renown of Elephantine, and there was beginning to grow up there a series of temples such as it was hard for the older sites to match, and the cult of Isis was beginning to overshadow that of the cataract triad.

By this time, Egyptian predominance over Ethiopia had practically ceased. In the XXVIth Dynasty, Psammetichus I had placed a garrison at Elephantine to preserve Upper Egypt from the raids of the Nubians—not with much success, according to Diodorus, as they mutinied and marched into Nubia to settle there. In Roman days the frontier district was threatened constantly from Nubia, and indeed the town of Aswân itself was captured, in 23 B.C., by the Ethiopian Queen Candace. The chief item of interest in these later days, when the two cities had fallen so far from their high estate, was the presence there of Juvenal, the famous Roman satirist, who, having allowed himself too much freedom of speech in criticism of his Emperor's favourite actor, was rewarded by being appointed prefect of the garrison at Aswân, which was more or less equivalent to being sent to Siberia. In the circumstances, he could scarcely be expected to appreciate very highly anything Egyptian, from the national religion downwards; and he certainly did not do so. Egyptian religion, by the time when he wrote his fifteenth Satire, had become in great measure worthy of the derision which he poured upon its animal gods; but we may believe that ill-temper at his exile had its own part in blinding so acute an observer to the fact that behind all the exaggeration of animal-worship into which one of the most ancient of religions had degenerated

there must have originally been something more solid and worthy.

During the miserable days of the decline of the Roman Empire, Aswân and its neighbourhood must have endured all the wretchedness of a frontier which is perpetually assailed by vigorous and savage tribes, while the central power is unable to provide it with a garrison sufficient for its defence. The ignominious peace which the general Maximinus was forced to make with the Blemmyes shows the straits to which the men on the spot were reduced by the weakness of the Roman government. The collapse of the imperial power left the land finally to revert to its original possessors ; and Christianity for a while succeeded to the ancient worship of Khnûm or Isis. Then in A.D. 640 came the triumph of El-Islâm ; but with that we have nothing to do.

CHAPTER XXXV

ASWÂN AND ELEPHANTINE: THEIR ANTIQUITIES

NEITHER Aswân nor Elephantine, as we have seen, possesses to-day any relics of former importance or fame in anywise adequate to the position which the two towns occupy in Egyptian history, or their significance to the Egyptian empire. The only building of any account remaining in Aswân is of Ptolemaic date, and we have already heard what was the fate of the two beautiful temples, of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis III, which adorned Elephantine. The first thing to be seen at Aswân is the temple of Isis, which lies to the south of the modern town, not far from the English church. The site is as sombre as the unfinished temple itself. In the immediate foreground are the ruins of the ancient town, largely overlaid with rubbish of more recent deposition, and beyond these is the desert. As at Esna, the accumulation of rubbish has become so great that the temple appears to stand in a hole, with its roof level with the road. The floor level is reached by a flight of steps, at a depth below the surface of about twenty feet. The temple was the work of Ptolemy III, Euergetes I, and Ptolemy IV, Philopator, but was never completed. Its façade is severely plain, consisting merely of undecorated blocks of sandstone. There are two doors, a main portal, crowned with cavetto cornice and winged disk, and a smaller door; both entrances lead into the hall of the temple.

On the lintel of the main entrance Ptolemy III, Euergetes I, is shown before various gods, and is in one instance accompanied by his wife, Berenice. The jambs also show the same king before the gods. Berenice, of course, is interesting to all who are familiar with the northern constellations owing to the fact that the group of stars below the tail of the Plough and Canes Venatici, visible to the naked eye as a widely dispersed cluster, is known as *Coma Berenicis*, or the Hair of Berenice. Ptolemy III, her husband, being engaged in war in Syria, Berenice vowed that if he were successful she would cut off her beautiful hair and dedicate it to the gods. He was victorious, and the queen fulfilled

her vow, whereupon the courtly astronomer Conon, then at Alexandria, declared that this little group of stars, which, to a fanciful mind, might bear some resemblance to a cloud of golden hair, should be called the Hair of Berenice; while the poet Callimachus capped the astronomer's courtliness by suggesting that the queen's locks had been translated to the heavens. The thickness of the doorway shows Ptolemy offering to Thoth, on the right, and to Horus, Son of Isis, on the left. The smaller doorway also has the cavetto cornice and winged disk, with scenes of Ptolemy offering to the gods.

The hall is oblong, and still keeps its roof, which is supported by two square pillars with clumsy square capitals. It is lighted by four windows, of which two are much wrecked. The walls show several empty niches, where once steles were placed; but apart from this there is no attempt at decoration—a fact which has been attributed to the growing up of a spirit of asceticism, but is much more probably due simply to the temple never having been finished, as the Ptolemys are by no means ascetic in the use of sculptured decoration elsewhere. In the middle of the rear wall is a large doorway leading into the chapel which serves as the sanctuary, while on either hand another door leads into a small chapel. The central doorway has the cornice and winged disk, with scenes of Ptolemy offering, and the thickness of the doorway has on either side a hymn to Isis, here identified with Sothis (Sirius). The sanctuary is lighted, or its darkness is made visible by an aperture in the roof. Its only decorations are on the rear wall, where Ptolemy IV, Philopator, offers to various gods in a series of four much damaged panels. The other two chambers are devoid of ornamentation. Altogether, the building is not of much account, either architecturally or decoratively, and not much time need be spent upon it.

Of much more importance and interest are the granite quarries from which the Pharaohs drew the supplies of stone for the decorative work of their great buildings, and which must in their day have witnessed some of the greatest feats of engineering ever accomplished. The quarries lie in the hills to the south of the town and of the temple which we have just been visiting, and may be reached from the town in a matter of a quarter of an hour. It is quite an easy thing to visit them, and then ride on to El-Shallâl, returning, if desired, by train from the latter place.

The north quarry, which will naturally be visited first, still

contains what to most visitors will be the most interesting thing seen at Aswân and the most unequivocal testimony to the capacity of the Ancient Egyptian quarrymen as handlers of stone. This is the enormous unfinished obelisk which lies in the quarry, undetached from its bed, but separated elsewhere from the surrounding rock by a trench $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad. The dimensions of this tremendous shaft are 137 feet long, 13·8 feet square at the base, and 8·2 feet square at the foot of the pyramidion, or sharply tapering point which crowned the obelisk. The total weight is estimated at 1,168 tons; and therefore this shaft, had it been completed, would have been the largest block of stone ever handled by the Egyptians, or by anybody else, so far as is known, though the blocks used for the colossal statues of Ramses II at the Ramesseum and at Tanis cannot have fallen much short of it in weight (both are estimated roughly at about 1,000 tons). Though this father of all obelisks was never extracted from the quarry, this was not because of any insuperable mechanical difficulties attending upon the cutting or transport of so great a mass, but was due simply to the fact that the progress of the work revealed flaws in the granite which rendered it useless for the purpose desired. Marks on the great shaft show that an attempt was made, subsequently to the discovery of the main flaw, to utilize part of the shaft for a smaller obelisk; but this was also thwarted by the discovery of more flaws, which rendered it useless for any big scheme. The best time for seeing the guide lines on the top of the stone, and the details of the cutting which separated it from the parent rock, is either early in the morning or just before sunset.

This trench of separation is instructive with regard to the methods which the Egyptian quarrymen used in detaching the blocks of stone from the living rock. It has usually been maintained (cf. Baedeker, 8th edition, p. 382, and elsewhere) that the method employed was that of jumping holes along the proposed line of cleavage, inserting into these wedges of wood, and then simultaneously wetting all the wedges along the line, when the expansion of the wood would detach the block at the line indicated. Mr. Engelbach, however, who excavated the giant obelisk in 1921-2, is of opinion that wooden wedges were not used, but that the detachment of ordinary blocks was made by means of metal wedges which were driven in by hammers. He considers that the taper in the slots which still remain in some

instances for taking the wedges is so great that, instead of cracking away the stone by their expansion when wetted, the wedges would simply have jumped out of the slots, and further that it would have been very difficult to wet horizontal wedges, which frequently occur, in an adequate manner, and impossible to do so in the case of wedges which were driven in from below. Besides the metal wedges, he believes that a good deal of the separation of stone was done by the action of fire which was banked up by bricks against the line to be destroyed. These, of course, are matters for discussion by experts; but an expert opinion such as that of Mr. Engelbach is not to be disregarded (see Engelbach, *The Problem of the Obelisks*, also the same author's joint work with the late Somers Clarke *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, chap. III).

In any case, the giant obelisk was not being detached by wedging and watering, but by simple cutting, 'stunning' or, as Mr. Engelbach calls it, 'bashing' the stone by means of wooden rammers capped with balls of the exceedingly tough stone known as dolerite. Hundreds of these balls, many of them split, in spite of the toughness of dolerite, by the force employed, were found on the spot in the course of the excavation. The extreme simplicity of the means thus employed for the extraction of such gigantic blocks from the quarry need not diminish our admiration for the work of the Ancient Egyptian, but should rather enhance it. It is genius only which can use the simplest of means to produce the greatest of results; and the organization which cut out these mighty shafts of hard stone from the quarry in a few months, as Hatshepsut's 97½-foot shaft at Karnak was 'cut' by means of stone balls, must have been masterly, and more wonderful than the most complicated methods of securing the same end.

Quite near to where the great obelisk lies, the visitor will find the evidence of how such blocks were shifted, for a couple of hundred yards to the east of the shaft the two branches of the great embanked and paved way along which the masses of stone were dragged unite into a single road which proceeds in the direction of the Nile. The sandstone paving, which still appears here and there, was designed to hinder the heavy weights from sinking into the surface of the embankment, and along this great piece of work innumerable masses of granite must have been moved for centuries by the simple means of the lever, the roller and teams of oxen and men to pull. Amenemhêt, who was vizier in the reign of the last Mentuhotpe of the XIth Dynasty,

and who afterwards became the founder of the XIIth Dynasty, tells us of 3,000 sailors being employed to bring down the lid of the royal sarcophagus, sailors evidently being then, as now, good at all tasks which involved hauling ; and we may imagine similar teams of skilled hauliers being employed by Senmût, Ineni, or Menkheperasonb, when Hatshepsut or Tuthmosis III sent them south to Aswân to bring down the obelisks which they set up so liberally throughout the land. It may be noted that the view from the top of the embanked road is worth pausing over.

About a mile farther on, we come to the southern quarry. Here, on the south side of the entrance to the valley, lie two unfinished sarcophagi of Ptolemaic date, roughly shaped into a trough-like form, but not hollowed out. Not far from these is a stele cut into a rock-face. It shows a figure of a man adoring before the cartouches of Amenophis III, and the inscription reads : ' Homage to the Good God [Pharaoh], when there was made the great statue of His Majesty [called] " Sun of Rulers " . ' The male figure, which must have been that of the sculptor engaged upon the statue, has been erased, possibly by command of the king, who did not appreciate the presumption of a subject in thus associating himself so closely with his work. A short distance to the south of the unfinished sarcophagi, we find an unfinished colossal statue of a king, and near it is a large quadrangular block of stone, probably designed for one of those monolithic shrines of which the later Pharaohs were so fond.

We now reach the hill above the valley through which runs the Shallâl railway, from which we have a good view of El-Shallâl, the Nile, and south towards Philae. Close beside us is another colossus of granite. It is an Osirid figure, about 20 feet in height, and is unfinished and uninscribed. The natives, however, to whom Ramses II is the Pharaoh of Pharaohs, call it by his name. It is probably useless to speculate on the reasons which have led to the unfinished work mentioned, and other work of the same sort, being abandoned in the quarry. The death of the king concerned, the religious revolution under Akhenaten, the raids of the Nubian tribes, or any one of a half-dozen of other causes may have accounted for it ; we do not know, and probably never shall. The one case in which we do know the reason for an abandonment of half-finished work is that of the great obelisk, whose flaws declare a valid cause at a glance.

It is interesting, before quitting these ancient quarries, to

remember how widely scattered are their products, not only in Egypt, but all over the world. In Egypt, we have the great obelisks of Hatshepsut at Karnak, the obelisk of Ramses II at Luxor, the smaller shaft of Tuthmosis I at Karnak, the colossus of Ramses II at the Ramesseum, the obelisk of Senusret I at Heliopolis, and the fragments of the colossus of Ramses at Tanis in the far north. At Constantinople we have the truncated obelisk of Tuthmosis III, and at Rome a score of obelisks from the Lateran and Flaminian downwards. Paris has the twin of the Luxor obelisk of Ramses II, in the Place de la Concorde, on the Thames Embankment at London stands the 'Cleopatra's Needle' of Tuthmosis III, and its twin adorns the Central Park, New York. But these are only the survivals. Herodotus tells us of a monolithic shrine at Saïs which took 2,000 sailors three years to shift from Aswân to its place in the Delta. His other story of a still more gigantic shrine at Buto, which, if actually of the dimensions which he attributes to it (40 cubits every way), must have weighed round about 7,000 tons, we may legitimately be a little doubtful of, as regards its extreme size, at all events (Herodotus, ii, 155). But even so one cannot but be amazed at the amount of human labour and skill which this spot has witnessed in ancient days; and while we may deplore the loss of Philae, it seems not unfitting that modern engineering skill should have contributed here to the life of the new Egypt of to-day a piece of work which is worthy to stand alongside of the great work of the past.

THE GREAT WALL

The remains of this once formidable frontier fortification are not imposing, but are of some interest in view of their great age, and their suggestion of the time when Egypt found it necessary to stand on the defensive at this point, and to guard her frontier by fortifications which proved as useless as such things have mostly done in other lands. The wall can be seen on the way to the Aswân dam. Taking the road which passes the British cemetery (right hand), and following the disused service railway which was used for transport of material for the dam, one skirts the remains of the old wall, which was of crude brick, as is usual with such fortifications in Egypt, and still reaches in places to a height of from 13 to 20 feet, being about 6½ feet thick. Its

obvious purpose was to protect the traffic on the Nile and its bank from raids by the Nubian tribes, and it appears to have been built during the earlier part of the XIIth Dynasty. At this time, Nubia was evidently hostile, and menacing, and the Pharaohs, Amenemhêt II and Senusret II, seem to have proved incapable of doing away with the menace by the surer way of pushing the tribes southward, or bringing them into subjection to Egyptian rule. Instead of that, they resorted to the usual plan of weak monarchs and states, and multiplied strongholds on and near the frontier. It will be remembered that as far north as El-Kâb it was found advisable to erect the huge brick wall which surrounds the ancient city there; and the fact that this fortification bore the name of 'The Wall of Seshemtaui' shows that it was erected in the reign of Senusret II. The wall of Aswân belongs to the same period, as is shown by an inscription which occurs on a rock behind it, which runs as follows: 'Made in the year 3, under the Majesty of Horus, Seshemtaui, corresponding to the year 35 under the Majesty of Horus, Nubkewrê [Amenemhêt II] The [title uncertain] Hapu came, in order to make an inspection in the fortresses of Wawat' (i.e. Lower Nubia, where this inscription actually is). So long as Egypt was afraid to embark on a more vigorous policy in Nubia, the fortification may have proved of some use; but the necessity for it was quickly taken away by the energy and aggressiveness of Senusret III, who drove back the Nubians, and re-asserted Egyptian sovereignty as far south as Semna, which is about 37 miles south of Wâdi Halfa. This was still 200 miles short of Kerma, which had been reached during the reign of Senusret I; but it at all events did away with the Nubian menace to Upper Egypt and the need for such pusillanimous exhibitions as the Aswân wall, which does not appear to have been used again.

ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF ASWÂN

Aswân possesses a number of rock-inscriptions, of which a few are of some historical importance. Several of these occur along the road between the town and El-Shallâl, and the most important of them are two inscriptions, one of Tuthmosis II, and another of Amenophis III, which both describe the crushing of what the Pharaohs were pleased to call rebellion in Nubia. It will be noticed that all the rock inscriptions are prominently numbered

in white paint. The Tuthmosis II inscription is No. 474, and tells how the Pharaoh received a messenger from the frontier who bore the message : ' The wretched Kush has begun to rebel, those who were under the dominion of the Lord of the Two Lands purpose hostility, beginning to smite him.' ' His Majesty ', the inscription goes on, ' was furious thereat, like a panther, when he heard it. Said His Majesty, " I swear, as Rê loves me, as my father, Lord of Gods, Amûn, Lord of Thebes, favours me, I will not let live any one among their males " . ' It then tells us how Tuthmosis dispatched an expedition into Nubia, whose efforts were crowned with complete success. The Nubian tribes were put to the sword, with the exception of a son of one of their chiefs, who was brought in as a prisoner, together with some of his people, and presented to His Majesty. Tuthmosis, who had evidently not gone south with the punitive expedition, came to Aswân to receive the submission of the tribes. ' They were placed under the feet of the Good God [Pharaoh] ; for His Majesty had appeared upon his throne when the living prisoners were brought in, which this army of His Majesty had captured ' (Breasted, *op. cit.* II, § 119 sq.).

The inscription of Amenophis III is No. 476, and also tells, but in a much more business-like fashion, of the crushing of a revolt in Nubia. The upper part of the stele shows Amenhotpe trampling down an Asiatic and striking down two negroes. Amûn and Khnûm stand before him, and Ptah behind him. Below, after the usual lengthy recital of the titulary of Amenophis III, the inscription goes on : ' One came to tell His Majesty : The foe of Kush the wretched has planned rebellion in his heart. His Majesty led on unto his victory, he completed it on his first victorious campaign. . . . He [the enemy] knew not this lion which was before him ; Nebmaetrê [Amenophis III] was a fierce-eyed lion, he seized Kush. The chiefs were overthrown in their valleys, cast down in their blood, one upon another ' (Breasted, *op. cit.* II, §§ 843, 844). No. 477 is of the second year of Ramses II, and is more concerned with bombastic eulogy of that modest Pharaoh than with the statement of facts. ' The foreigners come to him carrying their children, to ask the breath of life—his battle-cry is mighty in the land of Nubia, his strength repels the Nine Bows ; Babylon and Kheta and Arvad [?] come to him, bowing down, because of his fame.' Ramses was soon to find that the Kheta were not in the least inclined to bow down to

him, and to be glad to escape with a hardly-drawn battle from Kadesh.

The other inscriptions on this road are of less importance. They include No. 314, which is a Middle Kingdom one, and gives the twenty-fourth year of Amenemhêt III as its date; No. 320, which is of the reign of Ramses II, and shows the adoration of that monarch's cartouches; No. 322, of the time of Amenophis III, again showing the adoration of the Pharaoh's cartouche; and No. 471, which is of the reign of Siptah. This is one of several Nubian inscriptions of this comparatively little-known Pharaoh, who reigned for a short time in the end of the XIXth Dynasty, and whose tomb we have seen in the Bibân el-Meluke at Thebes. It shows Siptah enthroned, with his Treasurer Bay (also buried in the Bibân el-Meluke) behind him; while Seti, his viceroy in Kush, stands before him in an attitude of adoration. The inscription is the work of 'The King's Son of Kush, Governor of the Gold-Countries of Amûn, Seti'.

Many other inscriptions occur in Aswân and its environs, of which a few may be mentioned. South of the railway station, in a public garden, is to be seen the cartouche of Senusret I (No. 13), and a scene (No. 12) showing Ramses II receiving the Viceroy of Ethiopia, Setau. A promontory close to this garden shows to the river several inscriptions and carved figures. Notice may be given to No. 48, which shows Ramses II adoring Khnûm, the cataract god. The Pharaoh is accompanied by his wife Ist-nofret, his favourite daughter and wife, Bant-Anat, and three of his sons, Khaemwêset, the wizard prince, who was destined to succeed him, but died before his father, Ramses, and Meneptah, who actually succeeded, though only the thirteenth in the long list of the sons of Ramses II. No. 49 is interesting because it is the record which was left on the scene of his great work by Senmût, the architect of Queen Hatshepsut, when he came south to superintend the extraction of the queen's great obelisks from the quarry at Aswân. After the usual formalities, it reads: 'Came the hereditary prince, count, who satisfies the heart of the Divine Consort, who pleases the Mistress of the Two Lands by his injunction, chief steward of the Princess Nefrurê, who liveth, in order to conduct the work of two great obelisks of a "Myriad of Years". It took place according to that which was commanded, everything was done; it took place because of the fame of Her Majesty' (Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, 359-62).

Other notable inscriptions and carvings are No. 50, which shows Amenophis III and Queen Tiye receiving homage from a courtier ; and No. 55, which records that Prince Khaemwaset celebrated the thirty-seventh anniversary of the accession of his father, Ramses II. The most interesting of all these records, however, is to be found on a granite rock below a Roman stone wall, under the south-east side of a modern house opposite the Cataract Hotel. This is the famous tablet in which Bek, the Chief Sculptor of King Akhenaten, commemorated his visit to Aswân, where he came, of course, to obtain granite for the new temples which the Pharaoh was building at El-'Amârna. The tablet shows an altar, over which the solar disk is shining, its rays ending in hands. On the one side of it stood a figure of the king ; but this has been obliterated by the Amûnists when they triumphed over the royal heresy. On the other side stands Bek himself, in gala costume, and bearing a large bouquet of flowers. The inscription over Bek reads : ' Giving praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, obeisance to Akhenaten, by the Chief of Works in the Red Mountain, the assistant whom His Majesty himself taught, Chief of Sculptors on the great and mighty monuments of the King, in the House of Aten in Akhetaten, Bek, son of the Chief of Sculptors, Men, born of the matron Royenet ' (Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, 973-6). Beside this scene appears the figure of the afore-mentioned father of Bek, Men, who presents a food-offering to the figure of Amenophis III, whom he had served as his son was serving Akhenaten. Special interest attaches to the phrase which states that Akhenaten himself instructed Bek in his work. It is possible, of course, that the phrase is only formal ; but the peculiarities of the art of the Amârna period are so marked that it is impossible to believe that they can have arisen without encouragement and influence on the part of the Pharaoh, such as is here ascribed to him ; and we may imagine that Akhenaten's instruction of his sculptors was a very real thing, in view of results which are unparalleled in other periods of Egypt's art history. There are also several inscriptions dating from the Middle Kingdom, which are worthy of mention because of their ancient date. Such are No. 28, which mentions the sixth year of Senusret III ; No. 33, which gives the cartouches of Senusret II ; and No. 372 (opposite the southern end of the island of Sehêl), which dates from the forty-first year of Mentuhotpe III, the builder of the funerary temple of the XIth Dynasty at El-Deir el-Bahari.

ELEPHANTINE

We now turn to the island of Elephantine, which lies directly in face of the town of Aswân, and extends for about a mile and a half. The island contains two villages, El-Ramla and El-Kôm, and also the Savoy Hotel, which has been closed for some time. The ancient nilometer lies at the south-east end of the island, where also are the ruins of the ancient town and fortress of Elephantine. Visitors will find it useful to take the trip right round the island which enables the visitor to survey the whole of one of the most interesting sites in Upper Egypt.

It may be said at once that of the ancient frontier city and stronghold little remains to interest anyone but the specialist. The temples which once adorned the island and of which that of Tuthmosis III and the beautiful little temple of Amenophis III were the most notable, have entirely perished, in the way described already, and the only indications of the former presence of structures which must have made Elephantine as sacred and as beautiful as Philae was before the construction of the great dam are blocks of stone inscribed with the cartouches of the various Pharaohs who were responsible for the original erection of, and the subsequent additions to, the temples.

West of the quay may be seen the remains of the temple which existed in connexion with the river-wall and the nilometer. This building, which was the work of the Emperor Trajan, must have been built out of the ruins of former buildings, as the names of Tuthmosis III, Tuthmosis IV, and Ramses III occur on the blocks and drums. West of this are the ruins of a granite gateway, once leading to a temple which has now disappeared. The gateway is inscribed with the name of Alexander II, the short-lived son of Alexander the Great. It will be remembered that, after the death of Alexander, Ptolemy Soter, his famous general, loyally supported the young Alexander II. We may believe that it was during this period that Ptolemy built this gateway, on which Alexander II is shown worshipping Khnûm and other gods. The young Alexander, however, was speedily removed by assassination, and Ptolemy asserted his claim to the reversion of the throne of Egypt, his cartouche being still to be seen among the ruins here. Close to this building lay the necropolis of the sacred rams of Khnûm, which was discovered by M. Clermont-Ganneau in 1907. The rams were buried in small stone sarcophagi,

within which they were enclosed in cartonnage cases, shaped to their natural form and gilded (see the Museum of Aswân, near the nilometer).

Among the ruins of the ancient town, which extend over the southern end of the island and offer little to the visitor save a wilderness of rubbish, there have been found, of recent years, a number of papyri, dating both from dynastic times and from the period of the Hebrew colony here. It may be mentioned that the oldest rock inscription in the Aswân district is found on a granite boulder in this part of the island. It is by a certain Khufu-ankh, and dates from the reign of Cheops (Khufu), the builder of the Great Pyramid (IVth Dynasty). Other inscriptions give the names of Unas (Vth Dynasty), Pepi I and II (VIth Dynasty), and Amenemhêt I (XIIth Dynasty). It has been suggested that the deep well of Ptolemaic date which is found here is the well in connexion with which Eratosthenes, the famous Athenian man of science (276-196 B.C.), developed his method of measuring the dimensions of the earth, having been led to the subject by observing that the noon sun at midsummer was perpendicularly above the well, and consequently cast no shadow. Of course it is impossible to prove that this was the well, and all that can be said is that it may be as likely as any other.

The sources of the Nile, according to the belief of certain of the Egyptians, were situated between Aswân and Elephantine, as we are informed by Herodotus. His account, which he gives us as emanating from 'the registrar of Minerva's [Neith's] Treasury at Saïs in Egypt', is as follows: 'There are two mountains rising into a sharp peak, situated between the city of Syene [Aswân] in Thebais and Elephantine; the names of these mountains are, the one Crophi, the other, Mophi; that the sources of the Nile, which are bottomless, flow from between these mountains; and that half of the water flows over Egypt, and to the north, the other half over Ethiopia and the south' (Herodotus, ii, 28, 29). 'He indeed seemed to be trifling with me', remarks Herodotus in a pained tone, and, indeed by that time the Egyptians must have been perfectly acquainted with the fact that the sources of the Nile were much farther south than either Elephantine, where one set of priests placed them, or Philae, which was preferred by the enterprising priesthood of that island; but the two rival traditions were kept up so long as it was profitable to

do so. Those who are interested in an ancient swindle may find Crophî and Mophî among the granite rocks on the east side of Elephantine island, always remembering, however, that the priests at Philæ believed, or at least asserted, that the true locality was under the rocks of the island of Biga, opposite the shrine in which they were interested—after the manner of priests in all ages.

There remain to be noticed in connexion with Elephantine, the museum, which contains a collection of antiquities found in the district, and the nilometer. The Aswân Museum, which is situated near the landing-place and the nilometer, is open from 9 to 4, except on Fridays and holidays, and the charge for admission is P.T. 5. In the entrance-hall may be seen one of the mummies of the sacred rams, to which allusion has already been made. Room 1, which is approached through Room 2, contains prehistoric antiquities, red-topped black pottery, slate palettes, flint arrow-heads and knives, etc. ; Room 2 contains work of the Old Kingdom, pottery, copper tools and weapons. Room 3 has the Middle Kingdom and New Empire work, and Room 4 the work of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The place is worth visiting as giving an idea of the local level of culture at the various periods concerned.

The nilometer will probably be the first object visited, as it lies so close to the landing-place. This part of the island has been faced with massive masonry walls, an opening in which, at the end facing Aswân, leads to the nilometer. A flight of steps leads down from the level of the temple above, which was connected with the gauge in ancient days, and both this and the passage leading from the river were formerly roofed with granite, the remainder of the construction being of sandstone. The roof has almost entirely disappeared, and the whole staircase is now open. The priests of the temple were in the habit of marking the flood-levels on the walls of the staircase, and in course of time the place was adopted as the official gauge, by which the Egyptian taxing system was regulated, as Strabo tells us : ' For the higher the rise of the water, the higher are the taxes.' The marking was done in Greek and Demotic, and it would appear that the gauge is not earlier than the Roman period, though the Pharaohs, of course, had other nilometers at a very early date. The present one was re-discovered in 1822, and its re-use was begun in 1870 by an eminent native astronomer, Mahmûd Bey.

The modern scale is inscribed on marble tablets inserted in the wall.

SEHÊL

South of Aswân, and at the foot of the cataract, lies the island of Sehêl, which is worth a visit, not only on account of its own picturesqueness, but because of the numerous ancient inscriptions which are found upon its rocks. Of these there are more than two hundred and fifty, which have been numbered, first by M. de Morgan, and subsequently by Mr. Weigall. The great majority of them are of little account, and the visitor's attention may most usefully be directed to the following. No. 81 is a long inscription high up on the rocks at the south-east end of the island above the cataract. It is a Ptolemaic forgery which purports to tell how the priests of Khnûm at Elephantine came into possession of the tract of land known in Greek times as the Dodekaschoinoi or 'The Twelve Schoinoi'—a schoinos equalling about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The inscription states that Medir being Governor of the South, a letter came to him from the Pharaoh Zoser, the builder of the Step Pyramid, telling him that the royal heart was distressed because of the famine caused by the fact that the Nile had not risen for seven years. 'This is to inform you of the sorrow which has afflicted me upon my great throne, and how my heart aches because of the great calamity which has occurred, for the Nile has not risen for seven years. There is a scarcity of corn, there are no vegetables, there is no food of any kind, and every man is stealing from his neighbour. . . . My councillors have no advice to give, and when the granaries are opened nothing but air issues from them. Everything is in a state of ruin.' After this dolorous complaint, the king asks Medir if he knows where the Nile rises, and to what god he should apply for help. The governor duly went north with the information that the rising of the Nile was controlled by the god Khnûm of Elephantine; whereupon Zoser went to Elephantine, and addressed his complaint and petition to Khnûm. The god bowed towards him, and informed him that he had been angry because his temple had been allowed to fall into disrepair, but that he would relent and grant abundant harvests if only proper care were taken of him. Upon this, Zoser promptly issued a decree granting to Khnûm, or to his priests, the land south of the island of Sehêl, as far as the island of Takompso—a tract of

from 80 to 90 miles of territory which afterwards came to be known as the Dodekaschoinoi. Further, he enacted that a tax should be levied for the benefit of Khnûm or his priests on fishermen, fowlers, and all who lived by the produce of the Nile, and also upon all gold-miners and caravan conductors who returned by the Elephantine road from the desert.

This would be quite convincing, and might even be accepted as a modern version of an actual deed of gift of King Zoser, were it not for the fact that the priests of Isis, at Philae, had another similar inscription which stated that Zoser had made precisely the same gift to them. As it is, we can only conclude that both sets of priests were liars, and that the land in question probably belonged to neither of them. If there is to be any choice between the two gangs of holy land-grabbers, the claim of the Elephantine college is to be preferred, as the worship of Khnûm at Elephantine was a much older thing than that of Isis at Philae.

The other notable inscriptions relate to the making of a canal (probably only the deepening and straightening of a passage) through the cataract. This work had already been carried out, as we have seen, by Uni in the time of the VIth Dynasty; but disuse for five centuries had rendered his work useless, and Senusret III had to remake the passage anew for his war fleet. Inscription No. 83 refers to the work of Senusret. The king stands before Anûket, one of the goddesses of the cataract, and below them is the statement: 'He made it as his monument for Anûket, mistress of Nubia, making for her a canal, whose name is "Beautiful-are-the-Ways-of-Khakewrê [Senusret III], that he may live forever".' Next follows No. 86, which is also of Senusret. It shows Senusret before Sâtet, the other goddess of the cataract, while behind him stands the chief treasurer . . . chief of works. The inscription is as follows: 'Year 8, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Khakewrê, living forever. His Majesty commanded to make the canal anew, the name of this canal being: "Beautiful-are-the-Ways-of-Khakewrê-Living-Forever", when His Majesty proceeded up-river to overthrow Kush the wretched. Length of this canal, 150 cubits; width, 20; depth, 15' (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, 642 sq.).

We next skip another period of more than three centuries and come to No. 91, which tells us the story of the canal under Tuthmosis I of the XVIIIth Dynasty: 'Year 3, first month of the third season, day 22, under the Majesty of the King of Upper

and Lower Egypt, Okheperkerê [Tuthmosis I] who is given life. His Majesty commanded to dig this canal, after he found it [stopped up] with stones, so that no ship sailed upon it. He sailed down-stream upon it, his heart glad, having slain his enemies. The king's son, Thure.' No. 92 tells us the same story: 'Year 3, first month of the third season, day 22. His Majesty sailed this canal in victory and in power, at his return from overthrowing Kush the wretched. The King's son, Thure' (Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, 75-6).

Finally we hear Tuthmosis III, who not only clears the passage, but provides for the keeping of it clear in the future: 'Year 50, first month of the third season, day 22, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperê [Tuthmosis III], given life. His Majesty commanded to dig this canal, after he had found it stopped up with stones, so that no ship sailed upon it. He sailed down-stream upon it, his heart glad, having slain his enemies. The name of this canal is: "Opening-of-this-Way-in-the-Beauty-of-Menkheperê-Living-Forever'. The fishermen of Elephantine shall clear this canal each year' (Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, 649-50).

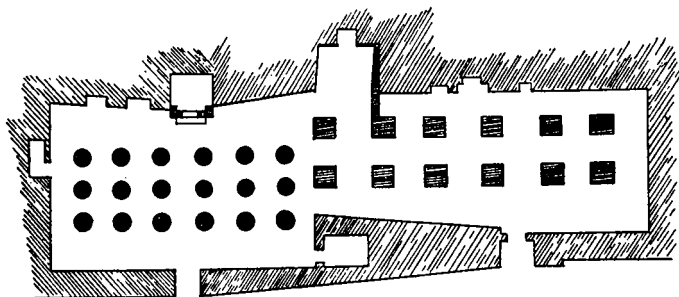
On the west side of the island, near the village of Sehêl are the ruins of the two temples of the place. Of these, one was XVIIIth Dynasty work, probably of Amenophis II. It was dedicated to Anûqet, one of the two goddesses of the cataract, and inscription No. 290 is of the Guardian of the Temple of Anûqet of Sehêl, Mersu. No. 282 is of the Guardian of the Temple of Khnûm and Sâtet of Sehêl, Nebmeh, so that the other cataract deities evidently had a shrine of their own on the island, though Anûqet, having a temple all to herself, may have been supreme here. The other temple was the work of Ptolemy Philopator in honour of the deities of the cataract.

THE TOMBS OF THE BARONS OF ELEPHANTINE

These tombs, which are situated on the slope of the hills which form the western bank of the Nile, almost opposite the north end of the island of Elephantine, are of peculiar interest, as giving us some record of what was happening at this farthest corner of Ancient Egypt in the days of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. They were opened up in 1885-6 by Lord Grenfell. From the water's edge an ancient approach, consisting of a double staircase,

with an inclined plane between the two ranges of steps for hauling up the sarcophagi, leads up to the terrace on which the tombs open ; but the approach is more easily made by the path which leads up from the landing-stage. It is best to visit the tombs in the afternoon, as the hill-side is then in shadow. The general ticket of admission should be carried, and the return fare by boat is P.T. 10.

The first tomb to be visited is that of Mekhu, No. 25. Mekhu, as we shall see in a moment when we come to deal with the tomb of his son Sabni, lost his life on one of those adventurous expeditions into Equatorial Africa of which our sole record is the inscriptions on the façades of the tombs of these early explorers. Mekhu



TOMBS OF SABNI AND MEKHU, ASWÂN

(For description, see text)

was Prince, Royal Registrar, Sole Companion, and Ritual Priest in the reign of Pepi II of the VIth Dynasty. His tomb is of somewhat rough construction, but is impressive. On the right-hand side of the doorway, Mekhu is shown clad in a panther skin over his kilt, his wife accompanying him, while servants bring him offerings ; on the left-hand side he appears in company with a male relative. We now enter the hall of the tomb, a sombre apartment whose roof is supported by eighteen roughly hewn columns in three rows. Some of these have figures and inscriptions, and between the third and fourth columns of the middle row stands a strange table-shaped altar, formed of a slab of stone resting upon three other slabs. A recess in the rear wall

contains the false door, which has steps leading up to it, and is enclosed by screen-walls. It is inscribed with a prayer to Anubis and Osiris for the soul of Mekhu. The only decorations are to the right of the entrance. Mekhu surveys the sacrifices which are being made to him, while beyond are agricultural scenes, ploughing, cutting the corn and transporting it on donkey-back.

Next to this tomb is that of Sabni, Mekhu's son (No. 26), which has a remarkable entrance, now walled up, so that the tomb is entered through the tomb of Mekhu. The entrance is divided into two parts by a cross-beam, and has two small obelisks and holy-water basins in front. Within is the hall, which has fourteen square pillars, and above the blocked entrance is a square window closed with a grating. The decoration is on the rear wall of the hall, and consists of the familiar scenes of fishing and fowling in the papyrus marshes.

But the main interest of Sabni's tomb is the account of his great adventure which he caused to be engraved on the façade of his tomb. Unfortunately the beginning of the story, consisting of a number of columns of inscription on the left-hand side of the door, has totally perished, and even in the nineteen columns of inscription on the right-hand side which remain to us there are many cracks and lacunae, while the whole inscription is badly weathered. Patient study, however, has made it intelligible, and the story of Sabni's plucky rescue of his father's dead body, which meant, according to Egyptian belief, the rescue of the dead man from annihilation, can be traced without too much difficulty. Sabni, whose titles are Prince, Wearer of the Royal Seal, Governor of the Lands of the South, Sole Companion, and Ritual Priest, tells us first how two survivors of his father's expedition, 'the ship-captain Intef', and 'the overseer Bekhesa', brought word to him that Mekhu was dead. 'Then,' he goes on, 'I took a troop of my estate and 100 asses with me, bearing ointment, honey, clothing, oil . . . in order to make presents in those countries of the negroes. I sent people who were in "The Door of the South" and I made letters to give information that I had gone out to bring this my father from Wawat and Utheth.' Plainly the Governor of the South could not leave his post, even upon so pious an errand, without giving intimation of his intention to Pharaoh. Sabni found his father's body in Central Africa, placed it in a coffin and started on his return journey, having taken the precaution to send on one of his men, 'the Royal

Attendant Iri', with two other servants to the court of the Pharaoh bearing incense, gums, native fabrics, and an elephant's tusk of three cubits, with the intimation that his best tusk (out of what his dead father had collected ?) was six cubits in length, and the news that he had succeeded in bringing back the dead body of Mekhu.

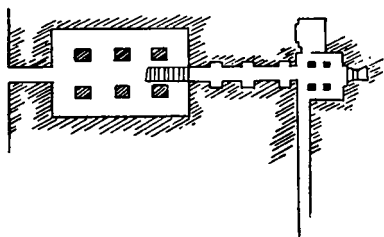
Iri, travelling lighter than his master, reached the court while Sabni was still struggling northwards, and returned by boat with stores of embalming material for the funeral of the dead nobleman, and with a royal letter of thanks which ran as follows : ' I will do for thee very excellent thing, as a reward for this great deed, because of bringing thy father ——.' Sabni duly buried his father : ' I buried this my father in his tomb of the necropolis ; never was one of his rank so buried before.' And then in due time came the rewards of Pharaoh to his faithful servant, ointment, clothing, the gold of praise, rations, meat and fowl, and not least an endowment of land. Altogether, Sabni's story is one of the most illuminating records which we possess of the attitude of the Egyptian mind towards the life after death. That a son should endeavour to secure his father's body for decent burial is nothing surprising ; but that the Pharaoh of Egypt should consider his action of such value as to confer upon him rewards and praise for it shows the estimate which was put upon the necessity of the preservation of the body as an essential condition of immortality. Sabni's tomb is the largest of the tombs at Elephantine.

We now pass several uninscribed tombs which are filled with sand, and arrive at No. 28, which is locked, and is besides too small to be entered easily, but which can be seen from outside. Its owner was named Heqyêb, who may possibly have been the son of the earlier of the two Sirenputs whose tombs are found here, though the size of Heqyêb's tomb scarcely accords with the splendour of his (possible), father's resting-place. Heqyêb, further, is represented as a negro, with a curly wig and dark skin. On the north wall of the tomb he is seen shooting arrows, and on the south wall he is shown in company with his friends of both sexes.

Next comes, after passing more uninscribed tombs, No. 31, which is perhaps the finest, though not the largest, of the Elephantine tombs. It was the property of Sirenput, who was Prince, Sole Companion, Superintendent of the Priests of Khnûm and

Sâtet, and Commander of the Troops of the Gate of the Southern Lands under Amenemhêt II of the XIIth Dynasty. He may also possibly have been the grandson of the other Prince Sirenput already mentioned, as his mother was named Satet-hotpe, and in the tomb of the earlier Sirenput a daughter named Statet-hotpe is mentioned. As the earlier Sirenput lived in the reign of Senusret I, and the later in that of Amenemhêt II, the relationship is natural enough in point of date.

From a courtyard cut in the face of the hill, one enters by a narrow passage into an outer hall, whose roof is supported by six pillars. On the right side of the hall stands a fine granite table of offerings, decorated with the names and titles of Sirenput ; the chamber is otherwise uninscribed. A narrow corridor leads from this hall to the inner hall of the tomb. This corridor has three niches on either side, which contain statues of Sirenput in Osirid form, chiselled out of the native rock. On the left of the first recess is a well-preserved painting of Sirenput, bearing the staff and *kherp* baton, and accompanied by his son. Beyond the



TOMB OF
SIRENPUT II, ASWÂN
(For description, see text)

corridor opens an inner hall with four pillars, each of which bears a figure of Sirenput, and in the rear wall of this hall opens a recess which is carefully painted on stucco. To the left hand Sirenput is shown with his wife and son ; to the right his mother Satet-hotpe sits before a table of offerings while he stands on her right ; and on the back wall of the recess he is shown seated at table, while flowers are presented to him by his son. The paintings are of good quality, and particular attention should be paid to the hieroglyphics, which are executed with great delicacy.

We come to tomb No. 32, which is of no great importance. Entrance is given to a hall with six pillars, from which, as in the case of Sirenput's tomb, a long corridor leads to the inner chamber, with its shrine in the rear wall. The shrine has a painting of the owner, named Aku, seated with his wife in an arbour of

vines, while food is offered to him by his son. The next tomb is that of Khuy, which is sanded up, but has a four-pillared hall, and a recess or shrine. Khuy had the usual titles, and is said to have made several expeditions to Punt, so that he deserves a better fate than to be neglected. A short distance farther on is a poorly executed tomb whose eight-pillared hall is now open owing to the collapse of its roof. The east wall has scenes of the owner seated at table, and also fishing and fowling. The south wall shows damaged scenes of craftsmanship, and the owner and his wife seated before offerings. The tomb belonged to a priest named Ma, and his wife the priestess of Hathor, Ankhsen, and to their son Khunes, who reached princely rank, probably towards the end of the VIth Dynasty. It is usually known by his name.

Passing three smaller tombs, we now come to what is perhaps the most important of the whole Elephantine group, not because of its greatness, but because its inscription is one of the most interesting documents which have survived from the later Old Kingdom. The tomb itself is of no importance, consisting merely of a small and low four-pillared hall, with a sloping burial-passage. The pillars are inscribed with the names of one Sabni, also called Pepi-onkh, who held the usual positions of an Elephantine baron, and of a certain Zema, also called Mesna, of whom the same remark is true; while the lady Depemnofret, otherwise called Depa, also figures. But the tomb is really that of the man whose name appears on the outside inscription and on the tomb-stèle—Herkhuf, who was Prince, Count, Wearer of the Royal Seal, Sole Companion, Ritual Priest and Caravan-Conductor, in addition to being Chamber Attendant attached to Nekhen, and Lord of Nekheb. Herkhuf's other qualities and performances, as recorded in the long inscription which adorns the façade of his comparatively insignificant tomb, need not detain us. Like all other Egyptian local magnates he 'gave bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, and ferried across the river him who had no boat'. He also pled with the passer-by to repeat the usual ritual prayer for 'a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer for the owner of this tomb', basing his request on the ground that he, in his turn, being a ritual priest, would do them a good turn in the other world. Further he asserted, as they all do, that 'as for any man who shall enter this tomb as his own possession, I will seize him like a wild fowl;

he shall be judged for it by the great god'—a threat which never hindered a later tomb-jumper from appropriating whatever tomb pleased him, and chancing the curse.

But the interest of Herkhuf's inscription begins when he starts to tell us his adventures as caravan-conductor, and gives us the record of his four journeys into Central Africa in that capacity. First, he was sent in company with his father Iri, to learn the business under paternal supervision. 'The Majesty of Merenrê, my Lord, sent me together with my father, the Sole Companion and Ritual Priest, Iri, to Iam, in order to explore a road to this country. I did it in only seven months, and I brought all kinds of gifts from it. I was very greatly praised for it.' We next find him working the desert road on his own. 'His Majesty sent me a second time alone; I went forth upon the Elephantine road, and I descended from Arthet, Mekher, Tereres, Artheth, being an affair of eight months. When I descended, I brought gifts from this country in very great quantity. Never before was the like brought to this land. Never had any Companion or Caravan-Conductor who went forth to Iam before this done the like.' When His Majesty sent the unwearied Herkhuf forth a third time, he found the chief of Iam on the verge of war with the Libyans of the Oases. Such a strife was not in the interest of Egypt, as trade would be blocked, so Herkhuf followed the bellicose chief, who had already started with his *impis* to eat up the Oasis folk, and succeeded in persuading him to make peace. Then Herkhuf the peacemaker came home in triumph, with '300 asses laden with incense, ebony, *heknu*, grain, panthers, ivory, throwing-sticks, and every good product'. His caravan was viewed with greedy eyes by the local chiefs through whose territory he passed; but the grateful chief of Iam, who praised the gods for having been kept from fighting gave him an escort of his warriors so strong that they concluded that it would be safest to let the tempting prize alone. 'When the chief of Arthet, Sethu and Wawat saw how strong and numerous was the troop of Iam which descended with me to the court and the soldiers who had been sent with me, then this chief brought and gave to me bulls and small cattle, and conducted me to the roads of the highlands of Arthet, because I was more excellent, vigilant, and — than any Count, Companion or Caravan-Conductor who had ever been sent to Iam before.' Herkhuf, it will be noticed, was not any more over-burdened with modesty than any other

Egyptian official, and perfectly understood the fact that if he did not blow his own trumpet no one else was likely to blow it for him.

But his greatest triumph was reserved for a new reign, and for his fourth journey, when he actually succeeded in capturing alive and bringing north with him a pigmy, one of the tribe of dwarfs who still live in Central Africa, and whose existence was disclosed in modern times by Stanley. King Pepi II, at whose command Herkhuf had gone out on this journey, was, at this time, of the mature age of eight, and his delight at hearing of the grand new toy which his servant from Elephantine was bringing him fairly burst the bonds of official etiquette. He ordered a letter to be addressed to his faithful subject in such terms that Herkhuf could not deny himself the gratification of reproducing it verbatim in his tomb inscription—to which fortunate circumstance we owe the preservation of the most human document which has come down to us from Ancient Egypt. The letter is as follows :

' Royal seal, year 2, third month of the first season, day 15. Royal decree to the sole companion, the ritual priest and caravan-conductor, Herkhuf.

' I have noted the matter of this thy letter, which thou hast sent to the king, to the palace, in order that One might know that thou hast descended in safety from Iam with the army which was with thee. Thou hast said in this thy letter that thou hast brought all great and beautiful gifts which Hathor, Mistress of Amu, hath given to the *Ka* of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkerê [Pepi II], who liveth for ever and ever. Thou hast said in this thy letter that thou hast brought a dancing dwarf of the god from the Land of Ghosts, like the dwarf which the Treasurer of the god, Baurded, brought from Punt in the time of Isesi. Thou hast said to My Majesty : " Never before has one like him been brought by any other who has visited Iam." Each year thou art doing that which thy Lord desires and praises ; thou spendest day and night in doing that which thy Lord desires, praises and commands. His Majesty will make thy many excellent honours to be an ornament for the son of thy son for ever, so that all people will say, when they hear what My Majesty doeth for thee : " Is there anything like this which was done for the Sole Companion, Herkhuf, when he descended from Iam,

because of the vigilance which he showed, to do that which his Lord desired, praised and commanded ? ”

‘ Come northward to the court immediately. Thou shalt bring this dwarf with thee, whom thou bringest living, prosperous and healthy, from the Land of Ghosts, for the dances of the god, to gladden and rejoice the heart of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkerê, who liveth for ever. When he goes down with thee into the vessel, appoint excellent people, who shall be beside him on each side of the vessel ; take care lest he fall into the water. When he sleeps at night, appoint excellent people who shall sleep beside him in his tent ; inspect ten times a night. My Majesty desires to see this dwarf more than the gifts of Sinai and of Punt. If thou arrivest at court, this dwarf being with thee alive, prosperous and healthy, My Majesty will do for thee a greater thing than that which was done for the Treasurer of the god, Baurded, in the time of Isesi, according to the desire of the heart of My Majesty to see this dwarf.

‘ Commands have been sent to the chief of the New Towns, the companion and superior prophet, to command that sustenance be taken from him in every store-city and every temple, without stinting therein.’ (See, for the whole inscription, Breasted, *op. cit.*, I, §§ 325-35, 350-4.)

A true boy's letter, in which the stilted phraseology cannot conceal the eagerness of the eight-year-old Pharaoh to see his new plaything. One wonders what was the end of it all, and how the poor little dwarf survived the joys of being inspected ten times a night to see that he was keeping well. Pepi had evidently never heard of the possibility of killing one's pets by kindness. It is plain that Herkhuf succeeded in bringing his capture to court, otherwise the royal letter would not have been blazoned on the tomb ; but one wonders also if Pepi ever fulfilled the grandiose promises which he made so liberally while his plaything was yet distant. Herkhuf's tomb scarcely suggests that he did, or that the role of caravan-conductor, however honourable, led to wealth. You see him leaning on his staff on the left-hand side of the doorway of his tomb, while his son swings a censer before him—one of the few men of that long-dead age whom we can realize for ourselves as actually living and breathing ; but you wonder also if that shabby little tomb was all that he made out of his strenuous days and nights of caravan-conducting.

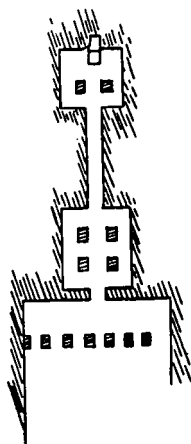
Next comes tomb No. 35, small and sanded-up, but also precious because of the inscription on either side of the doorway. It is that of Pepi-nakht, who had all the customary titles of the barons of Elephantine, and followed the same career as Herkhuf. It is curious that out of the three long inscriptions of the nobles of Elephantine, giving accounts of their adventures, two should recount the violent deaths of relatives or fellow officials in the royal service. Evidently the position of caravan-conductor in the stirring days of the Old Kingdom was no sinecure, and the man who held it took his life in his hand when he went out in obedience to his master's command. We have heard how Mekhu perished in the south; Pepi-nakht tells us how he had to rescue the body and avenge the death of Enenkhet, another of the caravan-conductors of Pepi II.

His inscription begins with the usual claims to have been a paragon of virtue and justice. Then Pepi-nakht describes how he was sent by his king to hack up Arthet and Wawat, which had, apparently, been getting somewhat out of hand. This was duly accomplished; but meanwhile another official, who specialized in sea-going expeditions, had been coming to grief. Enenkhet, who was Sole Companion, Commander of the Sailors, and Caravan-Conductor, had been sent down to the Red Sea coast to build a ship there and sail to Punt. While busy with his ship-building, he had been attached by the Sand-dwellers, as the Egyptians called the Beduin tribes, and slain, together with his escort. As in the case of Mekhu, it was vitally necessary for the eternal welfare of the murdered noble that his body should be recovered and given due burial, and so Pepi-nakht was sent to rescue the corpse and teach the Sand-dwellers a much-needed lesson as to the length of Pharaoh's arm. 'Now the Majesty of my Lord sent me to the country of the Asiatics, to bring for him the Sole Companion, Commander of the Sailors, the Caravan-Conductor, Enenkhet, who was building a ship there for Punt, when the Asiatics belonging to the Sand-dwellers slew him, together with a troop of the army which was with him. . . . ' Unfortunately the rest of the inscription is much mutilated and we have to reconstruct our picture of the punitive expedition from a scrap: 'and I slew people among them, I and the troop of the army which was with me.' We may presume, however, that Pepi-nakht was successful in both departments of his commission, or he would not have recorded the business in his tomb

inscription. This is the last of the tombs which gives us a glimpse into the busy and vigorous life of the Old Kingdom.

Beyond No. 35 comes a tomb with a two-pillared portico, which belonged to a certain Senmôse, who seems to have lived rather later than the other Middle Kingdom nobles whose tombs are found here. The inscription on one of the pillars invites the living to say a prayer for the soul of Senmôse'. The hall has four columns, and a stele which repeats the name of Senmôse. Passing two uninscribed tombs, we reach No. 36, which is the tomb of Sirenput I, apparently the grandfather of Sirenput II, whose tomb we have already visited. Sirenput I lived during the reign of Senusret I of the XIIth Dynasty, and the imposing character of his tomb shows that he was a powerful and important local magnate. The tomb is approached through a spacious courtyard, whose doorway is of fine white limestone. On either side of the portal sits Sirenput, bearing his staff and *kherp* baton. The courtyard was originally surrounded by a loggia, of which the roof has disappeared, leaving the six pillars which supported it still standing. They bear figures of Sirenput, and recite his titles: Hereditary Prince, Overseer of the Priests of Khnûm and Sâtet, Prince of Lower Nubia, Governor of the Lands of the South, Royal Registrar, and Sole Companion.

At either end of this loggia is a recess, with figures of Sirenput and his wife, and the façade of the tomb proper has scenes of a familiar type. Sirenput goes fishing and fowling in his skiff, accompanied by his wife, while a tame duck sits on the bow of the boat as a decoy, and his son also accompanies him probably standing on the bank, though appearing under Sirenput's arm. Above this we see Sirenput inspecting his cattle for a festival of the gods at Elephantine, and beside this is a large representation of Sirenput and his attendant, followed by dogs. On the right hand (north) of the doorway, another large figure of Sirenput is followed by a man carrying a bow and a staff, and



TOMB
OF SIRENPUT I,
ASWÂN
(For description,
see text)

accompanied by another dog. Then we see Sirenput seated in state beneath a canopy, while four women, each holding a flower, stand before him. These are identified for us by inscriptions; the first is his wife, 'his dear one, who is enthroned in his heart'. Her name is Set-then. Next comes his mother, also named Set-then; then his daughter, Satet-hotpe, who, as we have seen, may be the mother of Sirenput II; and lastly his second daughter Set-then. The poverty of nomenclature is conspicuous, and repeats itself in the picture of Sirenput's sons, which appears below. The first son is Prince Heqyêb, born of the lady Set-then; the second is Heqyêb-herib, and the third Heqyebwêr. A scene of a girl and two boys follows, probably chanting a funerary ditty.

Passing through the doorway we enter a four-pillared hall, which was decorated by figures painted on stucco. These are so badly preserved that little can be made out. The scenes, however, appear to have been of the familiar sort. Next we pass into a long passage, with a shallow-vaulted roof, which leads finally to the inner hall, two-pillared, with recess and shrine.

The next tomb is of much later date than those which we have been viewing, being of the latter part of the New Empire. It was discovered by Lady William Cecil and Dr. Howard Carter in 1902, and belongs to Ka-kem-kew, High-priest of Khnûm, Sâtet, and Anûqet. Its courtyard had a loggia, which is now almost totally destroyed, together with its paintings, which, indeed, were never finished. On the south (left-hand) wall, west end, is a scene, partly destroyed, showing Ka-kem-kew standing between two goddesses clothed in red. At the south end of the rear wall the funerary flotilla is arriving at the western shore. The chief vessel has an elaborate shrine upon it, with figures of Isis and Nephthys weeping. At the other end of this wall, Ka-kem-kew kneels before the cow Hathor, who appears from the Western Mountain, and above this scene is a faint shadow of a scene of weighing the heart. On the north (right-hand) wall, Ka-kem-kew prays before Khnûm and other deities, and on the east wall his mummy is supported by a priest, while his wife mourns before it.

We now enter the actual tomb which is so low that care should be taken to preserve the paintings from damage. The ceiling is beautifully decorated. Near the door a blue scarabaeus beetle supports the globe of the sun, and green baboons adore. Down

the middle of the ceiling flights of blue and white pigeons and wild duck appear upon a yellow background, and the rest of the ceiling is decorated with geometrical patterns divided by bands of writing repeating prayers to various gods for the soul of Ka-kem-kew.

At the end of the chamber is a recess which probably once contained either a statue of the high-priest, or else a stele. The rest of the chamber is undecorated, save that one of the pillars has a representation of Ka-kem-kew before Osiris and Isis. These are all the tombs which are worthy of notice ; but the visitor should not omit to climb to the top of the cliff crowned by the Qubbet el-Hawa, the tomb of a sheikh, for the sake of the view, which is particularly fine. The monastery of St. Simeon, which is the other local lion, does not fall within our province. Attention might be given, however, to the prospect of the great southern road which may be obtained from a point on the south side of the valley leading to the monastery. The road passes close to a conspicuous rock near the tomb of another sheikh, and this rock bears a number of names of officials who have passed southwards or northwards by this road during the period between the XVIIIth and XXVth Dynasties. The road, however, is much older than would be suggested by these inscriptions, and there can be no doubt that the old barons of the Old Kingdom, whose records we have just been reading, traversed it on their adventurous journeys into the Sudân.



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BOOK VI—PHILAE TO KHARTŪM

CHAPTER XXXVI

PHILAE

WE now leave Egypt proper, and enter Lower Nubia, which during the earlier part of the history of Egypt remained a somewhat variable quantity, but on the whole may be said roughly to have extended from Elephantine as far south as Wâdi Halfa, or a little south of it. In earlier days the province extended as far north as El-Kâb, and the viceroy of Kush was supposed to rule from El-Kâb southwards even in the New Empire; but the actual division between Egypt and Nubia comes where the First Cataract marks the natural division. Into the chequered history of the country there is no need to enter in detail. Its relation to the history of Egypt constitutes its sole claim to the interest of any but the specialist, and we shall see that relation sufficiently reflected in the antiquities with which we shall have to deal to absolve us from the necessity of writing a story which must partly be a repetition of incidents which we have already traced in the records of the barons of Elephantine, and partly an anticipation of incidents which will fall to be related in their natural setting as we reach the remains which are connected with them.

In very brief outline the story runs as follows. In prehistoric times the race inhabiting Lower Nubia as far south as the Second Cataract was identical with that inhabiting Egypt, and no differences can be discerned in the general level of culture. The unification of Egypt under the dynastic Pharaohs of the Ist Dynasty, however, gave an impetus to the culture of the north which was lacking to Nubia, and from this time a divergence between the cultures can be traced, and becomes more and more manifest as Egyptian civilization rises towards the pyramid-building age. Nubia remains practically stagnant, while Egypt advances rapidly; the severance could not fail to become marked.

Consequently in the latter days of the Old Kingdom we find, as we have repeatedly seen, that the Egyptian already holds the Nubian as a barbarian in comparison with himself, and Nubia to him is simply a certain amount of country which has to be traversed in order to get into contact with the products of the Sudân. The journeys of the Elephantine princes, however, gradually familiarized the Egyptian people with the characteristics of the land beyond the First Cataract.

All this was changed during the disastrous period which followed the fall of the Old Kingdom. Egypt was no longer in a position to assert over the area south of the cataract even the modified authority which had been exercised by the Old Kingdom's Keepers of the Door of the South; and in addition the population of Lower Nubia was being changed by an infusion of Central African tribes from farther south. Accordingly we find that in the early Middle Kingdom, when Egypt again becomes capable of asserting herself, Lower Nubia is by no means disposed to acquiesce in Egyptian claims to suzerainty, and the earlier kings of the XIIth Dynasty have enough to do to hold the southern tribes back from the natural frontier of Egypt. It is only with Senusret III that the position is stabilized, and the frontier permanently advanced to Semna and Kumma (Semna east) above the Second Cataract.

During the Second Intermediate Period, which witnessed the conquest by the Hyksos, Lower Nubia naturally took advantage of Egypt's weakness to regain her freedom; and when the war of independence, which ended in the expulsion of the Hyksos, began we find that Egypt had to fight upon two fronts, and to conquer the Nubians once more. Kamôse, the successor of Seqenenrê, puts the situation forcibly and picturesquely: 'Now His Majesty spake thus in his palace to the council of his grandees who were of his following: "I should like to know what use my power is to me, when there is one prince sitting in Avaris [the Hyksos king] and another in Kush, while I sit cheek by jowl with an Asiatic and a Nigger."' This unhappy situation was gradually rectified by the warlike Pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and by the time of Amenophis III we find the Egyptian frontier reaching as far south as Napata, at the Fourth Cataract, and Egyptian culture permeating the region. Under the weak rule of the priest Pharaohs of the XXIst Dynasty, the Nubian province broke away once more, and this time an Ethiopian Kingdom

was established with its capital at Napata, and this kingdom gradually came to hold itself as the true heir to all the great traditions, both religious and secular, of Egypt. As Egypt fell more and more into disunion and internecine strife Piankhy, one of the Ethiopian kings, invaded and overran the whole land, evidently recognizing himself as the holder of a mission to restore order and religion, and shortly afterwards the Ethiopian Dynasty, the XXVth, took over the rule of the country, and inherited the task of combating the Assyrian power—a task in which it disastrously failed. The Ethiopians fell back into Nubia with the rise of the XXVIth Dynasty, and Psammetichus II, of the Saite line, made an unsuccessful attempt to reduce Lower Nubia ; while the invasion by Cambyzes, after the Persian conquest of Egypt, also ended in failure. The capital of the Ethiopian kingdom was shifted from Napata to Meroë somewhere about 300 B.C. ; but the local civilization now rapidly declined, though still maintaining a crude imitation of the Egyptian culture from which it derived. With the wars against the Romans, under Candace, the Ethiopian queen, and the subsequent endless struggle of the Roman Empire against the tribes known as the Blemmyes, we have no concern.

As regards Egypt itself, it may be said that Lower Nubia, like Sinai, is a kind of barometer by which we may measure the prosperity of the kingdom. Under strong and aggressive Pharaohs the Egyptian frontier in Nubia gradually advances ; under feeble dynasties it as regularly recedes, until in extreme cases the line is drawn again at the First Cataract, and there is even some difficulty in maintaining that.

A short distance up-stream from the island of Sehêl, whose inscriptions we have just seen, the Nile is crossed by the great Aswân dam, which has been built and added to between 1898 and the present day for the purpose of storing up water during the winter in order that it may become available when the Nile is low during early summer. This gigantic work, in which modern engineering has shown that it can worthily rival the constructions of the Pharaohs, has taken three stages to develop its full capacity. As at first completed, between 1898 and the end of 1902, it was 130 feet high, and its thickness, 23 feet at the top, reached 98 feet at the bottom. It had not been long in use before it was decided to raise it another 16½ feet, and to increase its thickness correspondingly, and this was accomplished between

1907 and 1912. Finally it has been decided to raise the dam another 18 feet, and this increase is now in progress, and will be completed in 1933. Our concern with this great and beneficent work, which has so greatly increased the productivity of Egypt, is limited to the question of how it has affected and will affect such antiquities as lie within the levels which are reached, or will shortly be reached, by the impounded water when the reservoir is full. At present the list of temples and fortresses which are more or less submerged during the winter season includes the following buildings: the temples of Philae and the temple of Biga; the temple of Dabûd, the fortress and quarries of Qertassi, the temple of Wâdi Hadid; the temple of Tâfa; the temple of Kalâbsha; the temple of Dendûr; the fortress of Koshtamna; the temple of El-Dakka; the fortress of Kûbân; the temple of Qûrta; and the temple of El-Maharraqa; and with the new extension of the dam all these will be still further submerged, and the great lake formed by the reservoir will extend still further up-stream.

The main loss, to the ordinary visitor, is, of course, that of the beautiful island of Philae, formerly the beauty-spot of Upper Egypt, with its palms and its striking grouping of temples which, however late in date, appeared to offer the very essentials of Egyptian architecture to the casual observer. Philae and the other sites mentioned were subjected to close examination and preparation in view of the approaching trial to which they were to be subjected; and before the dam was erected it was confidently affirmed that, owing to the underpinning and other stabilizing work to which they were treated, they were stronger than ever, and would suffer nothing from their submersion. In actual fact, however, these comfortable expectations have been disappointed. Philae, even when its buildings are visible, is a very different Philae from what it was. The submerged stone has become coated with a grey discoloration due to minute filaments of dead algae, which give a most unpleasant and indeed disgusting appearance to the once beautiful stone, and the carvings and inscriptions are gradually 'decaying and ready to vanish away', so that M. Barsanti warned his chiefs of the Service of Antiquities that they 'must resign themselves to see them disappear little by little' (*Les Temples Immergés de la Nubie*). Now that the submersion is to be deeper and more prolonged, less and less will be seen of Philae, and we shall have

to console ourselves with the thought that, after all, the temples of the island belonged only to the period of Egypt's decline, the oldest structure being only of the reign of Nectanebis I (c. 370 B.C.). What Philae has suffered is being repeated, in less degree, in the other partly submerged temples, some of which have associations going considerably further back than those of 'the Pearl of Egypt'.

After all, however, there is no sense in raving about the matter. Human lives are of more account than dead buildings, however interesting, and to talk, as one enthusiastic admirer of Egypt has done, of the 'very damnable dam' is simply to display a total lack of the sense of proportion. The great dam is constantly proving itself an infinite blessing to the people of Egypt; and a work that, directly or indirectly, blesses the lives of fifteen millions of people needs no justification, however much we may regret the loss of certain interesting relics of the past which its construction has involved. We have to resign ourselves to the fact that Philae is lost, and that other temples are going to be more and more involved in its fate, and set this sacrifice against the greater well-being of the millions of the Nile valley below the dam.

On our way to Philae we pass the rocky islets of Konosso, off the northern end of the larger island. These are now generally submerged, and will be still more so in future; but two of the inscriptions on the rocks are worthy of notice. One is the long inscription in which Tuthmosis IV, the father of Amenophis III, describes how he was instructed by an oracle of Amûn to proceed on an expedition against the rebels of Nubia, and how he carried out the instructions of the god. The passage referring to the expedition is as follows: 'After these things His Majesty proceeded to overthrow the negro in Nubia; mighty in his barque like Rê when he shews himself in his celestial barque — . . .' His army of his victories was with him on both banks . . . and the ship was equipped with his attendants, as the King proceeded up-stream like Orion he illuminated the South with his beauty; men shouted because of his kindness, women danced at the message. . . . The fear of him entered into every body; Rê put the fear of him among the lands, like Sekhmet in the year of the dew. . . . He coursed through the eastern highland, he traversed the ways like a jackal. . . .' (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, 823-9). Which is all very fine, only one would have liked to hear the Nubian version of this wonderful progress.

The other inscription is of Amenophis III, son of Tuthmosis IV. He also had to do over again the work which his father had so miraculously accomplished, and which had lasted for so short a time: 'Year 5; His Majesty returned, having triumphed on his first victorious campaign in the land of Kush the wretched; having made his boundary as far as he desired, as far as the four pillars which bear the heaven. He set up a tablet of victory as far as "Pool-of-Horus"; there was no king of Egypt who did the like beside His Majesty, the mighty, satisfied with victory, Nebmaetrê [Amenophis III] is He' (Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, 845). One would have liked to know where the Pool of Horus was, where Amenophis III set up his tablet of victory. We know, at all events, that the Egyptian frontier in Nubia reached, in the days of Amenophis, the Fourth Cataract, which was its utmost extension in any time. Other inscriptions are of Psammetichus II and Apries; but the two quoted above are the most interesting among a collection which is not likely to be visited again.

We now reach Philae, which lies about two miles above the dam. The island is about 500 yards long by 160 yards broad, and consists of a mass of granite mixed with hornblende. Nile mud has accumulated to a considerable depth above the rock in most places; but the granite shows itself at the north-eastern corner, and in the court of the temple of Isis, behind the second pylon. The name Philae is a Greek equivalent for the Ancient Egyptian name *Pilak*—which is of uncertain meaning, though the Coptic form *Pilakh* means an end, or a corner. The earliest erection of any kind at present existing on the island is an altar of Taharqa, the Ethiopian Pharaoh (XXVth Dynasty), and it is considerably older than the next structure, which is the temple of Nectanebis already mentioned.

Though Philae thus does not come into the Ancient Egyptian picture until nearly the end of Egypt's long day, the priests of Isis, once established on the island, at once endeavoured to make up for lost time. We have already seen the inscription at Sehêl which claims that King Zoser endowed Khnûm with the Dodecaschoinoi; but the priests of Isis at Philae were not content to see this claim going unquestioned, and presented their own claim to the territory in question on precisely the same grounds—namely, a gift of Zoser as a reward for their goddess having averted the famine which had been raging for seven years. What was the issue of the struggle between the two sets of liars, we

only partly know ; but while the priests of Khnûm were probably so far in the right, since the worship of Khnûm was of much earlier date locally than that of Isis, it is more than likely that right prevailed nothing against might, for Isis was much more popular than Khnûm in the later days of Ancient Egypt.

Late though temple-building at Philae may have started, it proceeded with considerable vigour when once begun, and practically the whole surface of the island was covered with structures dating from the time of Nectanebis to that of the Emperor Hadrian. The worship of Isis, which made the island celebrated in Ptolemaic and Roman days, was a comparatively late growth here, and has no roots earlier than the Ptolemaic time ; but the priests of the great goddess speedily succeeded in making their cult the most powerful in Upper Egypt. In the reign of Ptolemy VI, Philometor, the Dodecaschoinoi, that bone of contention between them and the priests of Khnûm, was handed over by that king to the Isis priesthood to be administered ; and this meant that a territory of ninety miles or so in length was subject to them ; though it must be admitted that the quality of the land was not equal to its quantity. Indeed it appears that somewhat later the Isis priesthood was in possession of the whole of Lower Nubia as far as the Second Cataract. The strange popularity which the cult of Isis achieved in the Roman Empire did not fail the Philae priesthood. Long after the decrees of Theodosius the worship of Isis continued to be kept up at Philae, whose remoteness made such a defiance practicable, and it was not until the time of Justinian (A.D. 527-65) that the temples of Philae were closed, and not until 577 that the temple of Isis was converted by Bishop Theodorus into a Christian church. The mud-brick remains of the Coptic town which grew up subsequent to this date around the former pagan shrine, excavated and planned in 1895, are now of the past in more senses than one.

The temple of Nectanebis, which is the earliest on the island, was dedicated to Hathor, Isis, and the gods of Senmet—i.e., the island of Biga, near at hand. At what period the legend grew up that Philae was one of the blessed spots hallowed by the burial of one of the members of the mutilated body of Osiris is not known ; but once such a tradition was mooted the Isis priesthood would make the most of it, and the island became

the scene of one of the Osiris passion-plays such as were held at Abydos and elsewhere. The great shrine of Osiris at Abydos having by this time fallen into decay, its reputation would be all the easier transferred to Philae, and brought crowds of worshippers to the place. Gradually, in accordance with the tendency which was asserting itself throughout the Roman world, Osiris was superseded in favour by his wife, and Isis became the undisputed mistress of Philae, with Horus, who had an ancient connexion with Biga, as a secondary god.

We begin our survey of the temples of Philae with the southwestern corner of the island, where the temple of Nectanebis rises immediately above the water, when the reservoir is low. This temple was meant to be the first court of a temple dedicated to Hathor, Isis, and all the gods of Senmet (Biga), and, as seen, is a restoration carried out by Ptolemy II, Philadelphus, of the original structure. It was originally supported by fourteen columns, but of these only six now survive. These have floral capitals with sistrum capitals, bearing Hathor heads above the lower capital, according to the clumsy fashion affected in the late period. The roof is gone, and one of the two sandstone obelisks which stood before the river-front has disappeared; the other still stands, but has lost its point. The columns were united by stone screens, crowned with the usual cavetto cornices and rows of uraei. On the east face of the temple, the king is seen on the screen-walls before Khnûm and Sâtet, Osiris and Isis; while on the west face of the screens he appears before Amûn and Mût, Isis and Anûket, Khnûm and Wazet, Isis and the child Horus. Within the temple, the king is seen on the east side in the presence of Isis, Nephthys and Hathor, with various other gods and goddesses; while on the west side he appears before Osiris, Isis, Khnûm, Horus of Edfu, Thoth of Hermopolis and other deities.

Close to the temple of Nectanebis and at the southern end of the east colonnade leading to the temple of Isis is the much-ruined temple of Ari-hes-nûfer or Arsnuphis, who was a local version of the ancient air-god Shu. It once had a pronaos, vestibule, corridor and sanctuary, but these have for the most part perished. The base of the pronaos walls survives, with a procession of figures of the Nile-god Hapi. Remains of reliefs show the builders of the temple, Ptolemy IV, Philopator, and Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, before various deities. The part of the enclosure walls which still remain has four rows of scenes which

show the Emperor Tiberius before the gods, among whom Arsnuphis is to be seen. On the fallen part of the enclosure wall, Ergamenes, the Ethiopian king contemporary with Ptolemy IV, who apparently collaborated with the Egyptian king in the building of the temple, is shown, together with Ptolemy IV, Ptolemy VII and Tiberius.

Returning now to the southern end of the island, we follow the line of the western colonnade which leads from the temple of Nectanebis towards the great temple of Isis. This remarkably beautiful approach is 100 yards in length, and on the river front presents a sheer wall, rising from the retaining wall which here fronts the water. The colonnade consists of thirty-one columns (originally thirty-two). These still support portions of the roof, which is decorated with vultures and stars. The rear wall is well preserved, and is decorated with two rows of reliefs showing Claudius, Tiberius and Germanicus before various gods; and windows pierced in it overlook the river. The capitals of the columns are floral and palm-leaf, and show great variety. Above them are impost-blocks and architraves supporting a cavetto cornice. Altogether this colonnade is one of the most attractive features of the island, and its submersion, however necessary, is to be deplored. At right angles to it is a subterranean passage leading to the water, which was used as a nilometer.

The east colonnade which led from the temple of Arsnuphis, was never finished. It has seventeen columns; but of these only six have been completed, and the remaining eleven are only rough-hewn. Five doorways pierce the rear wall, which has never been decorated. These lead out into a court where stand the ruins of a small temple of Mandulis, a local form of the sun-god, 'the flash-darting Lord'. Nearer the great temple of Isis, a sixth door leads into the court of the small temple of Imhôtep, whom the Greeks equated, under the name of Imouthes, with Asclepius or Aesculapius. The doorway leading into the temple is on the north side of this court, and shows Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, before Imhôtep on the left hand; while on the right he appears before the cataract triad, Khnûm, Sâtet, and Anûqet, and also before Osiris, Isis and Imhôtep. The two chambers beyond the doorway are undecorated. The temple was actually built by Ptolemy II, Philadelphus. Between it and the pylon of the great temple stands a fine gateway, which is also the work of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and probably once formed part of an

earlier approach for which the present eastern colonnade has been substituted. It has reliefs on the lintel of its western face showing Philadelphus dancing before Khnûm and Hathor and before Osiris and Isis; while on the east face of the doorway he is seen before Osiris and Isis, Sâtet and Anûqet and other deities. The jambs of the portal show Tiberius before the gods.

We now reach the great temple of Isis, which was begun by Ptolemy II, Philadelphus (283-245 B.C.), and completed in essentials by Ptolemy III, Euergetes I (247-221 B.C.). Its decoration, of course, lasted for a much longer period, and indeed was never quite finished. The great pylon is an imposing structure, 150 feet across and 60 feet in height. The main gateway between the towers is of earlier work than the rest of the structure, being of Nectanebis, and erected by this king at the same time as his little temple which we have just seen; and the reliefs on the lintel show Nectanebis dancing before Osiris and Isis, Khnûm and Hathor. On either side of the thickness of the portal, the king is seen in the presence of various gods, one large relief showing him before Isis. On the right-hand thickness is a French inscription recording the presence of the force under General Desaix which had pursued the Mamelukes to this point.

The towers of the pylon are adorned with reliefs which show Ptolemy XI, Neos Dionysos (Auletes) slaying his enemies before Isis, Horus of Edfu and Hathor; while, above, the same king makes offerings to Horus and Nephthys, Isis and Horus the Child. There is a subsidiary doorway through the tower, on the left (west), leading to the birth-house, which stands between this pylon and the second pylon. Before the towers are two fallen lions of Roman or Byzantine date, and here also formerly stood two small obelisks of granite, erected by Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II. Of these one was removed in 1818 by Belzoni, who had cast a covetous eye upon it on his first visit to the island in 1815. His account of his adventures in the removal of the shaft is both interesting and diverting, particularly at the point where the obelisk collapses into the Nile owing to the subsidence of the pier which he had confidently trusted the natives to build (*Narrative*, pp. 353-63). The obelisk was 22 feet in height and weighs about 6 tons. It was finally sold to Mr. W. J. Bankes of Kingston Lacy, Dorset, and was set up by him in the presence of the Duke of Wellington in 1839. It is of great interest from the fact that the existence on its pedestal of Greek inscriptions of

the same reign as the original hieroglyphic inscription on its faces enabled Mr. Bankes in 1816, before its removal, to identify the cartouche of Cleopatra, the wife of Euergetes II, and so to contribute to the decipherment of the hieroglyphics.

Passing now through the main doorway, we find ourselves in the Forecourt of the temple. On our left hand (west) is the Birth-house, and on the right (east) a colonnade with graceful floral and palm leaf columns. Turning back to see the reliefs on the rear side of the pylon which we have just passed, we see on the right hand (west) Neos Dionysos before Osiris, Isis, and other deities, while below two sacred barques are carried in procession by priests. On the left hand (east) the same king is seen before Amûn and Mût and other gods. In this tower a small doorway on the side on which we stand leads into a chamber adorned with reliefs showing Ptolemy VIII, Soter II, before Isis, Hathor, and Horus, and in the company of his queen and the Princess Cleopatra, before Isis. Farther to the east, under the colonnade, another small doorway, which has above it reliefs showing Ptolemy XI, Neos Dionysos, leaving his palace, accompanied by the standards of the nation, gives access to a stairway leading finally to the top of the pylons.

We now cross the Forecourt to its western side in order to enter the Birth-house, which, it will be remembered, can also be reached by the doorway through the great pylon (west tower). This doorway is adorned with reliefs showing Ptolemy VI, Philometor, in the presence of various divinities, and beyond this are scenes introducing the special subject of the birth-house, the story of the birth and childhood of Horus. The main building has in front of it a portico, whose rood is supported by four columns. Then follows a couple of chambers, and finally the Sanctuary. Round three sides of the building runs a colonnade, which has floral capitals surmounted by sistrum capitals with Hathor heads. The walls, columns and screen-walls between the columns are decorated with the customary reliefs of the Pharaoh who may be Ptolemy VI, Ptolemy VII, Ptolemy XI, or Tiberius, as the case may be, in the presence of various gods. These it would be merely wearisome to describe. The walls of the first chamber are not decorated; those of the second have a curious set of reliefs round the lower part of the room, showing all kinds of quaint divinities among the papyrus swamps where legend placed the birth of Horus. In the Sanctuary the most

interesting scene is on the north wall (rear wall) where the hawk of Horus is seen crowned with the Double Crown and standing among the papyrus thickets. Below this, Isis is shown with the newly born Horus in her arms ; while around her are Amen-Rê, Thoth, Wazet, Nekhebt and Hôr Behudti. On the east side of the forecourt, the colonnade with floral and palm-leaf capital is singularly graceful. It is surmounted by the usual cavetto cornice, which bears in its turn a row of uraei. The inscription on the architrave assigns the building of this gallery to Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II ; but the reliefs on the wall show Ptolemy XI, Neos Dionysos, before the gods. Six doorways open through the rear wall of the colonnade, and these appear to have given access to chambers which were used for various practical purposes connected with the temple worship, such as the making of incense, the storing of the sacred books, and the like.

In the Forecourt of the great temple, in which we are standing, the earliest piece of work at Philae stands in the south-east corner—an altar in granite of Taharqa, the Ethiopian Pharaoh. The rear wall of the court is formed by pylon No. II, which is 105 feet broad, and 40 feet high. The doorway between the towers is approached by an inclined plane with shallow steps, and is adorned with reliefs of the usual kind, showing Euergetes II, in much-battered condition before a much-battered series of gods. The towers on either hand show Neos Dionysos offering incense and dedicating sacrificial animals to Horus, Hathor and other gods. At the base of the eastern tower, a mass of the natural granite of the island protrudes, and this has been smoothed so as to form a stele on which Ptolemy VI, Philometor, and his queen stand before Isis and Horus, and before Osiris and Isis. A six-lined inscription beneath, dated in the twenty-fourth year, refers to a grant of the Dodecaschoinoi made to Isis.

Passing through the great portal, we notice on the east side an inscription of the Christian Bishop Theodorus. We now find ourselves in a small open court, which at one time had a colonnade on its east and west sides, its roof supported in each case by a single column. The open space between the colonnades could be closed by a *velarium*, which was drawn across by cords. This little court was separated from the vestibule beyond it by screen-walls uniting four columns, behind which four other columns

help to support the roof of the hall. There are the usual wearisome reliefs, which have been removed on the east side of the hall, and a Christian altar erected, and numerous Coptic crosses carved on the walls. On the side of the doorway leading into the next chamber is another inscription of Bishop Theodorus (reign of Justinian, A.D. 527-65) claiming the credit for 'this good work', by which is meant the disfigurement of the hall, which we could wish the good bishop had let alone. The same remark applies to the inscription commemorating the archaeological expedition of 1841, sent by Pope Gregory XVI. It was well to send such an expedition, but not so well to deface the very objects to study which the expedition was sent. But Bishop Theodorus and Pope Gregory will both now be condemned to a common doom in the interests of the living population of Egypt. Three small antechambers, backed by dark chambers, now lead to the Sanctuary, which is lit by two little windows, and contains the pedestal of the sacred barque, placed here by Ptolemy III and his wife Berenice. A staircase on the west side of the temple gives access to the roof of the sanctuary, and here are the Osiris chambers, with a number of interesting reliefs relating to the death of the god. There are four sunk chambers at the corners of the roof, of which that at the north-east corner has no inscriptions or reliefs. The chamber at the south-east corner has lost its floor, and the reliefs of the chamber in the south-west corner are the most interesting, showing offerings made to Osiris, while Isis and Nephthys spread their wings around him, and Isis weeping by the bier of Osiris, with Anubis standing by and a hawk hovering above the bier. A second chamber opens out of this one, with reliefs of the worship of the dead Osiris and his resurrection.

The outside walls of the temple have a series of conventional reliefs, which largely date from the reign of Tiberius, and are not of sufficient interest to be worthy of description. On the west side of the temple near pylon II, stands a gateway built by the Emperor Hadrian, which leads to a sorely ruined structure rising above the quay wall. On the lintel of the doorway Hadrian is seen before Osiris, Isis and the child Horus, while the sides of it are adorned with the wig of Osiris on a pole, and the Tet or Dad emblem of Osiris, which represents his backbone. The reliefs in the passage leading from the gateway are much damaged, but one near a side-door on the south side is of interest. It

shows the king bearing a chest on his shoulder, and walking, in company with Thoth and Isis, towards a temple, which has two doorways on its west side. Beyond these doorways is the river, across which Osiris is being carried on the back of a crocodile towards the rocks of Biga, the island close at hand. Sun, moon and stars shine above the river. Another relief on the north wall shows Isis, Nephthys, Horus, Amûn and Hathor worshipping the hawk which rises over the river beneath the island of Biga. The island has a vulture perching on it, and beneath is a cave surrounded by a serpent and holding the figure of Hapi the Nile-god. This is intended to represent the source of the Nile. A Demotic inscription on this building mentions Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius, and Lucius Verus. To the south of Hadrian's gateway is another nilometer, which is now inaccessible. It bears Hieratic, Demotic and Coptic scales.

To the north of Hadrian's gateway is a much-ruined temple, built by the Emperor Claudius, and dedicated to Harendôtes, 'Horus-the-Protector-of-his-Father', one of the many forms of Horus. Farther north still is the ruined temple of Augustus, which was built in the eighteenth year of his reign. Here was found the trilingual inscription of Cornelius Gallus, now in the Cairo Museum, who was successful, as Prefect of Egypt, in suppressing the revolt of the Egyptians in 29 B.C., but celebrated his victory with such extravagant praise of himself that he was recalled by Augustus; whereupon he committed suicide. Beyond this temple, and in alinement with its axis, is the town-gate of Philae, probably the work of Diocletian. It originally consisted of a triple arch, the central arch being higher than the side ones. The arch to the west has still its domical stone vault; but the corresponding vault on the other side has fallen. The gateway communicates by a stairway with the water.

Proceeding round the eastern side of the island in a southerly direction, we reach next the temple of Hathor, built by Ptolemy VI, Philometor, and Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II. It stands just east of pylon II of the great temple, and at present consists of a colonnaded hall and a pronaos, the other halls having disappeared. The colonnade was decorated by Augustus, and shows some rather dainty reliefs, all speaking of joy and festivity as is fitting in a temple of Hathor, who, it will be remembered, was

equated with the Greek Aphrodite, and was a goddess of love and joy. A figure plays upon a double pipe, and another upon a harp, the king offers a festal crown to Isis and flowers to Nephthys; Bes beats the tambourine or plays on a harp; the king offers a crown to Hathor and sistra to Sekhmet; an ape plays on a lute; the king offers wine to Isis, and so on—a decided and delightful change from the tiresome succession of reliefs, showing the Pharaoh in all the usual attitudes before the usual gods, which are repeated, with hardly a variation, from temple to temple. The roof of the Pronaos beyond is supported by two columns with plant capitals. Between the columns and the walls are screens. On the north and south sides of the walls outside are representations of the king leaving his palace, wearing, on the north, the crown of Upper Egypt, and on the south that of Lower Egypt.

Still farther south rises the building which is so prominent in every picture of Philae that to most people it stands for the island, and is the picture that is brought to the mind whenever Philae is mentioned. This is the so-called 'kiosk', sometimes called 'Pharaoh's Bed'. This structure is a rectangular chamber surrounded by fourteen columns, which have floral capitals. These support tall impost-blocks, which carry the architraves and cavetto cornice. The imposts were probably designed to be carved into sistrum capitals with Hathor heads; but this was never done, and indeed the building never advanced far towards completion. The screen-walls which rise between the columns were intended to be carved with reliefs; but only two of them ever reached completion. These show the Emperor Trajan burning incense before Osiris and Isis, and offering wine to Isis and Horus. The kiosk has wide doorways on its east and west sides, and a smaller door to the north. Unfinished though it is, and comparatively speaking undecorated, it is the almost total loss of this little fragment which will hold the largest place in the imagination of all who have loved Philae.

Immediately to the west of Philae lies the larger island of Biga, which, though usually made use of only as a viewpoint from which to see Philae, has remains which are themselves worthy of attention, and which prove the larger island to have had a much more ancient history than its more famous neighbour. A staircase leads up from the ancient quay, and brings us to the remains of the temple of the island, of which only scanty

fragments survive. There is a doorway, an open court, and a pronaos, which has columns with elaborate floral capitals. These columns are united by screen-walls, which show Ptolemy XI, Neos Dionysos, before Osiris, Isis and Khnûm of Senmet, the local god. The original temple, however, must have dated much farther back, as statues of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II existed on the site, of which part of that of Tuthmosis III was extant till within recent days, and that of Amenophis II is still remembered. The site was therefore held sacred in the XVIIIth Dynasty. When the theory of the cave on the island which was the source of the Nile came into being we have no evidence to show; but the scene on the Hadrian gateway at Philae shows that it was held in Roman days. Biga was also apparently the site of one of the tombs of Osiris, which is probably portrayed in another of the reliefs on the passage of the Hadrian gateway, described above; but no evidence exists to show what was the date at which this idea grew up.

In addition to the ruins of its temple, Biga has a number of inscriptions, of which several date from the XVIIIth Dynasty. One, of the vizier Ramôse states that that official came to make offerings to all the gods of Senmet, and gives the cartouche of Amenophis III (Nebmaetrê). The figure of a man with a staff of office has the same cartouche, and the inscription 'The Viceroy of Kush, Merimes'. A third inscription opposite the south end of Philae gives the cartouches of Amenophis III again, with the words: 'The Royal Scribe, the Truth of his Lord, the Commander of the Troops of the Lord of the Two Lands, Amenhotpe', and 'the Superintendent of the Great Palace in Memphis, Amenhotpe', and shows two figures with upraised hands. Close to this inscription is another which gives the cartouche of Nebmaetrê (Amenophis III) and the figure, possibly, of the vizier Ramôse, from all which we see that in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and especially in the reign of Amenophis III, considerable interest was taken in Biga, or Senmet, as it was then called. A later inscription is one which shows a man with crook and staff of office, who is 'The Viceroy of Kush, Huy', presumably the official who held this position in the reign of Tutankhamûn.

Then comes an important inscription of the XIXth Dynasty, stating that Prince Khaemwêset, who will be remembered as the favourite son of Ramses II, celebrated the jubilee of his father for the first time in the thirtieth year, for the second time in the

thirty-fourth year, and for the third time in the thirty-seventh year. The prince has left space for future celebrations ; but his own death precluded the adding of the dates of these. Among later Pharaohs who figure at Biga are Ahmôse II, Psammetichus II, and Apries, of the XXVIth Dynasty.

CHAPTER XXXVII

FROM PHILAE TO KALÂBSHA AND BEIT EL-WÂLI

LEAVING Philae, we come in a short time to Dabûd, which lies about $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles above the dam. The temple which exists here stood a little more than a century ago at some distance from the river, with which it was connected by a causeway and quay. All this has now been changed by the barrage, and will be still more changed by the extension of the reservoir caused by the heightening of the dam. The temple has a fine background. It was built late in the history of Egypt by a Nubian king named Azkharamûn. Time had been when such a title was a reality under Piankhy, and Taharqa; but it was now a mere fiction, as is seen by the fact that Ptolemy VI, Philometor, added a Greek inscription on the second of the monumental portals by which the temple is approached. The inscription states that this pylon is dedicated to Isis and the *synnaoi theoi* on behalf of Ptolemy Philometor and his wife Cleopatra. There was probably an earlier shrine of some sort here as early as the XIIth Dynasty, for a stele in Berlin shows that the town was in existence in the reign of Amenemhêt II, and, if an Egyptian town, then also a temple of some sort. After Ptolemy VI, it was adorned by Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II, who added a granite shrine from himself and his wife Cleopatra; and subsequently both Augustus and Tiberius added some decoration. But the temple was never finished. The chief deity honoured in it is Isis, usually and naturally in conjunction with Osiris and the child Horus (Harpocrates). The usual favourites of Upper Egypt, Khnûm, Amen-Rê, Mût and Hathor, were also held in honour.

According to Gau's plan (1818) a quay on the river bank led to a paved causeway of some length, which led up to the first pylon in the *temenos* wall. There follows a second pylon, on which is the inscription of Philometor, referred to above; the third pylon was still standing in 1894 but, between the effects of the flooding of the site and the thefts of stone by the natives,

has collapsed. Beyond this third portal, at a distance of 42 feet, rose the façade of the temple building proper. This was adorned with four columns, bearing floral capitals, and connected by stone screens; but of this little now remains. Reliefs on the surviving portions show Augustus or Tiberius before the gods. A doorway in the middle of this façade gave access to the vestibule, which has reliefs of Azkharamûn adoring the gods. On the south side of the vestibule a wing was added later, but it is now badly ruined. From the vestibule one enters the pronaos which is roofless and undecorated, and thence one passes into the sanctuary, in which is a granite naos of Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II, and his wife Cleopatra. The rest of the temple is of no particular interest, though it is in comparatively good preservation. In the neighbourhood, about a mile west of the temple, are the quarries from which the stone for its building was obtained. They are, however, of no interest to make them worth a visit.

A little farther up-stream is the village of Dimri, with a few remains of ancient building, including a quay-wall projecting into the river. At $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles above the dam is Dehmîd (Dehmît), and a short distance south of it a group of inscriptions occurs at the mouth of a rocky valley. One of these appears to be of Amenemhêt II of the XIIIth Dynasty, and the cartouche of Senusret I also appears here.

We next approach Qertassi (Qirtâs), where, on the west bank, is the little temple which bears the same name. It stands on a rocky plateau overlooking the river, and is fortunate in its situation compared with some of its Nubian neighbours. The building is quite tiny, being only 25 feet square; but its situation makes it a conspicuous object, and it offers a pretty picture. The entrance, which faces north, has two Hathor-headed columns with a portal between them; and there are four other columns, with flower capitals, supporting two short architraves, which in turn support a long roofing-block with a cavetto cornice at both ends. The screen-walls between the columns survive, more or less, except on the south side, where they have perished. One column shows a king in the presence of Isis and Horus; otherwise the little temple, which somewhat resembles the kiosk at Philae, is undecorated. South of the temple lies the great quarry from which, along with other quarries on the north and west at this place, the stone for the building of the temples of Philae was extracted. The southern quarry was entered by a

narrow passage cut through the rock, as at Silsila, and the sides of this portal have various votive steles, two of which are dedicated to Osiris. Within the quarry, in addition to a number of Greek inscriptions and figures, there is a niche evidently meant for the statue of a god. It is in the shape of an Egyptian doorway, with uraei and the winged disk, and with pillars up each side. On either side of this niche is a bust in high relief, of Roman date, the face much damaged. The *ex voto* inscriptions are of the times of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Severus, Caracalla, and Gordian, and are addressed to Isis, Sruptichis, and Pursepmunis. Isis we know, but Sruptichis and Pursepmunis are of somewhat uncouth appearance. They seem to have been Nubian deities, and to have had some connexion with Qertassi and the quarrying. Beyond the quarry, the Roman fortress of Qertassi lies on the margin of the river, nearly a mile south of the temple—a large rectangular building, with a wall of hewn stone, which still stands in some parts to a height of 20 feet. The main gate, which has the usual cavetto cornice, is on the north face, but there are also gates to the south and west. To the west the ancient ditch shows, and there are the remains of a central keep or citadel. The enclosure wall is an interesting example of constructional methods, being built of two skins of masonry, with the space between them filled in with rubble, which has now disappeared. Both quarry and fort are now flooded and can only be approached by boat during the winter season.

Our next halt is at Tâfa, 'one of the most beautifully situated villages on the Nile'. Here the cliffs, which above Qertassi have drawn near the river, open out a little, leaving a bay of a mile and a half across, which is flooded when the reservoir is full. There are no ruins at Tâfa earlier than the Roman period. In A.D. 300 the place fell into the hands of the Blemmyes, who had been fighting for long against the Romans; but these rude tribesmen were in turn driven out, when in the sixth century Silko, the Christian king of Nubia, defeated them here.

Up till somewhere between 1860 and 1880 there were still two temples to be seen at Tâfa; but during these twenty years one of them disappeared—how, Maspero in his report on the Nubian temples does not tell us, though the process may be imagined, and indeed the natives can tell how the stone was gradually broken up to build their houses. The remaining temple is still

almost perfect, and Maspero says of it : ' Even after the attacks which it has undergone in these latter days, it is perhaps the best preserved of all the temples of Nubia, and certainly one of the prettiest.' Its façade faces south, and has two columns with floral capitals, engaged between two high screen-walls which rise to the level of the capitals. Between the columns is an elaborate portal, with winged disk, cavetto cornice and row of uraei, and the screen-wall to the right is pierced by another portal which has also the disk, cornice and uraei. Within, the building consists of a single chamber, with another four columns, also with floral capitals. On the north side is a recess for a shrine or altar ; but there are no decorations. There was probably a forecourt on the south side, and the whole building stood upon a platform of six courses of masonry. Altogether the little temple was a very interesting and perfect example of late work, and it is therefore all the more to be deplored that it has had to be submerged.

From the top of the granite cliffs at the south end of the bay in which Tâfa stands there is to be had what Mr. Weigall has called ' perhaps the finest view in Egypt '. ' The view from here ', he says, ' is indeed superb. To the north the town and temple of Tafah is overlooked, and beyond this the Nile is seen flowing towards the distant hills. To the south and west the tumbled granite boulders and ragged hills extend as far as the eye can see. To the east one looks sheer down on the river as it winds between the sombre cliffs, and here and there one catches a glimpse of a little bay in which stand a few palms or other trees, looking wonderfully green against the purple-brown of the rocks ' (*Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, p. 500).

Above Tâfa begins the pass known as the *Bâb el-Kalâbsha* or Gate of Kalâbsha, where the dark granite rocks come close to the river on either hand, and the black and shining rocks dot the water surface, making the navigation a matter of care. On one of these rocks there is an inscription stating that Isis of Philae owns the country for the thirty schoinoi which stretch between the first and second cataracts ; but it may be presumed that enough has been heard of the little quarrel between the priests of Khnûm of Elephantine and those of Isis of Philae, though it must be admitted that the Isis priests were admirably thorough in their assertion of the claims of their goddess—or themselves ! A desert track runs round from Tâfa to Kalâbsha, passing the

village of Khartûm beyond which it enters a valley on the left side of which is an inscription dated in the eighteenth year of the Pharaoh Taharqa (XXVth Dynasty).

Kalâbsha itself stands on both sides of the river, and occupies the site of the ancient town of Talmis. The town certainly existed in the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, as is shown by the fact that Amenophis II, the son of Tuthmosis III, is shown in the reliefs of the pronaos of the temple, which was perhaps founded by his father, who was a mighty builder in Nubia. Mr. Weigall states that a statue bearing the name of Tuthmosis was seen within recent memory lying near the quay; but what has since become of it is not stated. The temple was dedicated to the Nubian god Mandulis, who was a form of the sun-god—a very suitable deity for Nubia. As it exists at present it is of late date, having been restored on its ancient XVIIIth Dynasty foundations by one of the Ptolemys, and rebuilt in the reign of Augustus, with subsequent additions by Caligula and Trajan. Mandulis is by no means the sole deity who is honoured in the building, place being found, as usual in Egyptian temples, for quite a number of other deities, including, of course, Amen-Rê, Khnûm, Min and Ptah, while the cult of Osiris, Isis and the child Horus is also prominent.

‘The temple of Kalâbsha’, says Maspero, ‘is the finest in Nubia.’ Doubtless he made exception in favour of Abu Simbel, which is of a class entirely different from Kalâbsha, and which in its own way is even more impressive; but otherwise there is no question of Kalâbsha’s primacy, though the decoration of the open-air temple is deplorably crude. As a whole it is wonderfully well preserved. Like most Egyptian temples in Upper Egypt, it was meant to be approached from the river, and it possessed a quay, from which an imposing causeway, 25 feet broad and 100 feet long, leads up to the front of the temple. In front of the Pylon is a platform with a flight of steps leading up to it, and on this slightly elevated area the temple stands. The pylon is in wonderfully good preservation, although it has lost its upper part with the cornice; but it is quite undecorated, save for two representations of gods in the thickness of the doorway. The pylon is slightly skew to the axis of the temple.

Passing the pylon, we find ourselves in the Forecourt, which was originally surrounded by a colonnade on three sides. The six columns next the pylon have disappeared; but four columns

remain on either side of the court, though M. Barsanti found only one of them still standing at the date of his restoration of the temple, 1907-8, 1908-9. The columns have elaborate floral capitals, much defaced, unfortunately. From the forecourt we enter, by the fine portal in the centre of the façade, the Vestibule or Hypostyle Hall. This façade is constituted by four columns with floral capitals, united, as usual, by screen-walls. On the screen to the south of the doorway (1) the king is being purified by Thoth in the presence of Horus. The screens to the north (right) are adorned with Greek inscriptions, of which that on the first screen to the right of the doorway (4) is a decree of Aurelius Bessarion, governor of Ombos and Elephantine (*c.* A.D. 248), ordering swine to be removed from the holy Talmis. On the right-hand screen is a long inscription (in very bad Greek) by Silko (2), who was king of the Nubians about the sixth Christian century, celebrating his victory over the Blemmyes. The beginning of the inscription is as follows :

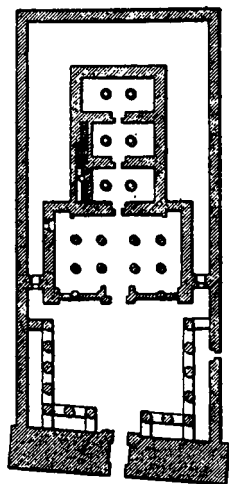
I, Silko, puissant king of the Nubians and all the Ethiopians,
 I came twice as far as Talmis and Taphis.
 I fought against the Blemmyes, and God granted me the victory.
 I vanquished them a second time, three to one ; and the first time
 I fortified myself there with my troops.
 I vanquished them, and they supplicated me.
 I made peace with them, and they swore to me by their idols.
 I trusted them, because they are a people of good faith.
 Then I returned to my dominions in the Upper Country.
 For I am a king.
 Not only am I no follower in the train of other kings,
 But I go before them.

Silko had evidently quite a good opinion of his own merits, in which characteristic he was not unlike many of the kings who have left more imposing monuments to themselves in Egypt.

The Vestibule, or Hypostyle Hall, has twelve columns, counting the four of its façade, all with floral capitals. The reliefs, which are unfinished, show the king in the presence of the gods. A change from this wearisome subject is seen in the southern corner, where on the back of the screen-wall of the façade, is a Christian

picture (5) of the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace being presented with a sword by an angel. It may not be great art, but at least it is a change. Two of the reliefs, however, on the rear wall, may be noticed. That on the right shows Amenophis II, the original founder of the temple, offering to the god Min and the local Mandulis; while that on the left shows one of the Ptolemys making an offering of land to Isis, Mandulis and another god.

We pass next into the first of two antechambers. Here are reliefs with bright, not to say crude, colouring, which are unfinished, the design being sometimes merely sketched in red. The king leads round the base of the walls a procession of Nile-gods with offerings to Mandulis, Osiris, Isis and other deities. From this chamber there opens on the south a small room whence a staircase gives access to the roof, from which the higher roof of the front parts of the building can be reached by other flights of stairs. The Second Antechamber has once more scenes showing the Roman emperors before the gods, and from it another staircase leads to the top of the wall, where, descending a few steps, we reach a chapel formed in the thickness of the wall, probably for the worship of Osiris. The Sanctuary is also



TEMPLE OF KALÂBSHA

decorated with reliefs which are still in remarkably good condition as regards the preservation of their colour. The drawing of the figures, however, is poor, and it is curious to see the negroid type becoming manifest. The artists have apparently sought to make up for their bad drawing by excessive elaborateness in the costumes and headdresses of the gods and Pharaohs. Even the gods appear with the prevailing negroid tendency, and Isis and Horus masquerade with black faces. Round these inner chambers runs a wall which is in line with that of the forecourt, and which therefore constitutes a sort of ambulatory round the rear part of the temple, from the hypostyle hall onwards. On the south side of this ambulatory is a nilometer. The *temenos*

wall of the temple was in line with the pylon, and at its other extremity it backed against the rock, on which the whole building is founded. In its south-west angle is the ruin of a small chapel which has a rock-hewn chamber and an open forecourt, with columns connected by stone screen-walls. This may possibly have been a birth-house. At the opposite angle, near the pylon, is a tiny chapel.

A short distance to the north-west of the temple of Kalābsha, the speos of Beit el-Wāli is situated on the side of a hill. It consists of a forecourt, which is in the open air, a vestibule cut in the rock, and a sanctuary. Originally a causeway led up to it from the plain, but this has been ruined. Of the Forecourt, whose walls were partly of rock and partly of masonry, only the part consisting of rock remains. These rock-walls are decorated with reliefs representing the conquests of Ramses II, the founder of the temple, in his wars against the Nubians and the Libyans and Asiatics. The scenes on the south wall (left) show his triumphs over the Ethiopians. Ramses in his chariot charges fiercely upon the fleeing army of the Ethiopians, shooting a shower of arrows from his bow. Two of his innumerable sons, Amenhirunamef and Khaemwêset, come behind him in their chariots, with their charioteers. The negro bowmen scatter before the onset, and seek their camp; women and children run about in terror. Next we see the results of the victory. Ramses is seated beneath a canopy, while his nobles and governors present the tribute of the conquered Ethiopians before him. The viceroy of Kush, Amenemôpet, son of Pesiûr, is prominent, as is natural. The tribute is shown in two registers. The upper has gold rings, leopard skins, shields, chairs, fans, feathers, elephants' tusks, oxen, a lion, and a gazelle, with a group of negro soldiers. Beneath are prisoners, bulls, one of which has its horns shown as upraised arms, between which is shown the head of a negro, monkeys, a leopard and a giraffe, an ostrich, and women, one of whom carries her children in a basket slung on her back by a strap which passes round her forehead, as a Scottish fishwife carries her creel.

In the reliefs on the north wall of the court we have scenes of the king's triumphs in Asia and Libya. He is first shown standing upon two fallen enemies, and seizing three Syrians by the hair, while he brandishes an axe above them; one of his sons leads in other captives. Next he attacks a Syrian fortress. Dead

warriors fall from the battlements, other figures make supplication to the Pharaoh, one of his sons bursts in the door of the fortress with an axe. Again the king appears in his chariot, driving along at the gallop, and striking down his fleeing enemies. Once more he is shown slaying a Libyan, who is attacked by the king's dog. Finally Ramses is enthroned under a canopy, with his tame lion at his feet, and receiving Syrian prisoners who are presented before him by his son Prince Amenhirunaméf.

Three doorways pierce the wall of this court, and lead into the Vestibule, or Hypostyle Hall. On the east face of the rock-hewn façade above the middle doorway the king is shown dancing before Amen-Rê, while the side-doors have him standing before Min, Khonsu and other gods. The vestibule is entirely rock-hewn, and its roof is supported by two fluted columns four of the sides of which are left plain, so as to receive the inscriptions which give the titles of Ramses. On the back of the entrance-wall, south side, the king smites a negro, typifying his conquest of Nubia; while on the north side of the same wall he smites a Syrian, typifying his conquest of 'the Lands of the North'. Other scenes show him before the gods, as usual, and in one on the thickness of the central doorway appears the figure of the viceroy of Ethiopia, Messuy. From the vestibule a doorway leads into the Sanctuary, which has a niche in its rear wall, in which there once sat three statues. These are destroyed; but they probably represented a divine triad in which Ramses sat between two of his fellow-gods. In the sanctuary we have fairly well-preserved colouring of a higher standard of accomplishment than that at Kalâbsha. The matter of the reliefs, however, is of no interest, being merely another repetition of the endlessly repeated formula of the king before assorted gods—the only variation being in the assortment of the divine beings whom he favours with the light of his countenance. The historical reliefs are another matter, and it is satisfactory that casts of them, coloured according to notes taken in the early part of last century by M. Bonomi, are to be seen in the British Museum.

The various chambers of this speos were used in early Christian days for purposes of Christian worship, with the customary results. Above the walls of the court fragments of the brickwork domes of the Christian church which was constructed in the court still show. The remains of the ancient town of Talmis offer

nothing of interest to the visitor. On the top of the hills at some distance back from the river there are some curious circular tombs built of small stones, so designed that the body must have been buried in a contracted position, and it has been suggested that they may belong to the Middle Kingdom.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

FROM KALÂBSHA TO KOROSKO

LEAVING Kalâbsha and Beit el-Wâli, we find nothing more of interest for some distance. At Kubosh b in the district of Abu Hôr, there are the remains of an ancient quay-wall, built of well-cut blocks of stone, with the traces of a causeway and a temple, the god worshipped being apparently Mandulis ; but as the remains are under water most of the time, and are scarcely worth visiting in any case, there is no need to waste time upon them.

The next site of any importance is Dendûr, about fifty miles south of the First Cataract. The modern village is on the east bank ; but the ancient town, of which the only remains are broken stones and pottery, was on the west bank, with its temple. The latter building was built by the Emperor Augustus, and was dedicated to two local heroes, who apparently lived somewhere about the time of the XXVIth Dynasty, and were the sons of one Kuper. It may seem strange to see Augustus 'humbling himself before two obscure nigger heroes', as his position in this temple has been described ; but such a tribute to local religious tendencies is perfectly in accordance with the general policy of imperial Rome. The two heroes, Petêsi and Pehôr, are evidently regarded as being inferior in dignity to the ancient gods and goddesses, as they are represented in the position of offering to Isis.

The temple has immediately in front of it a large and well-built terrace, overlooking the water. At the west side of this terrace is the main gateway, which may have been a pylon of which the two towers may have been constructed in brick, or may simply have been a portal in the *temenos* wall. Behind this portal, the main building rises at a little distance upon its platform. It must have been connected with the portal by an open forecourt, whose walls formed part of the *temenos* ; but these have disappeared and there is nothing between the portal and the façade of the main building. The façade of the Pronaos is composed of

two columns with floral capitals, which were once connected with the side-walls by screen-walls. On the portal are reliefs (east face) showing the emperor before various gods and the two deified heroes, Petêsi and Pehôr. Similar scenes occur on the west face, and there are also scenes in the thickness of the doorway, though these have been considerably damaged. On the façade of the pronaos are scenes of a similar type; while on the inside walls these are repeated, with variations. On the south side of this chamber is a doorway with a long Coptic inscription, referring to the conversion of the building into a Christian church. This event probably took place about A.D. 577, and was the fruit of the zeal of the Nubian king Eisanome. This doorway is beautifully decorated on the outside with the winged sun-disk and winged scarab; while on either door-jamb is a papyrus stem, with a serpent twined round it.

We pass through a door in the rear wall of the pronaos into the Antechamber, which, with the sanctuary behind it, is undecorated, save for a sort of false door at the rear of the latter, showing Petêsi and Pehôr worshipping Isis. The outside walls of the temple show Augustus before Pehôr (north wall), and before Petêsi (south) who is accompanied by his unnamed wife. Behind the temple, and nearly in line with its axis, is a small rock-chapel, as of a tomb, the door of which, ornamented with the cavetto cornice was evidently restored with blocks of stone at the time when the temple was built. At this time also a small court had been erected in front of it. It is probable that this is, or was believed at the time to be, the actual tomb of the two heroes to whom the temple is dedicated. It should be remembered that in winter Dendûr, like so many of its companion sites in Lower Nubia, is under water.

Passing the ruins of the Byzantine fort at Sabagûra, near Girsha, we come, at a distance of about sixty miles from the First Cataract, to the temple, or rather the hemi-speos of Gerf Husein, or as the Egyptians called it, Per-Ptah, the House of Ptah. This shrine is of more ancient date than most of the temples which we meet above the First Cataract, being the work of Ramses II. The main body of the temple is excavated in the rock; but in front of the rock-hewn portion of the temple a quadrangular forecourt was built, surrounded by covered colonnades. The official who built the temple for Ramses was Setau, viceroy of Ethiopia. The site seems to have been a sacred one

from very ancient times, as there are prehistoric drawings and Middle Kingdom inscriptions on the rocks south of the temple ; and the name of Per-Ptah was probably bestowed upon the place because of an old tradition of Ptah-worship in the neighbourhood.

The front of the Forecourt had columns with floral and bud capitals, while the colonnades to north and south of the court had square pillars with Osirid figures of Ramses II. Two columns and five pillars, with the architrave, still survive. The north and south walls of the court are partly cut out of the solid rock, and have the almost indistinguishable remains of reliefs on them. At the rear of the court rises the rock front of the temple proper, which is designed to represent a pylon. On this façade Ramses can just be made out smiting his enemies as usual. He is also represented on either side of the forecourt walls as one member of a much-mutilated divine triad seated in a rock-cut niche.

Passing through the doorway, one enters the Great Hall, a square of 45 feet, hewn out of the rock. Its roof is supported by six clumsy Osirid pillars, representing Ramses. They are badly proportioned and poorly executed, but succeed in creating an impression by their size alone, as they are 28 feet high. On each side of the hall are four recesses, with figures of Ramses between two gods, making up the divine triad in each case. On the north side of the doorway, the east wall has a scene which shows Ramses offering to himself, Horus, and possibly, Maet, the king evidently having a sense of humour sufficiently elastic to stand the strain of seeing himself offering to himself as a god. The triads in which he figures in the recesses are as follows : north side, Ius-aas, Ramses and Horus ; Isis, Ramses and Horus of Maam ; Sâtet, Ramses and Nefertûm ; Anûqet, Ramses and Khnûm ; south side : Amen-Rê, Ramses and Mût ; Horus of Baki, Ramses and Horus of Beheni ; Ptah-tanen, Ramses and Hathor ; Ptah, Ramses and Sekhmet.

Passing out of the hall, we enter the Antechamber, which is 17 feet deep by 36 feet wide. The thickness of the door on the left shows the king before Ptah. The ceiling of the antechamber is supported by two square pillars, and the reliefs on the walls are almost indistinguishable in the semi-darkness. Doors to the north and south lead into small unornamented chambers, and on either side of the doorway in the rear wall leading into the sanctuary is a door which gives access to a small chamber. The sanctuary has in its midst a pedestal, hewn out of the rock,

for the sacred barque, and the recess in the rear wall has four figures representing Hathor, Ptah-tanen, Ramses, and Ptah. The reliefs show, on the right hand, Ramses with the boat of Harakhte, and on the left, Ramses with the boat of Ptah. The sacred barque is again shown over the recess. In spite of the poor execution of the Osirid and other figures, the temple, when in the first brilliancy of its colouring, and with all its accessories, its quay and pro-pylon at the water's edge, and its causeway of approach, doubtless with crouching sphinxes on either hand, its stairway up the hill and its pylon at the head of the stairs, with the forecourt behind, must have been sufficiently striking. It has been described as 'a poor and small copy of the great temple of Abu Simbel', and this gives its measure pretty accurately; but it must be remembered that a temple may come considerably short of Abu Simbel and yet be impressive.

About eight miles above Gerf Husein we reach Koshtamna, close to which the ancient and highly interesting fortress of Kuri stands on the west bank. The fortress appears to have been of the Middle Kingdom; but as it is of crude brick it must inevitably disappear under the action of the water which now covers it during the greater part of the year.

Seventy miles above the First Cataract we reach the temple of El-Dakka. The town is the Greek Pselchis, and close to it the Roman general Petronius defeated the Ethiopians, who had attacked the province under their queen-regent, the 'Candace' of Ethiopia. Candace has been shown by Griffith to be a title and not an individual name, just as Pharaoh is a title in Egypt. The battle was fought in 23 B.C. The town, however, was by that time already of ancient date, probably going back to pre-historic times. Evidence exists of a community of Middle Kingdom date, both XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasty cartouches have been observed here, and altogether we may conclude that the place had a history which was continuous throughout the dynastic period. Its temple, none the less, is a thing of yesterday, so far as Egyptian temple antiquity is concerned, having been first (as regards the present structure, that is) built by the Nubian king Ergamenes (Erqamûn). His contemporary Pharaoh (the real Pharaoh), Ptolemy IV, Philopator, helped the Nubian monarch in his work, and subsequent additions were made by Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II, and the Roman emperors.

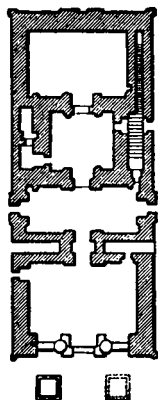
The Greek name of the town, Pselchis, suggests that the place

must have been connected at some time with the worship of Selqet, the scorpion-goddess, who certainly figures in the reliefs at Beit el-Wâli ; but the temple was not dedicated to this goddess, but to Thoth of Penubs. The orientation of the temple is unusual, as it lies parallel to the river, or north and south, instead of east and west, as the Nubian temples usually do. The approach is by a somewhat imposing and well-preserved pylon which, indeed, seems rather to overwhelm the temple to which it leads. Its height is over 40 feet, and it is remarkably well preserved, and shows practically undamaged masonry. An approach avenue 170 feet long and 15 feet wide led up to it, ending in front of the pylon in a terrace. The two grooves for the flagstaves still survive in the front of the towers, and the gateway is surmounted by the winged disk and the cavetto cornice, which has also remained intact upon the summit of the two towers. Two doorways on the inside of the towers admit to staircases which lead up to the guard-rooms and the top of the pylon. The view from the top of the towers is a fine one. The reliefs on the pylon are unfinished ; there are numerous Greek votive inscriptions to Mandulis by legionaries on the temple walls. In the thickness of the doorway, on the left hand (east), there is a scene of an unnamed Pharaoh offering to Thoth, Tefnut and Isis.

Between the pylon and the present façade of the temple proper, there must have been a forecourt, as usual ; but this has entirely vanished. The present façade of the building shows two columns with floral capitals, connected with the side-walls by screen-walls. Passing through the doorway between the columns, we enter the Pronaos, which is a square chamber with reliefs showing the king offering to the gods, particularly to Thoth. This chamber, with the one next to it, was in an indescribable condition of ruin when M. Barsanti tackled it during his campaign of consolidation in Nubia at the beginning of the twentieth century (1909) (see *Les Temples Immergés*, pp. 89 sq.). Some fragments of Christian painting are still to be seen, the place having been used for a time as a church. The doorway in the rear wall of this hall was originally the entrance to the earlier temple which occupied the site. In its thickness there is a relief on the east side, showing the king offering an image of Maet to Thoth of Penubs. On the south side of the doorway Philopator worships Anûqet, Sâtet, Isis and Hathor, and on the lintel are the cartouches of his family.

The Antechamber, which we next enter, is also a restoration

of the ruin of 1890. The room runs completely across the building, but is of comparatively slight depth, and of no particular interest. It gave access to a staircase which led to the roof of the temple. The Second Antechamber retains part of



TEMPLE OF EL-DAKKA

its roof and has reliefs showing King Ergamenes before various gods, one of whom, wearing the Pharaonic war-helmet, is described as 'Pharaoh of Senmet' (Biga). On the east side of the doorway into the sanctuary is a relief showing Ergamenes offering to Isis, who states that she has given to him the much-disputed Dodecaschoinoi, of which one gets a little tired at last. A door on the left admits to two small side-chambers, in the second of which are the two lions of Yesterday and To-day, and above them the dog-headed ape worshipping the goddess Tefnut.

The Sanctuary has Roman reliefs of poor work, representing an emperor, who is not named, before various deities. The broken top of a granite shrine is still in the room. The chamber has

a dado of figures of Hapi, the Nile-god, carrying water, leading cattle, and otherwise symbolizing times of plenty. On the east side of the doorway appears Thoth, as a sacred baboon under the sacred tree, over which Hapi pours purifying water. An enclosure wall formerly ran round about the temple, but has now disappeared. El-Dakka is another of the Nubian temples which is inaccessible, except by *felûka*, during the winter season, owing to the filling of the reservoir.

A short distance south of El-Dakka, the Middle Kingdom

fortress of Kûbân stands on the east bank. It was evidently erected to form a strong post guarding the end of the journey of the gold-trains from the Wadi El-'Allâqi. The gold-mines there continued to be a great source of the Egyptian supplies of gold right down through dynastic times into the Roman period, and indeed down to the Middle Ages; to say nothing of modern times, when their working has been resumed. Protection was obviously necessary for the depot where the precious cargoes of the gold-trains were deposited for the time, and steles and cartouches of the New Empire show that the Pharaohs of the later period were not less solicitous in providing it than their predecessors the Senusrets and Amenemhêts of the XIIth Dynasty. A boastful stele of Ramses II found here states that the gold-convoys were complaining because of the want of water on the journey to and from the mines. 'Half of them die of thirst, together with their asses, for they cannot carry a sufficient number of water-skins to last during the journey there and back.' Seti I, the father of Ramses, had attempted to secure a water-supply; but his well had reached a depth of 120 cubits without finding water, and had been abandoned. The courtiers of Ramses, however, had, or said that they had, not the slightest doubt that if only he would take the matter up, water would be got without the least difficulty. 'If thou sayest to the water, "Come upon the mountain", the heavenly waters will spring forth at the word of thy mouth, for thou art Rê incarnate.' Ramses duly commanded, and the Mosaic miracle as duly came off, so that the water-supply of the district was secured for the future by boring only 12 cubits deeper in the old well of Seti I.

The fortress of Kûbân, though in a very ruinous condition, was formerly one of the most impressive of the few examples of secular architecture that Egypt had to show. After the 1912 raising of the barrage, it became only partly accessible during winter, and the inaccessibility will be increased by the present raising. In fact the building, which like others of its kind, is of crude brick, must gradually perish. About half a mile south of the fort are the remains of an early New Empire temple, which, however, are so scanty as not to be worth visiting even when uncovered. The temple was dedicated to the local Horus, Horus of Baki.

A little south of Kûbân, on the west bank, is Qûrta, where

there are the ruins of the small temple of Isis, a late structure which succeeded to an earlier building. Nothing remains of the building but the outline of the rectangular space occupied by the temple. The ancient town lay to the west, and was of considerable size, as the mounds show.

Opposite Qûrta the large island of Derâr, often called Gezrat Qûrta, lies in the river. This island has been identified with the ancient Takompso, which will be familiar as being the limit of the Dodecaschoinoi, from which we now part without regret.

Little more than a mile south of Derâr, and just south of the village of Ofeduina, from which it often is named, lies the ruin of the temple of El-Maharraqa, a small structure of late Roman date. Up to a few years ago it was in a condition of most disastrous ruin, and only those who have seen photographs of its tottering fragments of wall and colonnade can realize the extraordinary piece of jig-saw work which lay before M. Barsanti in 1908, when he first placed his ladder against the shaky fabric of the spiral staircase which once led up to the roof of the colonnade, and found the stonework trembling so much beneath the weight that he feared every moment to find it tumbling on the heads of himself and his workmen (see *Les Temples Immergés*, p. 99). The work has now been accomplished, and El-Maharraqa is almost painfully tidy; only to be inaccessible, except by *felûka*. After all, the loss is not so great as might appear, for the temple is only Roman, is only a single hall, surrounded on three sides with colonnades consisting of columns with what were designed to be floral capitals, and was never finished. The capitals are only roughly blocked out in readiness for the sculptor to begin carving his detail upon them. Between the main building and the river stood another structure, of which the north wall, with a curious relief of Isis, in Roman costume, seated under the sacred fig-tree, and offered wine by Horus, who is clad in a toga, and accompanied by Min, Isis and Serapis, who figure above him also dressed in Roman style, is now in the Museum at Cairo. The spiral staircase already mentioned is unique in Egyptian temple architecture. El-Maharraqa is the Greek *Hierasycaminos*, or City of the Sacred Sycamore, which is represented in the relief just described, and it shares with Takompso the glory of being the southern limit of the Dodecaschoinoi.

The Byzantine stronghold of Mehendi, which lies a little south of El-Maharraqa is beyond the limits of time within which

we are working, and it is only necessary to notice that hewn blocks of sandstone, on one of which the figure of Amen-Rê can be seen, and which must have been stolen from some neighbouring temple, were used in the construction of its gateways. Within the enclosure-wall stood the houses of a small town, with its church, and the vaulted roofs of some of the houses still remain. 'It is with something of a feeling of romance,' says Mr. Weigall, 'that one picks a way through the narrow streets, glancing to right and left into the darkness of the empty chambers which seem to have been deserted only yesterday' (*Guide to Egyptian Antiquities*, p. 532).

Our concern, however, is not with such comparatively modern work as this, and we continue our journey up-river for another seven miles or so, and reach, at a distance of ninety-seven miles from the Aswân dam, the XIXth Dynasty temple of El-Sebû' or Wâdi el-Sebû', 'The Valley of the Lions', which was built (very badly) by Ramses II, in honour of Amen-Rê, Harakhte, Ptah, and, needless to say, Ramses himself. The temple is in some sort a repetition of the hemi-speos of Gerf Husein, with some variation in the details; but much more of the brick- and stonework has been preserved at El-Sebû' than at Gerf Husein. Surrounding the whole built part of the temple was a brick *temenos* wall, which is partly destroyed. In the middle of the southern face of this wall is a stone gateway, much ruined, and flanked by colossi of Ramses, carved in the coarse local sandstone, and of poor execution. Through this gateway we enter the First Forecourt, whose central avenue is lined with six sphinxes, human-headed and wearing the Double Crown. These figures are the source of the native name of El-Sebû', 'The Lions'. Stone basins for purposes of lustration stand behind the sphinxes. Passing through a ruined brick pylon, we enter the Second Forecourt. The flight of steps which leads to the temple proper stretched half-way across this court, and between the foot of it and the pylon which we have just passed are four more sphinxes, two on either side of the central avenue. These are hawk-headed, wear the Double Crown, and are, of course, representations of Harakhte. The south-western side of this court has inserted into it, much as the temple of Ramses III is inserted into the court of the Bubastites at Karnak, a small brick temple, with a sandstone altar dedicated to Amen-Rê and Harakhte, and with a storage chamber adjoining it.

The stairway of the court leads up to an upper terrace, at the back of which stands the well-preserved, but ill-built stone Pylon, which measures 80 feet in width by 65 feet in height, and still retains its cornice, almost complete on one tower, only at the ends on the other. The workmanship of the pylon is very poor, and the joints of the stones are wretchedly bad, wide and gaping. Originally they would be made up with plaster, to show a smooth surface; but their poverty of execution is now all the more manifest because of the tidiness to which the building has been restored. Before the pylon once stood four colossi of Ramses, of which one still survives in position, having been straightened up by M. Barsanti. It bears the standard of Amen-Rê with the ram's head. The recumbent statue on the right hand of the gate has the hawk's head standard of Harakhte. The almost indistinguishable reliefs on the face of the pylon show Ramses slaying his enemies, in the one case before Harakhte, in the other before Amen-Rê. We pass through the doorway, which has scenes, sorely weathered and defaced, of the king in the presence of different gods, some of whom cannot be distinguished, and in the thickness of the doorway we see other figures of him, before Amen-Rê and other gods. We now enter an open court, 65 feet square, which has on either side of its central avenue five pillars with defaced and headless Osirid figures. Between these pillars and the side-walls of the court there formerly extended a roof, so that the court was only open in the centre. The reliefs are the regular conventionalities, and are of no interest. Between the wall of the court and the external brick wall on the left is the Slaughter Court, which still retains the pierced stones to which the sacrificial animals were fastened.

Again we mount a staircase, which brings us up to a narrow terrace behind which the rock front of the Hypostyle Hall extends, pierced by a portal into which the Christians have clumsily built a double doorway with round arches. Passing through this we find ourselves in the rock-cut hall, which is 41 feet by 52 feet by 19 feet high. It has six pillars with Osirid statues of Ramses, now destroyed, and six plain pillars of square section. It was converted into a Christian church, the apse and altar of which are still extant, together with the wrecks of some of the daubs with which they adorned the walls. Behind this hall is a cross-chamber, with two annexes, one to east, the other to west. The

reliefs show Ramses sacrificing to various other gods and to his deified self.

Three chambers open off the cross-hall, of which the central one is the Sanctuary, which is decorated with scenes of the king offering flowers to the barque of Harakhte, on the right, and to that of Amen-Rê on the left. On the rear wall the central scene shows the barque of the sun, which is worshipped by the king and three cynocephali. Beneath is the recess, with the mutilated divine triad, Amûn, Ramses, Harakhte, and on either side of the niche Ramses again offers flowers. Just above the niche, and between it and the sacred barque above, the Christians, with praiseworthy industry, but with most disastrous art, have painted a figure of St. Peter, manfully struggling to sustain the weight of a monstrous key, which he could never turn in the lock either of Paradise or Hades. The art of the New Empire, as shown at El-Sebû' is far from first-class ; but the contrast between it and the well-meant effort of the Christians, as represented by the figure of St. Peter, is tragic. Ramses, on either side of the niche, looks like a thoroughbred ; St. Peter, like a nightmare. There are no other antiquities to call for notice till we are above Korosko.

CHAPTER XXXIX

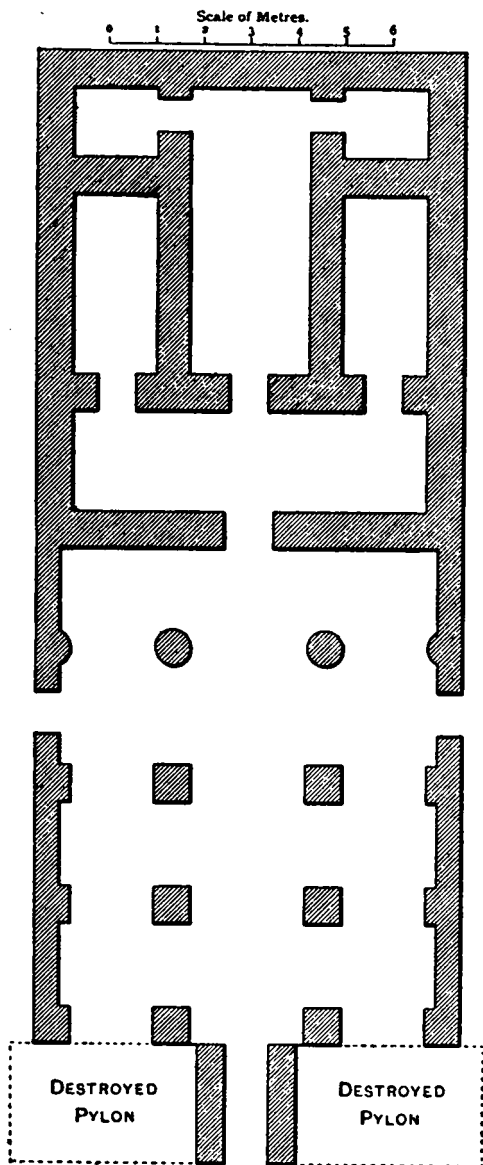
KOROSKO TO ABU SIMBEL

DURING the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, Korosko was a name familiar in British ears, as the headquarters of the troops in Lower Nubia ; but the destruction of the power of the Khalifa at Omdurman put an end to its importance, and the place has since dwindled into insignificance, and the most permanent memorial of the past is the British military cemetery in the valley behind the town. The neighbourhood has nothing to interest the visitor from the archaeological point of view ; but the hill behind the town commands a fine view over the Nile valley. About $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles above Korosko, however, lies one of the most ancient relics of the Egyptian occupation of Nubia—the temple of Amada. This small temple dates from the XVIIIth Dynasty, and was founded by Tuthmosis III, decorated by his son, Amenophis II, extended by his grandson, Tuthmosis IV, and finally (so far as the XVIIIth Dynasty was concerned) had the name and figure of Amûn, to whom, with Harakhte, the building was dedicated, obliterated by the agents of Amenophis IV (Akhenaten). Thereafter the damage done by Akhenaten was repaired, so far as possible, by the pious and orthodox Seti I ; while the cartouches of Siptah and the figures of Queen Tausret and the chancellor Bay are also to be seen in the vestibule. Historically the temple is important because of its possession of the long inscription of Amenophis II, to which reference will be made directly.

The temple is altogether unattractive externally, though it is set in the midst of a noble piece of desolate scenery, in which the desert solitude of the west bank, on which the temple stands, is contrasted with the cultivated appearance of the east bank, backed by a fine serrated range of hills. The neighbourhood shows signs of an Egyptian occupation much older than the temple. About three miles to the south of the temple there is a great rock boulder, which is covered with inscriptions of the XIIth Dynasty, written by members of the Egyptian expeditions

which were sent here under Senusret I, Senusret III, and Amenemhêt III, so that we are to conclude that very probably Tuthmosis III, in founding his temple here, was merely rebuilding an edifice which dated nearly five centuries back. Indeed the name of Senusret III is specially mentioned in the temple, so that his connexion with the original structure may be assumed. The reverence in which Amenophis II held the name of his father, at least at the early stage of his reign at which he wrought at Amada, is clearly seen from the way in which the cartouches of the two kings are associated throughout the temple. They occur everywhere together, any advantage of position given to that of the one being at once balanced by a similar advantage given to that of the other. Amenophis II was only at the beginning of his reign when he decorated Amada, and, as Mr. Weigall has pointed out, he must have known that his father's name was (literally) one to conjure with, while his own name had not yet acquired the reputation for prompt and thorough efficiency in the field that belonged to that of Tuthmosis. By the time he came on the long inscription on the back wall of the sanctuary, he felt that he was in a position to do a little bragging on his own account, after his Syrian expedition; following it up with the account of a piece of 'frightfulness' of which one cannot imagine Tuthmosis being guilty. In Christian days, the temple was turned into a church, with the usual disastrous consequences, the reliefs being covered with whitewash. The barbarism of the early Christians has in this case resulted in the preservation of the colour of the ancient work. The plaster has now peeled off, and the reliefs can again be seen, their colour much fresher than it would have been otherwise.

The building had originally a pylon at the present main portal. This has disappeared and its loss gives the portal its present isolated appearance, as it is robbed of the two towers, one on each side, which would have completed and explained it. The towers were of brick, which accounts for their disappearance. On the right door-post (2), Tuthmosis III is embraced by Harakhte, who gives a similar embrace on the left (1) to Amenophis II. Below these figures are inscriptions of a Ramesside viceroy of Kush. The thickness of the doorway has on either side the cartouches of Seti I, while on the left side (3) there is a faint scene of Amenophis II being led by Horus into the presence of Harakhte. Below this is a thirteen-line inscription of Meneptah



TEMPLE OF AMADA

(XIXth Dynasty), referring to his campaign against the Ethiopians. On the right wall is an inscription of Setau, the viceroy of Kush under Ramses II, referring to an inspection of the temple.

Originally, as designed, this gateway led into a forecourt, which had a colonnade of four 'proto-Doric' columns at its farther end, and was surrounded by brick walls.

Tuthmosis IV made his contribution to the temple by converting this court into a hypostyle by adding twelve square pillars in four rows between the proto-Doric columns and the pylon, and linking up the side rows and the two outermost columns by side-walls. The hall thus formed measures $32\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by from 26 to $28\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, by $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and is still in good condition. On the right hand of the doorway, as one enters, is an inscription with the cartouche of Tuthmosis III; while the left-hand side has, to balance its companion, the cartouche of Amenophis II (4), which has been erased by Akhenaten, or rather altered to Okheprurê, the prenomen of Amenophis II, which did not present the hated name of Amûn, and has been re-written in the old form by Seti I.

On the pillars on either side of the gateway are figures of a viceroy of Kush adoring the cartouches of Ramses II (5, 5), who thus, as usual, manages to get himself into prominence in a building which owed him nothing. The two rows of pillars which form the central avenue of the hall bear the cartouches of Tuthmosis IV, who is shown being embraced by Anûqet, the cataract-goddess, Amen-Rê, Harakhte and Ptah. On the pillars and the screen-walls of the left-hand side of the hall, we have first (6) an inscription in which Tuthmosis IV claims to be beloved of Senusret III, who is generally regarded as a god in Nubian inscriptions, as being the conqueror of Nubia. Next (7), Tuthmosis IV is presented by Sâtet, the other cataract-goddess, to Harakhte; he is led by Thoth (8) to Amen-Rê; and embraced by Isis (9). On the right-hand walls and pillars he is shown first (10) being suckled by two goddesses in presence of Khnûm, the cataract-god. Thereafter (11) Thoth records the years of his reign (which turned out few enough); a mutilated scene (12) shows him kneeling before the sacred tree; and finally (13) he appears in a scene where he is embraced by the Hathor of Abu Simbel, already, it seems, a sacred site, two centuries before Ramses II hewed his great temple there.

The rear wall of the Hypostyle Hall was the façade of the temple proper, as originally constructed. The reliefs on this wall show, on the left hand (14), Amenophis II with Horus and another god, and with Harakhte and Anûqet. On the right-hand side Tuthmosis III embraced by Khnûm, adores Harakhte, and is embraced by Amen-Rê (15). On the sides of the doorway leading into the next chamber are figures of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II (16); and beneath these are inscriptions of the time of Siptah (XIXth Dynasty) showing Queen Tausret, and the chancellor Bay, with the cartouches of Siptah. The inscription says that the carving was done by order of the Commander of the Troops of Kush, Piyay. From the hypostyle hall we pass into a transverse chamber, or vestibule. Turning to see the reliefs on the reverse face of the wall through which we have just passed, we see Amenophis II being purified by Horus of Edfu and Thoth (17), Tuthmosis III (18) embraced by Isis, and Amenophis offering to Amen-Rê (19). On the left hand (20) Amenophis dances before Amen-Rê; while on the right hand (21) Tuthmosis is embraced by Horus of Maam and Harakhte. The rear wall of the transverse chamber is pierced by three doors, of which the central leads to the sanctuary, while those to the right and left lead into other chambers. These doors preserve the careful balance of honour between Tuthmosis and his son. The left doorway is inscribed with the name of Amenophis, and that to the right with that of Tuthmosis; while the sanctuary doorway bears the cartouches of Tuthmosis. On the left side of this doorway (22) Amenophis is embraced by Harakhte, and on the right side (23) Tuthmosis is embraced by Amen-Rê, so that nobody's feelings should be hurt.

Entering the chamber on the left hand we find the same anxious balance of honour preserved between the two Pharaohs in the presence of the gods (24, 25, 26). The chamber on the right of the sanctuary is of special interest because its reliefs show the ceremonies connected with the founding of the temple and the first sacrifices offered therein. Tuthmosis worships Amen-Rê (27); Sakhmet and Amen-Rê (28) drive in the stakes which mark out the bounds of the building; the king stands before Amen-Rê (29), and is embraced by him (30). Below, he dances before Harakhte, stretches the cord (corresponding to laying the foundation-stone), before Harakhte; and finally makes offering to Rê. On the right hand it is the turn of

Amenophis. He brings up cattle (31) for sacrifice before Amen-Rê; and offers slain cattle (32) to Amen-Rê and Harakhte. In the lower row he is embraced by Horus and Harakhte; dances before Harakhte, and stretches the *kherp* baton towards Harakhte.

Entering the Sanctuary, we find Amenophis as diligent as ever to preserve due equilibrium between his father and himself, for, while the younger king is more often represented, standing before Hathor and Harakhte (33), offering to Amen-Rê (34), given life by Amen-Rê and Sâtet (35), and offering to Harakhte (36), his father's cartouches are given on the inside of the doorway, where he is said to be beloved of Amen-Rê. The most important thing in the sanctuary, however, is entirely a glorification of Amenophis by himself. This is the twenty-line historical inscription (37) which was practically duplicated by another in the temple of Elephantine, of which portions are now at Vienna and Cairo. It was set up in the third year of Amenophis' reign, and almost at once waxes lyrical over the physical strength of the young king, perhaps because he was conscious that this was the only respect in which he compared favourably with his father. 'He is a king very weighty of arm; there is not one who can draw his bow among his army, among the hill-country sheikhs, or among the princes of Retenu, because his strength is so much greater than that of any king who has ever existed.' 'King August the Physically Strong!' as Carlyle might have remarked.

Amenophis goes on to describe his share in the work of the temple. 'Behold His Majesty beautified the temple which his father, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperê [Tuthmosis III] had made for his fathers, all the gods, built of stone as an everlasting work. The walls around it are of brick, the doors of cedar of the best of the terraces; the doorways are of sandstone, in order that the great name of his father, the Son of Rê [Tuthmosis III], may remain in the temple for ever and ever!' On the whole the extreme solicitude of Amenophis to secure for his father a due share of the credit at Amada, while to some extent it may have been merely the expression of a convention, gives one rather a pleasant view of the strong man's character.

Unfortunately this is immediately obliterated by the concluding paragraph of the inscription, which records his barbarism in connexion with the Asiatic prisoners whom he had captured on his expedition to Syria. 'When His Majesty returned with joy of heart to his father Amûn, he slew with own weapon the seven

princes who had been in the district of Tikhsi, and had been placed head downward at the prow of His Majesty's barge. . . . One hanged the six men of those fallen ones, before the wall of Thebes; their hands likewise. Then the other fallen one was taken up-river to Nubia and hanged on the wall of Napata, in order to cause to be manifest the victories of His Majesty, for ever and ever in all lands and countries of the Negro' (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, 791-7). It was not thus that Tuthmosis III, a far greater soldier, even though he might not have been able to bend his son's bow, was wont to treat his captives; the mere blood-lust of the younger man, as contrasted with the far-seeing clemency of the elder, gives you the measure of how far Amenophis, in spite of all his regard for his father's name, fell short of him in true greatness.

Two small chambers open off from the sanctuary, and are carefully divided, as regards their scenes, between Amenophis and his father, thus keeping up the pious compact to the last. On the roof of the temple there exists a Greek inscription making a false statement, which has been promptly corrected by another visitor. The statement reads: 'Herodotus of Halicarnassus beheld and admired.' The correction says: 'No, he did not', and is, of course, the truth about the matter, as Herodotus never got within range of Amada. Between the temple and the river are the scanty remains of a small building which seems to have been a kind of portico-temple, where lustrations were performed before the larger temple was entered. It dates, according to Gauthier (1910) from Seti I. A mud brick causeway leads from the temple down to what once may have been a quay. Altogether Amada, with its quaint balancing of the claims of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II, and its XVIIIth Dynasty reliefs, is distinctly interesting. Its sculpture, in particular, is worthy of notice, and its quality is refreshing after the poor work of which we have been seeing so much.

A little distance up-stream from Amada, and on the opposite bank, which we may continue to call the east bank, although, owing to the bend of the river, it is at this point the south bank, is the village and temple of El-Derr, situated at distance of 120 miles above the barrage at Aswân, and 715 above Cairo. The temple is hewn in the cliff-face at the back of the village, and, as the rock is of poor quality, its condition is not good. It must be allowed, however, that its ruin has been hastened by the

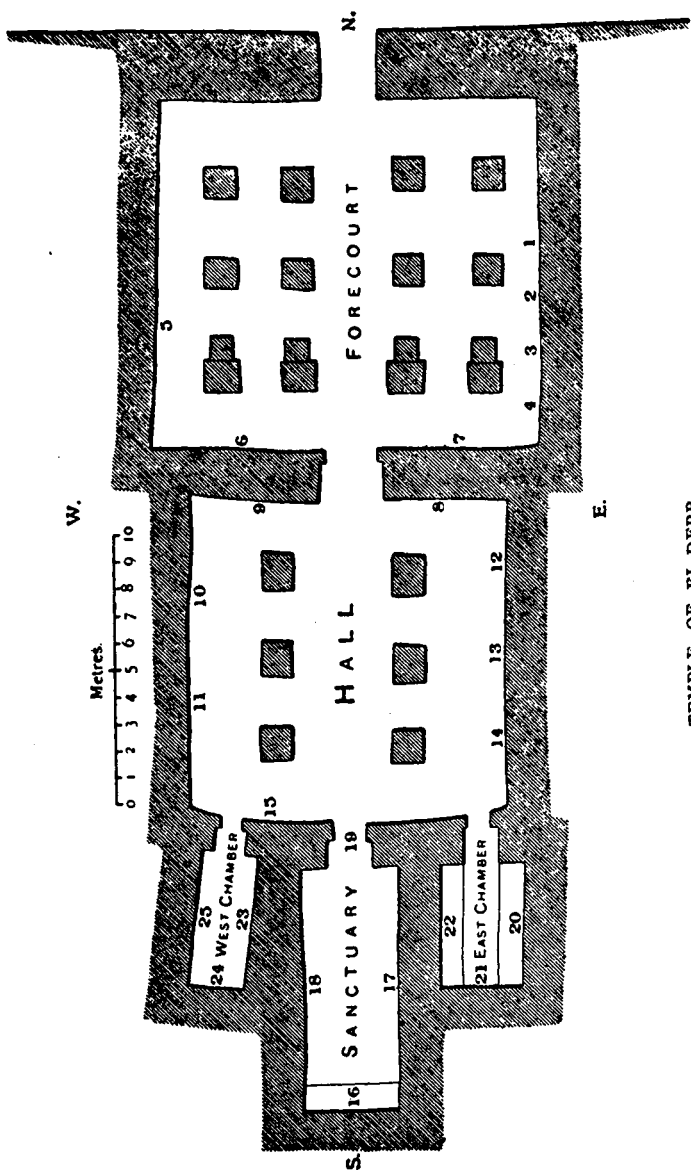
interference of man. The early Christians probably destroyed some of the sculpture, and the building has been used for many generations as the depository for the filth of the town and its beasts. El-Derr was in the district of Nubia known as Maam, which was evidently held sacred, as more than one deity, e.g., Horus, is named after it. The temple was the work of Ramses II, and was named ' Temple of Ramses in the House of Rê '. It was dedicated to Rê, Amen-Rê, and Harakhte, while Ptah also is revered, and has a place in the sanctuary. There is no sign of work by any later Pharaoh ; the history of the temple seems to have begun and ended with the reign of Ramses.

The built pylon and forecourt, which were probably of brick, have disappeared, so that what we see is only the Hypostyle Hall, the Second Hypostyle, or Pronaos, and the Sanctuary, with its two side-chambers. The side-door, by which the temple used to be entered by visitors, was blocked up by M. Barsanti in his work of cleansing and tidying up, and access is now by the main entrance. We enter first the large Hypostyle Hall, which has lost its roof and the upper part of its walls, which are rock-hewn as to their remaining portion. The roof was supported by twelve pillars in three rows, of which the last four had Osirid figures, which have been intentionally destroyed, leaving only their feet. This row of pillars once formed a portico to the hall behind. The remaining parts of the walls have reliefs of some interest. On the east wall (left hand as we move towards the sanctuary) is a succession of battle scenes. First we have an almost vanished scene of prisoners being led before Ramses (1) ; next the king himself is seen charging in his chariot, while the enemy flee before him or are trampled down under the hoofs of his horses (2) ; he alights from his chariot, and seizes four of his foes by the hair (3) ; lastly he leads prisoners before Harakhte (4). The row above these battle scenes showed Ramses before various gods, of whom only Atûm of Heliopolis is now left distinguishable. On the west wall, only one scene remains intelligible. In this Ramses in his chariot is shooting into the midst of the fleeing enemy (5). Negro archers retreat to their camp among the hills and trees, some of them bearing a wounded comrade, and some warning the women to flee. Some Egyptian officers bring in prisoners, and one family of the enemy awaits its fate in the midst of its cattle. In the upper register are much ruined scenes of Ramses in his chariot, with his tame lion, leading his

prisoners before Amen-Rê, and sacrificing to the same god. On the east end of the north (entrance) wall, there once were battle scenes ; but these have now almost totally disappeared. On the rear wall (south), the scenes on the right hand of the doorway (6) show Ramses slaying four Asiatics before Amen-Rê, while his tame lion is beside him, and also the king before Ptah and Thoth. On the left of the doorway (7) he is again shown slaying four Asiatics before Harakhte, while his lion seizes one of the prisoners. The king is also shown before Khnûm. Below the scenes on the right hand of the doorway nine of the innumerable daughters of Ramses are shown ; on the left hand, eight of his sons, a sort of representative selection of his abundant family, for the quiver of Ramses was most emphatically full. On the pillars the king is seen before various gods. The front three rows of pillars in this hall have perished, except for their bases, leaving only the mutilated Osirid pillars of the fourth row standing.

We now enter the Second Hall, entirely rock-hewn, square, and six-pillared. The reliefs in this hall, and on the pillars, are by no means so interesting as those in the first hall, being entirely of a religious nature, and showing only the king before various gods, or offering to the sacred boats—subjects of which the ordinary visitor becomes, not unpardonably, somewhat weary by this time. On the entrance-wall, left hand (8), Ramses is presented by Harsiêsis and another god to Harakhte and a goddess. On the same wall, right hand (9), he offers to Neith, and is anointed by Harsiêsis and (probably) Thoth. On the west (right-hand) wall (10) he offers to the boat of Harakhte, and (11) is blessed by Amen-Rê, who is accompanied by his consort Mût, while the king has for attendants Thoth, Montu, and Horus, each bearing the sign of jubilees. On the east (left-hand) wall, he offers to a sacred boat (12) ; worships Amen-Rê (identified with Mfn) and Isis (13) ; stands beside the sacred tree in the presence of Ptah, Sekhmet and Thoth (14). On the south, or rear wall, left side, he adores Harakhte and Hathor, and on the right side (15) he appears before Amen-Rê, himself in the deified form, and Mût. The roof was once decorated with vultures and cartouches, but this adornment has almost entirely disappeared.

The Sanctuary has four much-destroyed statues at its south end (16). They are, or were, figures of Ptah, Amen-Rê, Ramses himself, and Harakhte. On the left-hand wall (17) the king



TEMPLE OF EL-DERR

offers to the sacred boat, and stands before Ptah ; on the right-hand wall (18) he again offers to the sacred boat and to Harakhte. In the thickness of the doorway (19) he stands before Harakhte and Amen-Rê. The two lateral chambers show similar decorations. That on the left hand (east) shows Ramses before Atûm, Amûn, and a hawk-headed divine embodiment of himself (20), before Harakhte and Amen-Rê (21), and before Thoth and Mût (22), while he also dances before his deified self in the sacred boat. In the right-hand (west) chamber, he appears before Ptah, Amûn and Harakhte (23), stands in two instance before his deified self, as before (24), dances before Osiris, Isis and Horus, and adores Harakhte (25).

A little distance to the north of the temple is a much-worn stele of Ramesside times and another stele showing a figure, which is that of a viceroy of Ethiopia named Amenemhab, adoring Horus of Maam. This is of the reign of Ramses II, as the cartouche above it shows. There are also near at hand drawings of gazelles, ships, giraffes, etc.

Above El-Derr there is nothing of much interest to attract attention for some distance, with the exception of the rock inscriptions behind the village of Tûmâs (Tomâs). These are in some instances extremely ancient, dating from the Old Kingdom (Vth and VIth Dynasties) ; while there are also New Empire inscriptions of which two are of Setau, viceroy of Ethiopia under Ramses II, an official whom we have met already. On the opposite bank, a little farther south, Mr. Weigall found a stele with a seated figure of Horus of Maam, to whom Ramses offers two vases of ointment. The inscription refers to offerings made to the statue of Ramses by Thutmôse, Prince of Maam. Along with a figure of the viceroy Setau who prays at the foot of the stele, is a statement that it was he who made the monument.

About half a mile from the river, behind the northern part of the village of Ibrim, is the small rock-temple of Ellesîya, which dates from the forty-third year of the reign of Tuthmosis III. It is a very small matter, and consists only of a transverse chamber, with a little recess. The front of this little shrine has been adorned (or otherwise) by many inscriptions besides the stele of Tuthmosis, which gives the date just mentioned. Tuthmosis's stele shows him worshipping Horus of Maam and Sâtet. The diligent Setau has left his mark here also, his praying figure

kneeling at the foot of a stele on which Ramses II offers to Amûn and Horus of Maam.

The cartouche of Tuthmosis III is over the doorway. The chamber was once decorated with fine reliefs, which are now almost indistinguishable. The king offers to Horus, is embraced by Dedwen, one of the gods of Nubia, and stands before the deified Senusret III, and various other gods. In the recess are three wrecked statues, which probably gave the figure of Tuthmosis between Horus of Maam and another god. On the walls of the recess he stands before Horus of Maam, Amen-Rê, Sâtet and Thoth. About two miles south of the temple, behind the village of Ibrim, Mr. Weigall discovered two rock-cut inscriptions of a couple of otherwise unknown kings named Kakerê and Seanrê, accompanied by a Pharaoh wearing the Double Crown.

On the west bank of the Nile, almost opposite Ibrim, stands the ruined fortress of Karanog, which, dating from the third or fourth century of our era, though possibly built on Ethiopian or early Roman foundations, may be mentioned in passing because of its prominence, as it still stands to a considerable height. Excavations were carried out here in 1909-10 by Messrs. Randall MacIver and C. L. Woolley, and in the brick pyramid-tombs which are in the desert behind Karanog and 'Anîba inscriptions were found which indicated that this locality was the centre of the district known as Maam, which has been mentioned repeatedly in the last few pages. The tomb of Pennut, which is the chief relic of the dynastic period at 'Anîba, is cut in the hill-side about half an hour's walk from the river, and about a quarter of an hour beyond the brick pyramid-tombs just mentioned, which belonged to members of his family. Pennut was an official of the reign of Ramses VI. He held the office of Overseer of the Temple of Horus of Maam, and his wife, named Takha, was a singer in the temple. Like all good Egyptians, he took care that his family should tread in his official footsteps, and they held such appointments as Superintendent of the Royal Treasury in Lower Nubia, Scribe of the Treasury, and High-priest of Isis. He had a grandson who bore the same name as himself, and was married to the lady Baksatet.

Pennut's tomb consists of a single rectangular chamber, with a small niche, containing three much-wrecked statues hewn out of its rear rock-wall opposite the entrance. The scenes in the chamber are of fairly good workmanship, and still retain some

of their colour ; but the tomb is much defaced. On the left-hand side of the doorway are the figures of Pennut and Takha, with an inscription. On the west wall, north end, is an inscription telling of the lands conveyed by Pennut to the king for the maintenance of the priests and the sacrifices to the royal statue in the Maam temple. The inscription is flanked on either side by divine figures, those of Ptah, Thoth, Amen-Rê, Mût and Khonsu. On the north wall, upper register, the Governor of Ethiopia does obeisance to Ramses VI, who is enthroned under a canopy, and tells him of the gifts made by Pennut. Pennut receives two silver vessels, and is apparently about to receive a silver statue of the king, which is being inspected by the Governor. Below this scene is the family gathering. On the rear wall, north of the niche, Pennut and Takha, with their six sons, stand before the enthroned figure of Harakhte, and on the south side Pennut and Takha stand before Khepri. Next Pennut kneels before Hathor, who appears as the Cow from the Western Mountain, and the goddess Thouëris holds a scarab in one hand and a staff in the other. In the lower register, Pennut and Takha stand before Ptah-Sokar, Harakhte appears enthroned, and Pennut is purified by Anubis and Thoth, and appears before Osiris. South wall, upper register, Anubis stands by the bier of Pennut, and Isis, dressed in white, and Nephthys, dressed in red, mourn for him ; Horus leads Pennut and Takha to the throne of Osiris. Lower register : the Elysian Fields, with Pennut and Takha in a boat upon one of the canals, worshipping Harakhte, Atûm and Khepri, and harvesting in the heavenly fields. On the south half of the west wall is the scene of the Weighing of the Heart, and finally the funeral of Pennut, with the mummy set up before the door of the tomb and priests and friends at the last ceremonies, while women weep for the departed.

On the east bank of the Nile, opposite to, and a little south of, 'Aniba, the river is overlooked by three lofty and massive bluffs of rock. The middle one of the three is crowned by the ruined town and fortress of Qasr Ibrîm, which from this imposing situation commands the valley for miles in all directions and constitutes a striking landmark. The fortress is of Roman date, and during the Roman occupation was called *Primis Parva*. Its first appearance in history is during the Ethiopian insurrection, when the Ethiopians under their Candace of the time attacked the Roman province. Petronius, it will be remembered,

defeated the queen and her tumultuous army at El-Dakka, and in the following up of his victory he stormed Qasr Ibrim, where the Ethiopians had placed a garrison. Since those days it has figured in warfare at least twice. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Sultan Selim placed a garrison of Bosnians in the old fortress, and then seemingly forgot where he had laid them, as they and their descendants continued to live on in the place until the nineteenth century, when the retreating Mamelukes drove out the Bosnians and occupied the fortress, only to be driven out themselves by Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mehemet Ali.

The fortress is approached from the south-west by an ancient road, with rock-cut steps at intervals ; but the only gateway is on the north-east side, where there is a rather striking Egyptian doorway, built of hewn stone, and crowned with the cavetto cornice and winged disk. The walls on the south and west sides are still strong, as also are those on the east. The well-built portions, of earlier date, and incorporating in their structure large blocks which appear to have been taken from an earlier building, probably a temple, are crowned by the rougher work of later times, with smaller stones. Within the walls is the Bosnian town, a confused mass of houses built of all sorts of stone, with many ancient blocks, and even parts of columns diverted to new uses. Such rudiments of a plan as exist show streets converging on the space at the hill-top, which was occupied by a church, later converted into a mosque. This is stone-built, and three of its walls still stand. The altar stood in a semicircular recess at the north-east end, and an arcade of three well-built arches, which runs down the south-east side, was originally duplicated by a similar arcade on the opposite side. In the north-west corner of the fortress are the scanty remains of an Egyptian temple, undecorated and uninscribed. The water supply for the garrison and its families was obtained from the river, and steps have been cut on the precipitous side of the hill to make the task of water-carrying easier. There are several tanks cut in the rock for the purpose of storing a considerable supply.

Below the fortress, in the face of the cliffs, at some height above the river-bank, are five shrines, which date from the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties. These are difficult of access, but are worth inspection, as some of them have scenes of interest and the ceilings are worth seeing. The first shrine is the southernmost. It was made by Nehi, the Governor of Ethiopia, in the

reign of Tuthmosis III. The cartouches of Tuthmosis are given on the outside of the doorway, and the titles of Nehi were also inscribed, but are now illegible. Within the shrine the south wall shows King Tuthmosis with Min of Coptos behind him, while before him are figures, now damaged, and an inscription with Nehi's titles repeated, and a further statement that Nehi brings the tribute of the south in gold, ivory and ebony in the fifty-second year of the reign. The north wall has figures of Anûqet and Sâtet, the cataract-goddesses, Horus of Baki, Hathor, Horus of Beheni, Horus of Maam, and Amûn. The name of Amûn has been obliterated and subsequently restored, a fact which shows how thorough and persistent was the proscription of the name of Amûn in the time of Akhenaten, when even an insignificant shrine in the depths of Nubia was sought out, lest the hated name should survive. At the rear of the shrine are three mutilated statues, which probably showed Tuthmosis seated between Sâtet and Horus.

The second shrine introduces us again to our old friend Setau, Governor of Ethiopia in the reign of Ramses II. As Ramses himself never lost the chance of advertising his own glories and merits, so apparently were his officials bitten with a like passion for immortal credit, and Setau, as we have already seen, was very diligent in commemorating his master and himself. The scenes on the walls of the shrine are advertisements of the loyalty of Setau and his staff to their Pharaoh, who is shown enthroned, while the good Governor, the Scribe Haremhab, the Scribe of the Troops Amenemôpet, the Scribe Harnakht, the Scribe Pesiûr, and the Scribe of the Granaries Harhotpe, besides others whose names are now illegible, make obeisance to him. At the back of the shrine there are again three mutilated statues, representing Ramses between two gods. The third shrine shows another instance of how far spite could travel in Ancient Egypt. It originally showed the cartouches of both Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut, and must therefore date from the joint reign of these two royalties; but the cartouche of Hatshepsut has been obliterated in every instance of its occurrence. This was to take great pains for an infinitesimal end, and Tuthmosis had not even the excuse of religious zeal which led Akhenaten to blot out the name of Amûn. The four dumpy figures, now sorely defaced, which occupied the rear wall, represented Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis in the company of Horus of Maam and Sâtet of

Elephantine. The colouring of this shrine has been preserved fairly well, especially in the ceiling pattern.

The fourth shrine is the most important of the group. Over the doorway on the outside are the cartouches of Amenophis II, and down the jambs are inscriptions referring to 'the Royal Son, User-Sâtet'. The south wall of the shrine shows Amenophis enthroned, a fan-bearer behind him, and Sâtet of Elephantine beside him. Two officials hold fans and bows before him, and an inscription, much defaced, refers to the tribute of animals, some of whom are represented on the wall. On the north wall, Amenophis, with Horus of Beheni accompanying him, is shown in the presence of the cataract triad, Khnûm, Sâtet and Anûqet, Nekhebt, Sopd, and Hathor of Elephantine. The rear wall has, as usual, three wrecked statues, representing Amenophis between a god and a goddess. On either side of the recess which holds the statues is a much-faded painting of the Pharaoh. The fifth shrine is unsculptured.

The third rock-promontory of the group at Qasr Ibrîm, that to the south of the fortress, has a great stele of Seti I cut on its smooth face, and recording his victories. The top portion of the stele is destroyed, and only the lower part of the scene, which showed Seti, with his chariot standing beside him, slaying a captive in the presence of a god, now survives. Below the scene there are twelve horizontal and three vertical lines of inscription, with a small figure of Seti's viceroy of Ethiopia, Amenemôpet. Not far from the stele are archaic figures of elephants, giraffes and other animals. The Seti stele should not be approached from the south, as there is a good pathway from the north, which is also the most convenient side from which to approach it after visiting Qasr Ibrîm.

About 8 miles south of Qasr Ibrîm, on the south-west side of one of two hills which rise from a lofty plateau of rock, is a ledge of rock, behind which the face of the cliff has been cut smooth, and a small scene of the Pharaoh Senusret III in the act of slaying a negro has been cut upon it and coloured. Senusret III is famous in Egyptian history as the Pharaoh who re-asserted Egyptian authority in Ethiopia after a period in which the negroes were seemingly troublesome to Egypt. He was therefore venerated, especially in the Egyptian province of Kush, as the local god; but it is probable that this carving is a genuine example of contemporary work, and not a subsequent

instance of worship. Some of the original colouring still remains upon the figures. It was perhaps because of the presence of the XIIth Dynasty carving that in XVIIIth Dynasty times a scene with several figures and inscriptions was carved on the rock close by. The divine beings at one end of the scene are Horus of Maam, Senusret III and Reshep, a war-god of Syrian origin. Senusret wears the crown of Upper Egypt, and is called 'The King, the Mighty One, living for ever'. Horus wears the Double Crown, and carries a god's sceptre; Reshep wears the crown of Upper Egypt, and brandishes shield and mace. Before this triad five human individuals stand. First comes a man who makes offering to the triad, and is called Nebsey. He is followed by his wife Thabau. The third figure is the son of the first couple, holding the office of 'The Hunter of the King'. He carries his bow and arrows, and holds a gazelle which he has shot as an offering. He is followed by another son of Nebsey, whose office is that of 'Watchman of the Cattle of Horus, Lord of Maam'. His name is Sennûfer, and he is followed by another man who is described as 'The Retainer of the King, The Watchman of the Royal Horns', and who carries two throw-sticks. Below this series of figures there is a carving showing the sacred ram, with disk and horns, feeding from an altar, and also an inscription to the gods of Lower Nubia. The work is well done, and Nebsey must have been able to command the services of a cleverer sculptor than one would have expected to find in such an out-of-the-way spot; but the whole scene is purely an example of local piety, and, as such, has its own interest.

About a mile farther on there are several more inscriptions and figures, some of them of very ancient date, and showing a negro with bow and arrows, and various ships and animals. A later inscription gives the titles of the unplaced kings Kakerê and Seanrê.

Behind the village of Tûshka (Toski) are three rock-tombs, cut in an isolated mound of rock. They are too dilapidated to be of any special interest, though there are signs showing that they have been plastered in preparation for painting. No sculpture or inscription of any sort is to be seen in them. A Middle Kingdom Nubian cemetery near the village was excavated in 1911-12 by Junker and a very large Christian cemetery has been partly exposed. Tûshka was a familiar name for a little while during the earlier stages of the struggle with the Khalifa.

when Wad el-Nejûmi, the Khalifa's commander in Dongola, marched north to attempt the invasion of Egypt, and was met and wiped out, with his army, by the Egyptian forces under Sir Francis Grenfell and British officers on the west side of the river, about 7 miles behind the western bank half of the village.

Between 3 and 4 miles south of Tûshka, between that village and Erminna, Mr. Weigall discovered an inscription dating from the time of the war against the Hyksos which casts a somewhat different light upon that time of struggle than that in which we usually view it. The inscription reads: 'The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wazetkheperre, Son of the Sun, Kamôse, given life. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebpehtirê, Son of the Sun, Ahmôse, given life. . . . Teti, the Royal Son. . . .' Ahmôse's presence here we can perhaps understand, but one of the complaints of Kamôse in the inscription of the Carnarvon writing-board is that 'there is one prince sitting in Avaris and another in Kush, while I sit cheek by jowl with an Asiatic and a nigger!' It would appear from this Nubian inscription either that things had not been quite so bad as Kamôse said, or that he had been fairly successful in pushing the nigger off his stool, for such an inscription means that an expedition had reached a point not so very far short of Senusret III's limit.

From this point onwards for some miles there is nothing of any great interest to be noticed, until, at a distance above the Aswân barrage of 166 miles, we reach the two temples which are by far the greatest remains of the Egyptian occupation of Nubia, and to many almost the sole reason for continuing their journey beyond Philae—the rock-temples of Abu Simbel.

CHAPTER XL

ABU SIMBEL

THE two rock-temples of Abu Simbel, of which the larger is the greatest and finest piece of work of its kind which was ever accomplished by an Egyptian architect, are hewn out of the face of two sandstone cliffs which come down to the bank of the river at a point 166 miles above the dam at Aswân. They are separated from one another by a ravine down which flows a perpetual cataract of sand. When Belzoni saw them at his first visit, the Great Temple was so far buried in the sand that the head only of one of the colossi appeared above the drift, which covered the doorway and the façade above it so that the figure of Harakhte above the door was buried up to the neck (*Narrative*, pp. 79, 80). On his second journey, in 1817, the great explorer succeeded in clearing the front of the temple sufficiently to admit of his entrance into the interior chambers; and he was the first of Europeans to penetrate the temple, for Burckhardt, who first called attention to it after his visit in 1812, cannot have seen more than Belzoni saw on his first visit (*Narrative*, pp. 203-13). Since Belzoni's time the great temple has been repeatedly cleared more or less thoroughly, by Lepsius on his great expedition of 1842-45, by Mariette in 1869, and last of all by Barsanti in 1910 (*Les Temples Immergés*, pp. 137-70). The last clearance has also been the most thorough, and has resulted, among other things, in the discovery of a hitherto unsuspected court on the north side of the façade. M. Barsanti has done what can be done to protect the temple against being overwhelmed once more beneath the ceaseless flow of the sand, by building walls up on the high plateau from which it proceeds, to hold back and divert the current; but it is to be feared that man will here, as elsewhere, wage a fruitless battle in the end against nature, and that the great temple will finally be buried. That completion of its destiny will not come, however, until man has ceased to value one of the greatest works of the past sufficiently to consider it worth protecting.

Ramses II, who was responsible for both of the temples, did not merely place them at this point because of the existence of suitable rock-faces. The neighbourhood was considered sacred at least five centuries before he conceived his great design, as is evidenced by the existence of inscriptions of the later Middle Kingdom; and the presumption is that its sacred character goes much farther back than that, probably to the Old Kingdom. The divinity to whom the locality was sacred was the famous goddess of the western hills, who was here named 'Hathor of Abshek'; and while the great temple was not dedicated to her, but to Amen-Rê of Thebes, and especially to Harakhte, the smaller temple close to it was in her honour alone.

Both temples were the work of Ramses II, and it may be said that if he had always left his sign-manual on works so noble and imposing as those of Abu Simbel his fame to-day would have been more in accordance with his desire. An inscription within the temple is dated in the thirty-fifth year of his lengthy reign, by which time the work must have been pretty well completed, so that we may date it about 1257 B.C. Fifty years later, in the reign of Seti II, we find that nature had already begun its long war against this monument of human pride, for that king had to patch up the first of the two colossi to the north of the doorway, which was showing signs of decay. When the upper part of the corresponding colossus to the south fell it is impossible to say. The left leg of this mutilated colossus bears the well-known Greek inscription which is the next contribution to the history of the great shrine. This was written in the reign of Psammetichus II of the XXVIth Dynasty (c. 593-588 B.C.), and run as follows: 'When King Psammetichus came to Elephantine, they wrote this, who came with Psammetichus, son of Theocles, and went on by Cercis as far as the river permitted. Potasimto led the foreigners, Ahmôse [Amasis] the Egyptians. Archon, son of Amoibichos, and Pelecus, son of Udamos wrote this.' Nearly 2,500 years passed, and then another military expedition, led and partly manned by foreigners, like its predecessor, passed this way, and left, in English and Arabic its memorial of the battle of Tûshka to keep company with the record of Archon and Pelecus. Fortunately the modern writers had better taste than their predecessors, and did not scrawl their record on the long-suffering colossi, but inscribed it on a marble tablet which is fixed to the rock in front of the little chapel discovered in 1874.

Still it is difficult to see the fitness of placing the memorial of a modern battle, which, it is safe to say, hardly anybody remembers, beside Ramses's own three-thousand-year-old record of his victories. Probably his battles were not nearly so well done as Tûshka; but he had succeeded in making them so much more interesting that comparisons are discouraged.

The approach from the river has been thoroughly tidied up by M. Barsanti—perhaps almost too thoroughly for consistency with the antiquities behind; but considerations of safety must come first. The sloping bank is faced with stone, and a staircase of modern construction leads up to the level of the Forecourt in front of the façade of the temple, which is enclosed to the north and south by ancient brick walls, which have been repaired within recent years. The longer wall, that to the north, is pierced, near the river end, by a stone gateway of Ramses.

Beyond the forecourt rises the façade of the temple, one of the most impressive things both in itself and in its wonderfully happy combination with its surroundings that Egyptian architecture has to show. Before the façade is a terrace, reached by an ancient flight of steps with an inclined plane up the middle. This stairway has at the two angles of its front steps leading to two small recesses, perhaps once used for purposes of lustration. These have inscriptions and scenes, that to the right showing Ramses offering incense and flowers to Amen-Rê, Harakhte and Ptah, while that to the left shows the king offering to Amûn, Ptah, and Sekhmet. The face of the terrace has a cavetto cornice and is adorned with rows of captives, and crowned with a balustrade behind which stands a row of hawks and statues of the king, Osirian and otherwise. The front of the south section of the terrace is cumbered with the ruin of the upper part of the second colossus, which had its consistency so completely destroyed by its fall that M. Barsanti did not attempt to restore it to its position in 1910, dreading to see it crumble into mere sand during the process.

The actual front of the temple is 119 feet wide, and over 100 feet high. Most of this space is occupied, of course, by the four colossi. These, like the rest of the temple, are hewn out of the living rock, and are over 65 feet in height, which makes them of the same class as the Memnon colossi of Amenophis III at Thebes, whose original height was much the same. Comparisons in other respects are, however, impossible, as the Memnon colossi



AS IT IS WHEN THE RESERVOIR IS LOW



AS IT WAS BEFORE THE ERECTION OF THE GREAT DAM

PLATE XXXI

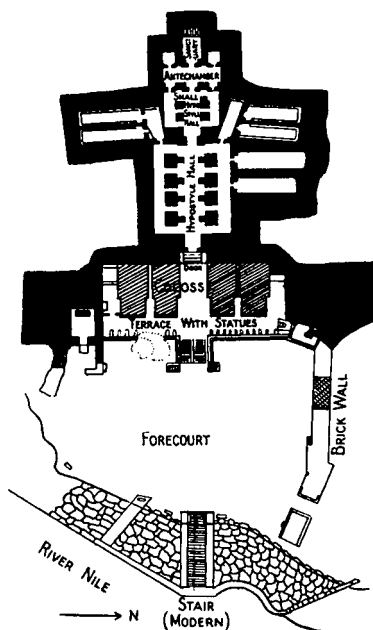


DETAIL OF SCULPTURE, ABU SIMBEL.
RAMSES II CHARGING IN HIS CHARIOT



THE TWO ROCK-TEMPLES OF ABU SIMBEL

have suffered so much more than those at Abu Simbel from weathering and other causes. From the shoulder to the elbow, the Abu Simbel colossi measure $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or exactly the same as the Memnon statues; across the shoulders they measure 25 feet, or 5 feet more than the Memnons; while the measurement of



GREAT TEMPLE OF ABU SIMBEL

the ear is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet which is exactly the same as that of the ear of the fallen colossus of Ramses at the Ramesseum.

As to their artistic quality, opinion has been much divided. Earlier criticism was, quite naturally, too much overpowered with the general effect of the work to be very critical of detail, and the estimate which was put upon the quality of the statues used to be considerably higher than that of to-day. Indeed

some modern critics have not hesitated to talk of 'the monstrosities of Abu Simbel', and the 'gigantic abominations of Abu Simbel' (Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 163). This, however, is to judge the colossi too hardly, and to omit to consider two essentials of their creation. In the first place, the material in which they are wrought precludes the possibility of delicacy in portraiture. No more was possible in the coarse sandstone than a broad and summary treatment; and within these limits the sculptor has managed at least to convey, together with a suggestion of the royal face, an impression of great dignity, which was probably the main thing at which he aimed. Sir Flinders Petrie's judgment certainly does not err on the side of enthusiasm, but is probably nearer the truth than the excessive depreciation recently not uncommon. 'The face is fairly well rendered, as well perhaps as was practicable in such material' (*Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt*, p. 28). Again it has to be remembered that these huge groups of royal statues which were meant to sit for ever before the great temples, were conceived, not as royal portraits in the strict sense, but as parts of an architectural scheme. It would be foolish to look in them for refinements either of conception or of execution. If they fittingly filled their place in the *ensemble* of the temple façade, and conveyed to the beholder an impression of the overwhelming might and dignity of the Pharaoh who commissioned them, both artist and king would be satisfied. That the Abu Simbel colossi, in spite of unquestionable defects and crudities, do convey such an impression, is never for one moment doubtful; and therefore we are entitled to consider them as having fulfilled the purpose for which they were created. More than this we surely need not ask of them. When criticism has exhausted itself upon their defects, the fact remains that these four giants, looking out, as they have looked for more than three thousand years, over the shining river and the passing generations of little men, are one of the most impressive sights to be seen among all the wonders of the Nile Valley.

Their backs grow out of the rock of the façade which rises 20 feet or more above the knob on the top of the Double Crown on the head of the first colossus. It is finished off at the top with a cavetto cornice, bearing the cartouches of Ramses, surrounded with uraei, and with figures of Amûn and Harakhte; and below this is the dedication to the same gods. Above the cornice a row

of dog-headed apes, sacred to the rising sun, sit along the topmost height of the temple, fulfilling their function as 'watchers for the dawn'. Between the northern and southern pair of colossi opens the great doorway of the temple. Around and over the doorway are the royal cartouches, figures of various gods, and scenes of Ramses dancing before Amûn and Mût and before Harakhte and his lion-headed consort, Wert-Hekew. Higher up is a recess, in which is a curious combination of piety and pride. The figure which dominates the recess is that of Ra-Harakhte, hawk-headed and crowned with the solar disk; but on one side of him is the jackal-headed staff *User*, and on the other a figure of Maet, so that altogether, taking Ra-Harakhte as representing Rê, the whole group is a canting representation of the prenomen of Ramses, User-maet-rê. Ramses is surely the only king who could make his piety and his pride walk hand in hand in this fashion. On either side of the niche are reliefs of the king offering to the central figure of his elaborate conceit.

Around and between the legs of the colossi are grouped, as usual, members of the royal family. On the first (southernmost) colossus, are figures of the Princess Nebttaui, the Princess Bant-Anat, and an unidentified princess; on the second are Queen Tu-e, the king's mother, his wife, Queen Nefertari, and his son, Prince Amen(hir)khopshef; and on the third Queen Nefertari, twice, and Prince Ramses. On the sides of the thrones of the two middle colossi nearest to the doorway are representations of Nile-gods wreathing the emblems of Lower and Upper Egypt (papyrus and reed) around the symbol of unity, while above the symbol is the cartouche of Ramses, and below is a representation of captives, negroes (south) and Asiatics (north). The Greek inscription of Archon and Pelecos, already mentioned, is only one of a number carved on the two southern colossi. The subsidiary features of the exterior of the temple, including the two chapels and the steles, may be left for consideration until we have described the interior chambers.

Passing through the great doorway, we find ourselves in the Hypostyle Hall. This chamber is 54 feet broad and 58 feet deep. Its nave is divided from its two aisles by two rows of Osirid figures, which represent the king. On the north row he wears the Double Crown, in the south row the White Crown of Upper Egypt. These figures, about 30 feet in height, are on the whole wonderfully well preserved, the faces of three of those in the

north row being almost perfect, especially the first and fourth. The impression produced by these gigantic figures in the comparatively limited space of the hall is almost overpowering; they are, however, of considerable merit in point of execution. The painting of the ceiling of the central avenue, which is of vultures with wings outspread, is in good condition and is very striking; that of the aisles is of stars. On the pillars at the back of the colossi are scenes of the king before various gods, Amen-Rê, Harakhte, Ptah, Horus, Atûm, Thoth, Min, Khnûm and his two cataract goddesses, Sâtet and Anûqet, Hathor of Abshek, Isis, and other deities.

The scenes on the walls are of considerable interest and vivacity. We begin with the entrance-wall, on either side of the doorway. On the north side (right) Ramses is shown smiting the Asiatics before Harakhte, who hands him the curved scimitar of Egyptian royalty. Above the king hovers the vulture Nekhebt, and behind him is the symbol of his *Ka*. Beneath this scene, nine of his numerous daughters bear sistra. In the corner, below the reliefs, is a short inscription which states that this scene 'was made by the sculptor of Ramses Mery-Amûn, Piyay, son of Khanûfer', another instance of how little ground there is for the usual statements about the universal anonymity of Egyptian artists. On the south side (left) of the doorway, Ramses smites prisoners before Amen-rê, and beneath are eight of his multitude of sons.

We now turn to the north wall, which is decorated with a series of scenes with which we have already become more or less familiar at Abydos, Luxor and the Ramesseum. They represent: first, the march of the Egyptian army under Ramses to Kadesh, where was fought the drawn battle on the reputation of which Ramses lived all the rest of his long life. Next, we see, between the doors into the first and second side chambers, the pitching of the Egyptian camp, with its shield-wall, soldiers resting, horses being fed, and a general appearance of security. Beneath, however, is a scene which prepares us for the surprise which is immediately sprung upon the Egyptians. Spies are being flogged, and the information extracted from them shows Ramses that he is on the brink of disaster, as the enemy, whom he had supposed to be at Aleppo, is in ambush behind Kadesh, and is about to fall upon him. Another scene shows the hurried council of war. Then, comes the clash of the two forces, with Ramses dashing in his chariot against the foe, whose chariot brigade has

surrounded him. The city of Kadesh with its battlements and the river surrounding it, the Hittites retreating on it, and the garrison watching the fortunes of the fight from the battlements, are also shown, along with the charge of Ramses, in the upper register. Then we see Ramses, with his officers counting the severed hands of the slain before him, and bringing in captives.

We next come to the rear (west) wall. Here, at the north end (right) of the wall, the king leads prisoners before Harakhte, Wert-Hekew, and his deified self; while beyond the door which leads into the next chamber he leads another batch before Amûn, his divine self, and Mût. The north batch of captives are Hittites, the south are Negroes. At the sides of the doorway in the rear wall, Ramses is shown before Ptah, Harakhte, Amûn and Min; while above the door he dances before Amûn and Mût, and before Harakhte and Wert-Hekew.

Turning from the rear wall to the south one, we notice between the third and the fourth colossus on the south side a stele dated in the thirty-fifth year of the king, and recording at great length how Ramses built a temple at Memphis to Ptah, and gave gifts to him. The upper register of the south wall is occupied with scenes of the formal religious type, showing Ramses before the ram-headed god Mermûtef and the lion-headed Wert-Hekew, offering gifts of grain to Amûn; burning incense before Ptah; having his years numbered by Sefkhet, while he kneels under the sacred tree, with Thoth and Harakhte in company; finally worshipping before Amûn, from whose throne rises a great uraeus. The lower register is more interesting. It has three scenes of battle, in which the king, standing in his chariot, first shoots arrows against a fortress placed on a hill. Slain members of the garrison fall from the walls, others pray for mercy, and a herdsman drives away his cattle to a hiding-place. Three of the sons of Ramses, Amen(hir)khopshef, Ramses, and Pra-hir-unamef, follow their father in their chariots. An inscription lauds the king's bravery and might, and describes him overthrowing the rebels on their hills and in their valleys. In the next scene, the king is shown trampling upon one fallen enemy and thrusting his spear into another, and the relative inscription states how he destroys the Nine Bows, devastates the north-lands, removes the negroes to the north and the northerners to Nubia, and how he brings for the temple the plunder from Syria and Retenu. Finally, Ramses makes his triumphal entry in his chariot, with

his tame lion beside him ; while an officer leads two rows of prisoners before him, the top row consisting of genuine negroes, and the lower row of Nubians of a less sooty tint than the negroes. The architraves in the hall tell us that Ramses built this temple for ' his father Harakhte, the Great Lord of Ta-kens ', and for ' his father Amen-Rê, King of the Gods '.

In the north (right-hand) wall of the hall are two doors, which open into two side-chambers. Of these, the first has only its west wall decorated with reliefs of the usual type, showing the king before various gods. The second room is fully decorated on all its walls with similar scenes, which it would be merely wearisome to detail. The rear wall has three doors, of which the central one admits to a second hypostyle hall, smaller than the first. The two side-doors lead to two groups of three chambers each. The walls of these six rooms are elaborately adorned with more religious scenes which do not depart from the normal type sufficiently to make it worth while to describe them, save that one may notice again what has already been noticed, here and elsewhere in the work of Ramses—the quaint fiction by which Ramses the King, that is to say, Ramses ' *The Good God* ', appears continually before Ramses the God, who is here associated on terms of equality with ' *The Great Gods* '. It is much as if, say, a statesman who is both Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary should write letters from himself as Foreign Secretary to himself as Prime Minister.

The Second Hypostyle Hall, which we now enter, is of smaller dimensions than the one we have just left, being only 36 feet broad by 25 feet deep. It has four square pillars with reliefs which show the king before the gods, or embraced by them. The entrance-wall shows Ramses offering to Min-Amûn, himself, and Isis (north side of door), and to Amen-Rê, himself, and Mût (south side of door). On the north wall he has Queen Nefertari with him, and offers to the sacred boat which is borne on the shoulders of priests. On the south wall he and Nefertari again offer to the sacred boat. On the west (rear) wall, he is seen before Harakhte (north end) and worshipping Amen-Rê (south end). On the jambs of the doorway into the next chamber, on the thicknesses of the doorway, and on the lintel, are similar religious representations.

The transverse chamber, or Vestibule, is now entered. Its decorations are merely another variation on the endless theme of

the king before the gods, and need not be detailed. Three doors open in its rear wall, the two side ones leading into small undecorated chambers, the central one into the Sanctuary. This chamber has still the broken support for the sacred boat standing in the centre of the floor. On the rear wall is the niche containing four seated divine figures, which represent Ptah, Amûn, Ramses himself, and Harakhte. They are not conspicuous as works of art; 'but when, at sunrise, the shaft of light strikes full upon them, even these statues become impressive and fraught with dignity'. 'No one who has watched for the coming of that shaft of sun-light can doubt that it was a calculated effect, and that the excavation was directed at one especial angle in order to produce it' (Miss Edwards, *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, p. 304, ed. 1899).

From the threshold of the first doorway to the rear wall of the sanctuary, the great temple measures 180 feet in length, and is, of course, entirely hewn out of the living rock.

Passing now to the outside of the great speos, we have to survey the external monuments which have not yet been mentioned. On the rock-wall at the left-hand side of the terrace is a stele with a representation of Ramses seated between two gods under a canopy, with the king of the Hittites and his daughter worshipping him. Beneath is the record of the king's marriage to the Hittite princess. We may assume that the worshipping incident existed only in the imagination of the Egyptian king. On the west (rear) wall of the recess between the southernmost colossus and the rock is another stele, crowned with uraei, and giving a scene of Ramses in the presence of Amûn and Harakhte, with a long poetical inscription below. On the left-hand side of this recess is the lonely grave of Major Tidswell, who died during the Nile Expedition of 1884. A strange destiny has been reserved for this English soldier in being thus laid to rest amidst surroundings of such dignity and impressiveness, which yet are so alien. On the rear wall of the corresponding recess on the north is another stele representing Ramses in the presence of Harakhte; while on the north wall, to the left of the doorway leading into the open chapel of Ra-Harakhte, is an inscription of the Pharaoh Siptah, with representations of him offering to Amûn, Mût and Harakhte.

This open chapel, dedicated to the worship of the sun-god, was discovered by M. Barsanti, during his work of restoration at

Abu Simbel in 1910. It is partly rock-hewn and partly built, on the north side of the great temple, and its eastern wall is built up into two towers which give it somewhat the appearance of a pylon. Entrance is gained on its south side, by a door on the terrace of the great temple. This door is adorned with cavetto cornice and winged disk, and with the cartouches of Ramses, while the exterior walls have much mutilated scenes of the king in the presence of Amûn, Harakhte and other gods. Within the chapel are two altars, of which the one to the south has a stairway leading up to it, a cavetto cornice, and four praying cynocephali standing on it, with two small obelisks at the angles of its eastern face; while the one to the north had, when found, a shrine with the images of Khepri and Thoth, in the shape of a scarabaeus and a cynocephalus. These are now removed to the Museum at Cairo, together with the small obelisks just mentioned (No. 728, G 14, north).

In the corresponding situation on the south side of the façade of the temple, is a small chapel which was discovered in 1874 by Miss Amelia Edwards and her party on the Nile journey which resulted in the production of Miss Edwards's delightful book, *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*. The author has given in that book a vivacious description of the discovery and excavation of the little chapel, and also of the attempt made by herself and her party to restore the face of the northernmost colossus to its normal colour, which it had lost ever since Mr. Hay took the great cast which is now in the British Museum. The main restorative was coffee; but the colossus has since relapsed to its blotched and rather leprous-looking tint in spite of the quantity of that soothing drink which he absorbed. The chapel is possibly a birth-house. It consisted of an outer court, 25 feet by 22½, with walls of crude brick, and a sanctuary hewn in the rock, 21 feet 2½ inches broad and 14 feet 8 inches deep. The sanctuary is adorned with well-executed and well-coloured reliefs. The entrance-wall, on both sides of the door, shows the king entering the temple; the north (right) wall shows the king, with his *Ka*, offering to the boat of Ra-Harakhte; the left (south) wall shows Ramses and his *Ka* offering to the sacred boat of Thoth; and the rear wall shows him presenting his cartouche to Amen-Rê, and offering a libation to Ra-Harakhte.

A short distance north of the great temple, and separated from

it by a ravine of sand, is the smaller temple of Abu Simbel, also the work of Ramses II, and sacred to the goddess Hathor of Abshek. Its size is considerably less than that of its companion temple, the width of the façade being only 92 feet and its height 39 feet. In spite of this, however, it is a striking piece of work, and, if the great temple had not been there, would have been considered a wonder. Even with such companionship, it is by no means reduced to insignificance. The doorway in the middle of the façade is flanked on either side by three standing colossi, two of Ramses himself, and one of his chief wife, Queen Nefertari, who appears in this temple in her deified self, just as Ramses does in the great temple. The great figures, with their crowns and plumes, are 38 feet high, and are separated from one another by heavy buttresses of rock, bearing the royal cartouches. Beside each figure stand some of the royal children. The queen has two Princesses, Meritamûn and Henttaui. The two inner colossi of the king have the princes Amen(hir)khopshef and Pra-hir-unamef; while the outer statues have Princes Meriatûm and Merirê. The first buttress on the north side of the doorway informs us that the king 'made this temple in the form of an excavation in the hill as an eternal work in the land of Takens', and the third buttress on the same side repeats the statement with the slight addition which no true Egyptian would ever have thought of omitting from an inscription to any work that he had done—'nothing like it had been made before'.

The thicknesses of the doorway show the king before Hathor of Abshek (south), and the queen before Isis (north). We enter the Hypostyle Hall, which has six pillars, decorated in front with *sistra* bearing Hathor-heads, while the other sides show the king, the queen and various gods. On the entrance-wall, right hand, the king smites a Libyan before Harakhte, and, left hand, a negro before Amen-Rê. On the north wall (right) the king stands before Ptah; worships Harishaf of Haracleopolis; the queen stands before Hathor; Ramses makes libation before Harakhte. On the south wall (left) Ramses stands before Hathor of Abshek, and between Sêth of Ombos and Horus; the queen worships Anûqet; and the king adores Amen-Rê. On the rear wall, the queen rather more comes into her own. Hitherto, though this is more or less her temple, Ramses has kept the lion's share to himself, as he did on the façade, and appears twice for Nefertari's once. Now, however, the queen gets a

whole wall to herself, and appears on the south of the doorway (left), before Hathor, and on the north (right), before Mût.

Three doors lead into the Vestibule, which has reliefs of no great interest. On the entrance-wall, north end, the king and queen are shown before Hathor, and on the south end the queen appears between Hathor of Abshek and Isis; while the queen's cartouches appear above the doorways. Lest Nefertari should be getting too much of her own way, things are evened up by the appearance of the king upon both north and south walls, where he worships the sacred boat with the Hathor cow in it. A doorway in each of these walls leads to a small uninscribed chamber. On the rear wall, north (right) end, the king appears before Harakhte, and a smaller relief shows the queen before Khnûm, Sâtet and Anûqet. On the south end of the rear wall, the king appears before Amen-Rê, and the smaller relief shows the king in the presence of the three Horuses, of Maam, of Baki, and of Beheni. A door, which bears figures of the king, with small figures of the king and queen before Hathor above them, leads into the sanctuary.

The Sanctuary has in its rear wall a niche, supported by sistra, which has a full-face image in high relief of the cow Hathor, with Ramses beneath her head as being under her divine protection. Both figures are much damaged. On the north wall, the king stands before his deified self and the deified queen. On the south wall the queen appears before Mût and Hathor. The work in this part of the temple was not finished, as it was evidently intended that the sanctuary should be flanked, as usual, by side chambers. The rear wall of the vestibule shows blank spaces left for the doors which should have given access to these chambers; but they were never executed.

On the north side of the Hathor temple are several inscriptions. The viceroy of Ethiopia bows before Ramses II, and the inscription reads: 'Made by the Viceroy of Kush, Ani, of the people of Heracleopolis.' A little farther on is an inaccessible stele showing another viceroy bowing before Ramses, and still farther to the north is a mutilated stele with a man bowing before Amûn, Ramses, Harakhte and Horus. High on the rocks is an inscription reading: 'Made by the Scribe of the Temple, the Father-in-law of the King, Superintendent of the Cattle, Prince, High-Priest, Ahmôse, called Turo.' That the connexion of Abu Simbel with Egypt did not begin with the XIXth Dynasty is shown by three

graffiti which gives the Middle Kingdom names Sebekhotpe and Mentuhotpe. On the south side of the Great Temple we have three steles, of which the first shows a viceroy of Ethiopia worshipping Ramses, the second shows the king before Thoth, Harakhte, and Shepses, and the third shows the king and queen before Amûn, Ramses, and Harakhte, while an official named Nakhtu appears below before the queen. Beyond these are other steles which can only be seen from the river. Between the promontory of the great temple and the next bluff, follows a sandy bay, in which is a small rock-tomb, with a mutilated stele showing two figures before Osiris.

As we go southwards, the rocks are inscribed here and there, with *graffiti* of no particular importance or interest. A few miles south of Abu Simbel, on a promontory of rock which rises from the river on the east bank is the rock-temple of Abahûda, sometimes called the Temple of Gebel Adda. The temple was founded in the reign of Haremhab (end of XVIIIth Dynasty), and is thus somewhat earlier than those that we have been considering; but it is of no great importance. It consists of an entrance with short stairway, a hall, with four columns, which have papyrus-bud capitals, two side-chambers, and a sanctuary. From the Sanctuary a shaft leads down into a crypt. The temple was used as a Christian church, and the reliefs of the XVIIIth Dynasty have been covered over with plaster and Coptic paintings, which still cover them in some instances, but have in other places fallen away sufficiently to allow of the more ancient work being seen. The entrance-wall of the hall shows on its right-hand side Haremhab before Thoth, and on its left hand Haremhab suckled by Anûqet in the presence of Khnûm. On the north wall (left), is the king before Thoth and the three Horuses, of Maam, of Beheni and of Maha; and at the east end of the same wall Haremhab is shown between Sêth and Horus. On the south wall (right), the reliefs are mostly hidden by Christian paintings, but at the east end there is a scene with Haremhab before Amûn. At the south end of the rear wall, Haremhab appears before Harakhte, and at the north end before Amen-Rê. The sanctuary shows on the north wall Haremhab worshipping the sacred boat; on the south wall and on the east the reliefs are hidden.

The Coptic paintings still preserve much of their colour in good condition. They include figures of Christ (above the

doorway and on the ceiling), saints and angels on the ceiling and doorway, and other saints, some of whom are riding on prancing horses, and one of them thrusting a lance into a dragon. This saintly figure is wearing a crown studded with sapphires, and wears much rich drapery. But these figures of Coptic art do not come within the limits of our subject, though they have their own interest. Between Abahûda and the frontier of the Sudân there is to be seen on the hill of Gebel el-Shemesh a small shrine with a damaged statue of a god, and inscriptions of a Prince Pesiûr, who was Governor of Ethiopia and Superintendent of the Gold-country of Amûn under King Haremhab. On the walls of the shrine Pesiûr appears seated while his friends pay obeisance to him, or himself worships the statue. This, with one or two steles of no general interest (save that on one of them this same Pesiûr worships the deified Senusret III along with Anubis, Sebek-Rê and Anûqet) makes up the sum of the local antiquities until we reach Adindân, a mile or so south of which lies the Administrative Frontier between Egypt and the Sudân.

Here, therefore, strictly speaking, our task should end; but the last few years have seen so much interesting work accomplished in the Sudân, and so much light has been cast upon the Ethiopian kingdoms which flourished here between the rise of the XXVth Dynasty and the Roman period, that we may continue our journey south as far as Napata and Meroë, in order to see the relics of the Egypto-Libyan civilization which developed there in the later days of the dynastic period.

CHAPTER XLI

WÂDI HALFA TO KERMA

BETWEEN the frontier and Wâdi Halfa, we pass two fortresses. The first is at Faras, on the west bank, and must have been a stronghold of considerable importance. The remaining walls, which in some places reach to a height of over 30 feet, with a similar thickness, are of crude brick resting on a 13-foot base of masonry. The total area enclosed was nearly 1,000 feet by nearly 600, and there was a citadel which dominated the whole. It is believed to date from about the beginning of the Roman period; but blocks of stone bearing the names of Ramesses II and Tuthmosis III, believed to have belonged to a temple, have been found within the enclosed area, and point to the position having been occupied at least in the time of the New Empire. At Sarra, on the east bank, are the remains of an Egyptian stronghold, dating possibly from the Middle Kingdom. This fortress has not been so large as that at Faras, measuring only about 350 feet by 250. In the neighbourhood occur *graffiti* of the Middle Kingdom, calling attention to a feature which we shall more fully realize directly—the strength of the Egyptian hold on this part of the country in the time of the Middle Kingdom.

At Wâdi Halfa begins the Government railway to Khartûm, and the traveller has to choose between following this route to Abu Hamed, whence, by the branch line to Kareima, he may visit Gebel Barkal, the ancient Napata, with its associations with the first Ethiopian kingdom of Piankhy, its temples and pyramids, or following the course of the Nile and taking the antiquities as they come. The latter course is more laborious and complicated in its arrangements; the former means the missing of all that is to be seen between Wâdi Halfa and Kareima. Our description follows the course of the river.

Wâdi Halfa itself is situated on the east bank of the Nile, and has nothing to interest us. South of it, and easily to be reached by boat is the Ancient Egyptian city of Buhen, which lies on the

west bank, and was one of the centres of Egyptian dominion in the Sudân, at all events from the time of the Middle Kingdom. The ruins of two temples survive. Of these, the northern temple was founded by Ahmôse at the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, probably on the site of a Middle Kingdom structure of Senusret I. It was reconstructed by Amenophis II, but can never have been of much importance. It was almost entirely of brick, save for such prominent features as the pillars of its hall and the jambs of its doorway, which are of sandstone. The southern temple is of greater interest. It lies only a short distance south of its older neighbour, and is protected, since 1905, by a wooden roof which was placed over it by General Wingate to safeguard the wall-paintings. It was built by Tuthmosis II, Tuthmosis III and Queen Hatshepsut; but the cartouches and portraits of Hatshepsut have, as usual, been defaced by her industrious colleague and successor. The walls and pillars of sandstone still stand to a height of over 5 feet. The building had a brick pylon of which a fragment still stands near the river bank, and a pronaos, on one of whose pillars is an inscription of Tuthmosis III describing his prowess in what appears to be his first Asiatic campaign. It is dated in his twenty-third year, which includes the years of his subjection to the authority of Hatshepsut. The description of His Majesty's prowess is quite lyrical: 'The king himself, he led the way of his army, mighty at its head, like a flame of fire, the king who wrought with his sword. He went forth, none like him, slaying the barbarians, smiting Retenu, bringing their princes as living captives, their chariots wrought with gold, bound to their horses' (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, 411-37). The temple proper lies behind this hall, with its back against the cliff and its three other sides colonnaded with proto-Doric columns. It contains a transverse hall, a sanctuary and subsidiary chambers. The wall scenes are not of great interest, being merely the usual formal representations of the king before the gods; but they still retain their colour in several instances.

The main interest of Buhen, however, is that it is the first link in the chain of fortresses, stretching from Buhen to Semna and Kumma, by which the Egyptians dominated the whole region of the Second Cataract, and maintained control of all passage either up- or down-river. The fortified town of Buhen was protected by an elaborate system of double walls with bastions at intervals, and a ditch, cut in the solid rock, 6 metres wide and

3½ metres deep. The great wall measured over 27 feet in thickness at its base, and the buttresses projected another 5 feet. This formidable fortification included within it the two temples already mentioned. Following the river up-stream, about a mile and a half from this fortification occurs another fortified area, with a double-bastioned wall partly of stonework in rubble, and partly of brick. This must also have enclosed a considerable town, as the inner wall extends for a length of more than 1,000 yards.

A little up-stream from this fortified town is the fortress of Mayanarti, situated on an island which commands the entrance to the cataract. The bricks and pottery found in this fort by Mr. Somers Clarke indicated that the date of it was the same as that of the buildings at Buhen. The island evidently once held a considerable population. A curious fact is that during the struggle with the Dervishes, the fort reverted to its ancient use, and above the old Egyptian work was built a breastwork pierced to hold a gun or two, and to act in concert with another fort on the east bank, so as to hold back the Mahdist raider. The modern work, Mr. Somers Clarke reports, was very bad; but it is interesting to see that the recurrence of similar warlike conditions produced the recurrence to very ancient methods of dealing with them. (It may be mentioned that *arti* signifies in Nubian speech 'an island'.)

About a mile south of Mayanarti comes the next link in the chain of fortresses. Dorgaynarti was built of brick; but as the foot of the wall was in danger of being washed by the river at high Nile, it was revetted with rubble. The fortress was about 200 yards long, by 85 yards wide. About 12 miles south of Wâdi Halfa, the village of Matûqa lies on the west bank, and south of it, also on the west bank, is the stronghold of Mirgisse. This was evidently an important item in the Middle Kingdom scheme of fortification. It measures over 300 yards by 200, and the area enclosed by the inner walls is roughly about 180,000 square feet. The fortress is perched upon the top of a rocky bluff, at a height of about 75 feet, and has thus a wide command of the river below, which is added to by the fact that another stronghold, Dabnarti, lies almost opposite it, so that between the mainland fortress and its island companion the channel could be closed at will. Mirgisse is strong, not only in the works which protect it, but by its natural position, as the east wall rises

above the cliff facing the river, and the north and south walls, besides being double, are protected by gullies running down to the river, so that the west wall is almost the only assailable point. Within the second wall, in its north-west angle, are the ruins of a small temple, which was built by Senusret III, and possibly added to by Amenophis III. The existing remains, which are seldom as much as 18 inches in height, show a central room, with four other chambers grouped around three sides of it, suggesting a sanctuary and its subsidiary rooms. The sanctuary was stone-lined, the rest of the temple was brickwork.

Almost opposite Mirgisse lies Dabnarti or Daba. It is a narrow island rising in a long hog's-back ridge, and the best waterways in the labyrinth of rocks pass close to it, so that the fire of Mirgisse and Dabnarti, between them, would command the passage very thoroughly. The fort covers almost all the available area of the island, and measures nearly 954 feet by 191. As usual, it is built of crude brick; but, as at Dorgaynarti, it is revetted at its base with rubble, to protect the brick from the washing of the river at high Nile. Opposite Sarras, and on the west bank, the fort of Shalfak rises on the summit of a rocky height, which gives it a commanding view of the river in both directions. Its approaches on every side are steep and difficult, so that the assault of it must have been a strenuous piece of work. It is comparatively small, being only 96 feet by 53; but its position enables it to signal on to Uronarti, which, in its turn can signal to Semna, west or east, at the south end of the long chain.

Next comes the rocky island of Geziret el-Malik, 'The King's Island', or Uronarti, which with the two forts at Semna, east and west, constituted the first system of defence of the cataract against the raids of the desert tribes. The form of the Uronarti fort is a long triangle, with a spur running out on the southern extension of the ridge of the island. Its land gate opens through a great tower in the middle of the southern short side of the triangle. A small outer fort abuts on the southern side. Dr. Reisner's description of its construction may be quoted, as it applies to the other two fortresses in this area as well: 'The three forts, Semna East, Semna West, and Uronarti, are built of the same materials and with the same type of masonry. The walls rest on a foundation platform of granite rubble with a sloping outer surface, or on rock where the rock rises higher than

the foundation platform. This rubble platform equalizes the irregularities in the rock surface. On the platform the massive exterior walls of the fort, five to eight metres thick, were built of crude brick to a height of ten metres or more. The brickwork was strengthened by layers of wooden beams laid parallel to the faces and by layers of logs or beams laid horizontally also, but at right angles to the faces. These beams made the undermining or the penetration of the walls a very laborious and indeed a practically impossible process. The thick walls were recessed on the outer side and were further strengthened by towers at the corners, at the gates, and at other places. The tops of the walls were never found preserved, but were, of course, flat, and provided with a parapet for use by the defenders. The land gateways were through towers and provided with double wooden doors of considerable strength.' It is obvious that such fortresses, properly victualled, and supplied with water, were practically impregnable, if held by a resolute and sufficient garrison, to such an attack as the Nubian tribes could bring against them. Water-supply was provided for by covered ways leading down to the Nile, which enabled the garrison to get their supply in without any danger to themselves. Altogether, we need not be surprised that Dr. Reisner tells us that 'so far as we know none of these forts was ever taken by an enemy during Dynasty XII itself' (*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, vol. XXVII, No. 163, p. 69).

At Uronarti we meet with the first viceroy of Ethiopia after its reconquest by the early Pharaohs of the New Empire. His name was Thure, and he describes himself at Uronarti as 'Hereditary Prince, Count, Royal Seal-bearer, Sole Companion, Favourite of the King in the Southern Lands, King's Son'. This was in the eighth year of Amenophis I. A year earlier in the same reign, we shall find him at Semna describing himself as King's Son of the Southern Regions. In the earlier reign of Ahmôse I, he had not yet risen to his lofty position, as he describes himself at Buhen only as Commandant of Buhen. He still held his important position at the accession of Tuthmosis I, and set up at Buhen the royal decree announcing the titulary of the new Pharaoh; and he lasted into the reign of Hatshepsut, when, however, he was no longer on the active list.

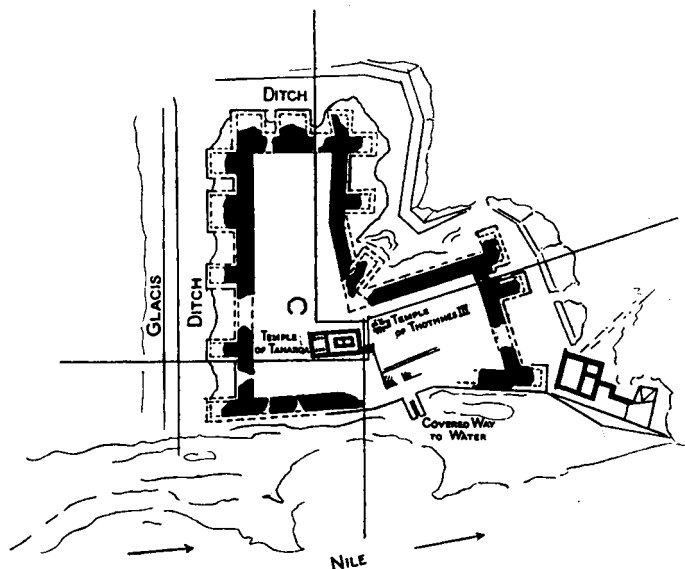
We next come to the great fortress at Semna el-Gharb, or West Semna, the most important and imposing of the Egyptian frontier

fortresses. Mr. Somers Clarke has said that 'there is nothing like it either in Egypt or in Nubia', and its ruins are sufficiently elaborate to warrant such an opinion, though the extraordinary and fantastic reconstruction of MM. Perrot and Chipiez is no longer accepted as corresponding to the facts. Semna West stands on a rock bluff overlooking the Nile. Between it and Semna el-Sharq, or Semna East, the fort on the opposite bank, the distance is about 500 yards, so that a message can be shouted from the one fort to the other. The river here is impeded by a barrier of crystalline rocks, which are only under water at high Nile. At middle and low Nile only a narrow channel, about 120 feet wide, is available, and through this strait pass the whole river rushes, falling several feet within a short distance, and making an exceedingly bad piece of water. Both forts are placed on the last hills of this rock-barrier on the west and east banks; but there has been a strange exaggeration of the loftiness of their positions. Cook's Handbook gives the height of the east fort at 400 feet, and the west fort has been placed at 300 feet; the actual heights of the two forts, as given by Dr. Ball in his geological survey of the Semna Cataract, are, for Semna East about 60 feet. and for Semna West about 44 feet (18 and 14 metres). Even at this reduced altitude, however, the two strongholds are admirably placed to command the river.

The style of building employed in Semna West is the same as that in Uronarti and Semna East, and has already been described. The plan makes the strength of the building apparent. The fort is L-shaped, with the exterior or long side of the letter facing the Nile and the south. The Nile face needs no ditch, as the fall of the rock-face to the river prevents attack from that side. On the other three sides a dry ditch both broad and deep surrounds the walls on the outside. Its farther face is revetted with dry masonry, and beyond it is an extensive sloping glacis also revetted with stone, and having its surface at such an angle (60°) that it offers a perfect field of fire to the defending bowmen on the top of the wall. Within this glacis and ditch the walls, built of crude brick on a stone basis, and strengthened at intervals by beams laid horizontally both parallel to the face of the wall and at right angles to it, rose to a height which is, of course, unknown, as the upper parts of the structure have been worn away, but which was probably between 30 and 40 feet, and may have been more in places where loftiness of command

was specially necessary. The towering structure with revetted upper courses, offered by the Perrot and Chipiez reconstruction appears to be merely an exercise of the imagination.

The plan of the fort was such as to take every advantage of the rocky knoll on which it stood, and to cover this so completely



THE FORTRESS, SEMNA WEST

The dotted lines represent the stone basement. The solid black is existing brick wall. (Scale 40 metres to 1 inch)

(For description, see text)

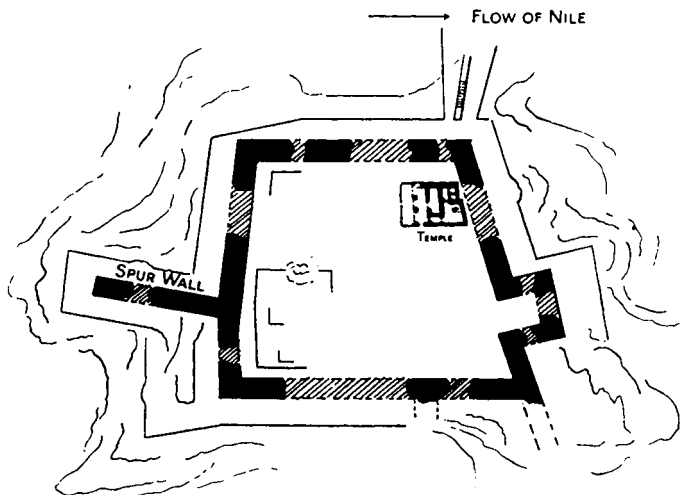
as to leave no level ground on which an enemy could establish himself for the purpose of sapping the walls. Access to the platforms on the top of the walls was supplied either by stairways or ramps, probably the latter, and the walls, even at the top, were so broad that communication between the different parts of the fort must have been quite easily maintained along

the broad walk behind the parapet, without any need for descending into the interior of the fort and climbing up again. Internally the structure is divided into two parts, an eastern and a western, the eastern portion being subdivided into a northern and a southern part. A subsidiary building, whose purpose is not easily understood, unless it was simply meant to cover the rock more adequately, is thrown out beyond the north-east angle. Within the great exterior walls, the space was filled with mud-brick structures for the housing of the garrison, with its dependants, and the stores. Semna West had two land-gates, one in the north and one in the south wall, which were connected by a thoroughfare which was paved with slabs of granite, and which lay directly in the line of the great caravan-route to the south along the western bank. This route was thus effectually controlled, as well as the waterway, by the fort, as all Nubian caravans could be halted outside the gate, while Egyptian caravans would be received in and sheltered within the protection of the walls. Prominent features within the *enceinte* were two temples, of which one, in sandstone, consisting merely of a single chamber measuring about 30 feet by 12 and devoid of ornamentation, was erected by Tuthmosis III on the site of an earlier temple erected by Senusret III of the XIIth Dynasty. The dedication inscription of Tuthmosis runs as follows: 'The Good God, Menkheperre [Tuthmosis III]. He made it as his monument for his father Dedwen [the Nubian god], presider over Nubia, and for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khakewre [Senusret III], making for them a temple of fine white stone of Nubia, although My Majesty found it of ruinous brick; as a son does, according to the desire which his father desired, who assigned to him the Two Regions, who brought him up to be Horus, Lord of this land.'

On the west wall of the temple, inside, Dedwen obligingly replies to the dedication: 'My beloved son, Menkheperre, how beautiful is this beautiful monument, which thou hast made for my beloved son, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khakewre. Thou hast perpetuated his name for ever, that he may live.' Looking upon the little place, one feels that Dedwen was thankful for small mercies. Before the reconstruction of Senusret's temple by Tuthmosis III, an earlier temple had been built by Tuthmosis I; but only a few fallen blocks and the foundations of a single chamber remain. Later, Taharqa of the XXVth Dynasty built a crude brick temple (688-663 B.C.). The covered way

leading down to the river and the water-supply was of heavy masonry, with a roof of massive slabs—an obvious necessity in the event of a siege.

Semna el-Sharq, or Semna East (often known as Kumma), on the east bank of the Nile, stands somewhat higher than its bigger neighbour on the opposite side, but is not only smaller than Semna



THE FORTRESS, SEMNA EAST

Solid black represents existing brick walls on stone basement. (Scale, roughly, 50 metres to 3 inches)

(For description, see text)

West, but much less elaborate in its lay-out. While Semna West measures about 747 feet by 585, Semna East only measures about 380 feet by 228. Simple walls of considerable strength surround an irregular area, approaching to a square. A large bastion projects near the north-east angle, and a thick spur-wall is thrown out towards the south to cover a spur of the rock knoll, and deny a possible enemy standing-ground. But the position is so strong by nature that there is no need of such refinements of art

as are in evidence at Semna West. The small temple in the north-west angle was built by Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, and dedicated to Khnûm and Senusret III. After the death of the great queen her name was erased by her loving successor, and that of Tuthmosis II inserted in its stead. Then the temple was reconstructed by Amenophis II, who paid no more regard to his father's name than Tuthmosis III had paid to Hashepsut's.

Such is this line of fortresses by means of which the Egyptian Pharaohs controlled this stretch of troubled river and desolate land. The land itself is naught, and its local name Batn el-Hagar, 'The Belly of Stone', sufficiently describes its utter desolation. But it was of importance because of the caravan-route which passed through it to the richer lands farther south, with their gold, ivory, ebony, and ostrich feathers; while the waterway was still more necessary to allow free passage to the trade fleets and the officials journeying to their districts in the province. The Second Cataract was the most vulnerable point on the southward route, and therefore we have this chain of strongholds, each within signalling distance of its neighbour, commanding the whole stretch, and able either to protect Egyptian caravans or fleets in their passage, or to hold back undesirable Nubians. The garrisons which they held were in all probability small. Reisner only allows 100, 300 and 200 men respectively to Uronarti, Semna West, and Semna East, which were perhaps the most important stations of the whole line, as they commanded the most difficult pass, and had to bear the brunt of the first attack of the Nubians. Life in these lonely outposts of civilization must have been almost inconceivably dreary, in spite of the occasional visits of officials from the great world outside the glaring desert; but the line of forts seems to have served its purpose. The fighting force which the commandant at Semna West could put into the field to repel any chance raid of the Nubians is estimated at between 150 and 200 men. Such a force of disciplined troops doubtless sufficed to break up any ordinary raid for purposes of mere plunder. For anything bigger, such as the not infrequent revolt of 'the wretched Kush' against its conquerors, the commandant would signal down the long line of forts till the message of revolt could be sent on by swift galleys from below the cataract; then he would draw back his garrisons behind their strong walls, within which they would wait till the Nubians had tired of breaking their heads against stone and brick,

or until the relieving force had come up-stream from Egypt and scattered their foes.

Attention should be called to the records of the level of the flood Nile which are inscribed on the rocks on both sides of the pass at Semna. On the cliff under Semna East there are 18 of these, and on the west bank there are 9 more, making 27 in all; 19 are from the reign of Amenemhêt III, who succeeded Senusret III, the builder of the forts; 1 is from Amenemhêt IV; 1 from Sebeknofru, and 4 from Sekhemkhutaurê-Sebekhotpe of the XIIIth Dynasty. Thus 25 of these records are of the Middle Kingdom, and they all agree in a flood-level averaging about 25 feet higher than that of the inundation to-day. The explanation seems to be that in or soon after the reign of Sekhemkhutaurê-Sebekhotpe the erosion of the rock on the western side of the western channel of the river brought down a mass of the western cliff in ruins. The result was to deepen and widen the western channel to such an extent that the flood Nile never again rose to the level marked on the rocks prior to this change, and the records ceased to be kept at this point.

The antiquities south of Semna, and between that point and Kerma, for a stretch of about 200 miles, are almost inaccessible to the ordinary tourist, and can only be reached by caravan or boat, and at considerable toil and expense. From Kerma onwards, it is possible to reach whatever is to be seen above that point by taking rail to Abu Hamed from Wâdi Halfa, and thence proceeding by the branch railway to Kareima, whence boats may be hired for the visit to the pyramid-fields of Nuri and Kuru, and a steamer runs once weekly during the winter to Kerma (passengers must do their own catering). The whole of this region is full of memories, rapidly fading, of the attempt to relieve General Gordon, and the subsequent 'River War' which ended in the battles of the Atbara (April 8, 1898) and Omdurman (September 2, 1898). Akasha, Firket, Kosha, Suwanda, Ginnis, are all names which were familiar enough to British homes in the years between 1884 and 1899, but which now seem to belong to an almost infinitely remote past.

From Semna, 43 miles from Wâdi Halfa, to the island of Sai, we have about 90 miles of utter desolation, without any remains of interest. At Sai, however, is the ruin of a little temple of the XVIIIth Dynasty, with inscriptions of Tuthmosis III and his son, Amenophis II, and on the east bank opposite to the north

end of the same island there existed, up till 1905, the remains of the small temple of 'Amâra, which was built by one of the queens of the Meroitic, or Southern Ethiopian Kingdom. It has now entirely disappeared, having been used up by the natives as building material. Twelve miles farther on is the little that is left of the temple of Sedeinga, which Amenophis III built in honour of his much-loved wife Tiy, whom he erected into a patron-goddess of Nubia.

About another 12 miles farther south, however, lies a more important ruin—that of the great temple of Sôleb, which is the best-preserved of the Egyptian temples in Upper Nubia. The temple was built by Amenophis III in honour of Amen-Rê and his own deified self, and the king thus describes it in the inscription on his great black granite stele which was subsequently usurped by Meneptah, and inscribed with that Song of Victory which has the first inscriptional reference to the Children of Israel. 'I made', he says, 'other monuments for Amûn, whose like hath not been. I built for thee thy house of millions of years in the — of Amen-Rê, Lord of Thebes, named "Shining in Truth", august in electrum, a resting-place for my father at all his feasts. It is finished with fine white sandstone; it is wrought with gold throughout; its floor is adorned with silver, all its portals are of gold. Two great obelisks are erected, one on either side. When my father rises between them, I am of his following' (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, 890). It is a pity that the king's description of his temple does not condescend on particulars, but only indulges in the vague suggestions of magnificence with which we are familiar in all building inscriptions; but the general aspect of the great building may be gathered from the existing remains. It was approached through an avenue of rams, and somewhere in the approach, probably near the first pylon, or between it and the second, were placed the two magnificent red granite lions which are now in the British Museum. Between the first pylon and the second there was a six-columned court, which measured 70 feet by 45. From it a flight of steps led up to the portal of the second pylon, which was 167 feet broad. Its doorway gave access to a second court, 90 feet by 113, which was surrounded on all four sides by a colonnade of twenty-eight columns. Beyond the second court came the first Hypostyle Hall, and it was followed by a second, 78 feet by 113, with thirty-two columns. It will thus be seen

that Sôleb must have been a structure of great importance, less in scale than the great temples of Thebes, indeed, but not so much less as to seem dwarfed even in their presence ; while, if the granite lions of the British Museum are to be taken as samples of the temple decoration, Sôleb must have yielded to few Egyptian temples in magnificence.

The inscription on one of the rams which adorned the approach runs as follows : ' Live the Good God, Nebmaetrê, Son of Rê, Amenophis [III]. He made it as his monument for his image, Nebmaetrê, Lord of Nubia, Great God, Lord of Heaven ; making for him an excellent fortress, surrounded with a great wall, whose battlements shine more than the heavens, like the great obelisks which the king, Amenophis, Ruler of Thebes, made for a million of million of years, for ever and ever. Live the Good God — He made it as his monument for his father, Amûn, Lord of Thebes ; making for him an august temple, made very wide and large, and its beauty increased. Its pylons reach heaven, and its flagstaves the stars of heaven ; it is seen on both sides of the river, illuminating the Two Lands ' (Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, 894). All which, though very picturesque, does not carry us much farther. One of the lions at the British Museum bears the cartouche of Tutankhamûn, who expressly states that he is ' the restorer of the monument of his father ', Amenophis III, so that there can be no doubt that both lions are, as would be expected, the work of Amenophis III. The name of their creator was erased during the religious revolution of Akhenaten, whose zeal carried his proscription of the hated name of Amûn even thus far, and whose filial piety did not restrain him from violating the name of his own father.

About 190 miles above Wâdi Halfa, and on the west bank, is Sesebi, where are the ruins of the Ethiopian ' Gem-Aten ', the temple which Akhenaten dedicated to his god, the Aten, in pursuance of his policy of making his divinity supreme and alone throughout the Empire. Sesi is also the only Gem-Aten which has survived or been identified, the Syrian counterpart to it not having been found as yet. The ruins now extant measure 130 feet by 65, so that the temple was not of the first class as regards size. Only three columns are still standing in his first hall ; and as might be expected, Akhenaten's reliefs have had no better treatment than he meted out to those of the earlier faith, and have been usurped by Seti I, and made orthodox again.

At the head of the Third Cataract, and some 200 miles from Wâdi Halfa is the island of Tombos, which Tuthmosis I fortified after his conquest of Upper Nubia, and made the frontier station of the Egyptian Empire in the south. The famous Tombos inscription here might have been of much greater historical importance had the writer not consulted the 'eloquential aspects' of things rather than the plain facts. As a consequence of his unfortunate devotion to sounding phrases, all that can be learned from the inscription is that Tuthmosis I had conquered Nubia as far as this point, that he set up a fort here to safeguard the frontier, and that his Asiatic Empire already extended as far as the Euphrates. The passage referring to the fortress runs as follows: 'The lords of the palace have made a fortress for his army called "None-Faces-Him-Among-the-Nine-Bows-Together"; like a young panther among the fleeing cattle, the fame of His Majesty blinded them.' That referring to his Asiatic frontier has become famous from its curious description of the Euphrates as 'that inverted water which goes down-stream in going up-stream'. This apparently topsy-turvy piece of description becomes perfectly plain when we remember that the native Egyptian had no conception of a great river save that of his own Nile, which flowed almost due north; consequently the Euphrates, which in the great Carchemish bend, where the Egyptians would first sight it, flows practically due south, would naturally seem to them a complete inversion of the whole order of things.

At Kerma, 246 miles from Wâdi Halfa, we reach a spot which, though of little significance so far as outward appearances go, has been of the utmost importance in the way of extending our conceptions of the Middle Kingdom relations with the Sudân, and of the type of civilization which prevailed in the southern province in the days of the great Pharaohs of the XIIth Dynasty. The discoveries which have brought so much light on these points were made, during the years 1913-15, by Dr. G. A. Reisner, the head of the Harvard-Boston Expedition. At Kerma, and separated from one another by a distance of about 2 miles, are two large mounds of mud-brick, externally very similar in appearance, and dating from the time of the Middle Kingdom. Of these, the one locally called the Western Defûfa proved to have been a fortified trading-station, of the type which our ancestors of the early times of 'John Company' in India would

have called a factory. It yielded a great number of mud seal-impressions, showing that it had been used as the depot for the trade of the province, and also a great quantity of unfinished articles, pottery, beads, and pieces of faience, together with the raw material for producing such things. The fort was of solid mud-brick almost throughout its surviving parts; but chambers on the east side proved that the place had been subjected to a fierce conflagration, and probably this marks the end of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom domination, when, under the weak Pharaohs who followed the masterful kings of the XIIth Dynasty, the empire fell to pieces, Lower Egypt was conquered by the Hyksos, and the Sudân rose in successful revolt against its Egyptian overlords. Doubtless the trading 'factory' was stormed and burnt out, and the Egyptian rule swept away, so that Kamôse, in the XVIIth Dynasty has to complain that he sits at Thebes 'cheek by jowl with an Asiatic and a nigger'.

Still more interesting were the three large funerary mounds, shaped somewhat like a flattish dish-cover, which were explored, along with others of a similar type but of less importance. These proved to be the graves of three Egyptian governors of the Sudân, of whom one was no other than the Prince of Asyût, Hepzefa, whose rock-tomb at his native city we have already visited. Now became apparent the reason why Hepzefa had been so particular in the drawing up of his contracts with the funerary priests at Asyût for the maintenance of his funerary rites, and, in particular, why the contracts bound the priests to make the offerings, not to his *Ka*, but to his statue. Hepzefa, in drawing them up knew that he was leaving for the Sudân, and that it might very well be that he would die and be buried there, and not at Asyût. Wishing to secure himself in any case, he drew up the contracts for offerings to his statue, knowing that if he was buried in the Sudân his *Ka* would not be at Asyût to receive them, but his statue would take its place.

His premonition was fulfilled, and he did die in the Sudân, and was buried in Mound III of the tumuli at Kerma. Along with him were buried his own statue (not the Asyût one, of course) whose base was found by the excavators, and the statue of his wife Senuwy. The latter statue with its name, and the name of the prince's mother Idi-o, mentioned on the base of his own statue, made his identification certain, as both ladies are mentioned in the inscriptions in the tomb of Hepzefa at Asyût.

The Kerma tomb, however, was a very different thing from the ordered and decent everlasting habitation which he had prepared for himself at Asyût. Doubtless, to the fancy of the Sudanese, it was much more magnificent; but its splendours were of a type which to call barbaric is to say too little.

Dr. Reisner's own description is adequate, so far as the telling of the facts goes, and they may be left to speak for themselves. 'The grave tumuli of the Egyptian governors were of a type unknown in Egypt. Imagine a circle eighty to ninety metres in diameter laid out on the hard desert surface, outlined by a wall of mud-brick only ten centimetres high, and crossed from east to west by two long mud-brick walls forming a corridor two or three metres wide. From the outside of this corridor, cross-walls of mud-brick, built at intervals of one or two metres, ran out to the circumference. Beginning with a height of ten centimetres at the circumference, these walls all rise in a curve to an height of two or three metres in the middle. All the spaces in the circle, except the corridor, were filled in with loose earth. Opening off the middle of the southern side of the corridor was a chamber roofed with a mud-brick vault. The tomb was thus ready for the burial. A great funerary feast was made at which over a thousand oxen were slaughtered and their skulls buried around the southern half of the circle outside. The body of the prince was then laid to rest in the vaulted chamber, with his offerings; and the wooden door was closed. The sacrificial victims, all local Nubians, either stupefied during the feast by a drug, or strangled, were brought in and laid out on the floor of the corridor—from two to three hundred men, women, and children. With these Nubians were placed a few pots and pans, occasionally a sword, and often their personal ornaments. Then the corridor was filled in with earth, forming a low, domed mound. The top was covered with a floor of mud-brick. A great quartzite pyramidion was set up on top, and I believe that a mud-brick chapel was built around the stone' (*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, vol. XIII, No. 80, p. 72).

No doubt Hepzefa and his other two brother governors, with the deputy or district governors who occupied smaller tumuli in the cemetery, and the members of their households who, 'almost immediately after the burial of the prince', began to use his tumulus as a cemetery, in which the same barbarous sacrifices were exacted of the Nubians on a lesser scale, would plead that they

were only following the native custom, and that a natural lord of creation like an Egyptian could not be content with less than what the native princes were accustomed to get from their dependants; but one can understand that a holocaust which was tolerated for a native prince would scarcely be a popular thing when exacted for an alien representative of a race of detested conquerors, and we need scarcely look farther for the reason why the trading-station was stormed and burned when Egypt's strength was weakened in the way. The strange thing is to see how an enlightened Egyptian, in an enlightened period of his country's history, could tolerate the contemplation of such a reversion to barbarism in connexion with his own funeral; but such a reversion is not unparalleled in the history of the dealings of civilized races with those less civilized. It is not always the light that conquers the darkness, but often the opposite.

For the rest, the articles which Dr. Reisner recovered from the cemeteries of Kerma were of Egyptian type and workmanship, but of local material, and evidently the product of local workshops, reproducing under the tuition of Egyptian craftsmen the types popular in Egypt. Non-Egyptian articles were of local manufacture, and showed considerable skill in workmanship, much more so, in fact, than those belonging to the native school of craftsmanship before the Egyptian occupation. Nubia was evidently learning from Egypt. The pity was that Egypt also was learning from Nubia, and the habits she was learning were not nice.

CHAPTER XLII

NAPATA (GEBEL BARKAL) AND MEROË

BEFORE we reach the important remains of the first Ethiopian kingdom at Kuru, Napata and Nuri, it would be as well to sketch the curious story of the tribe of Libyans which invaded Ethiopia, probably from the western oases, about 950 B.C., took up and made their own the Egyptian and Amûnist tradition which they found existing there since the XXth Dynasty of Egypt, gradually came to regard themselves as the true guardians of the pure faith of Amûn and the true line of Egyptian civilization, and finally, under the famous conqueror Piankhy, conquered the whole land of Egypt, then suffering from one of its periodical lapses into disunion, and for a time brought the whole Nile valley, from the Mediterranean to Khartûm, into a unity under their sway. The XXVth or Ethiopian Dynasty, thus constituted, was unfortunate in that its effort was made too late, and that it should have been brought, almost at once, into deadly conflict with the overwhelming power of Assyria, under Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, which inevitably proved too great for them; but none the less their bid for empire was a remarkable one, especially when we consider the comparatively poor and distant base from which it had to be made, and the scanty population of the Ethiopian kingdom which gave the forces to make it.

It will be remembered that after the close of the XXth Dynasty the Amûn priesthood at Thebes took over the crown of the Ramesides, and, with an interlude when Nesbenedbed at Tanis divided the lordship of Egypt with the priest-king at Thebes, maintained a weak and inglorious sway for about one hundred and fifty years. During the latter part of their rule, the control of the Delta, and even of Middle Egypt, had gradually been slipping away from them, and a chieftain of the Northern Temehu, or Libyans, who had long been a menace to Egypt's western frontier, established himself at Heracleopolis. Buiuwawawa was succeeded at Heracleopolis by several chieftains of his line, and at last one of these, named Sheshonq, took advantage of the weakness of the XXIst

Dynasty, on its extinction, to establish himself at Bubastis as Pharaoh of the whole land. The dynasty which he thus set up, the XXIInd or Libyan Dynasty, maintained itself with more or less success for about two hundred years. It was succeeded by the XXIIIrd Dynasty, also of Libyan origin, which ruled a weak and divided Egypt for an uncertain number of years, probably not more than thirty. The XXIVth Dynasty consisted simply of the one king Bekenrenf, or Bocchoris, who had reigned only for six years or so when his life and his dynasty were brought to a sudden end. His rule can in any case only have been a very partial one, for at this time Egypt had again lapsed into the condition of disunion from which the early Bubastite Pharaohs of the XXIInd Dynasty had for a time delivered her, and was in a condition of indescribable confusion, with petty despots setting themselves up as kings, and maintaining a brief sovereignty over small districts until they were eaten up by other despots of a similar class. The incursion from Ethiopia, which we have now to describe, at least put an end for the time to this anarchy; and, if the Ethiopian Pharaohs failed in the end to repulse Assyria, there is no reason to believe that the wrangling tyrants whom they superseded would have even done as much, or put up so good a fight, as did the XXVth Dynasty.

Probably it was about the same time, say round about 950 B.C. when the Northern Libyans at last succeeded in establishing themselves on the throne of Egypt, that another tribe of the same race, the Southern Temehu, began to press into Ethiopia. They chose the less promising and fertile northern part of Upper Nubia round about Gebel Barkal as the seat of their dominion, probably because from that position they could control the traffic of the gold-fields, and the caravan routes from farther south. For at least six generations they held dominion at Napata; the last ruler of the Napatan kingdom, before its sudden blossoming out into empire, being Kashta. The rulers of this period were all buried, as we shall see directly, in the pyramid-field at Kuru, though not in pyramids, but in tumulus-graves and mastabas.

These Libyan chiefs, whom we are to conceive of as dominating a native population to which they did not belong racially, much as the Normans did in Sicily, found at Napata a strong and vigorous tradition of Egyptian civilization already in possession

of the land. We have seen how in the Middle Kingdom Egypt was firmly entrenched in Ethiopia, with her arts and crafts, though rather in the character of an alien outpost of civilization than as native to the soil. That official and trading dominance was swept away in the troubled times of the Second Intermediate Dark Period and the Hyksos domination, and we have seen the marks of its collapse in the burnt-out trading-factory at Kerma. The rise of the XVIIIth Dynasty, however, witnessed the re-establishment of Egyptian dominion over the Sudân. The first New Empire viceroy of Ethiopia, Thure, recorded his names and titles at Uronarti about 1550 B.C. Then, for nearly five centuries, the country was held by Egypt under its viceroys, of whom we have a fairly complete list, which is less complete during the XXth Dynasty.

Five centuries is a fairly long time. In our land it takes us back almost to the day of Agincourt, and much has happened in that time. Given the constant presence and pressure for such a period of a living and powerful civilization on a land which had already in its past been subjected to an earlier period of such influence, and it can be understood how widespread and effectual had been the Egyptianizing of Ethiopia. It was into a land already permeated through and through with Egyptian arts and crafts, and with Egyptian religious customs and habits of thought, that the Libyan intruders came; and the influence of the Egyptian tradition could not be long in making its influence felt upon the aliens. Further, the period in which the Libyan power was growing in Ethiopia was precisely the time during which the influence of the priesthood of Amûn was most powerful, both in Egypt and Ethiopia. From the beginnings of the decline of the XXth Dynasty, Southern Egypt and Nubia were practically under the control of the Amûn priesthood in Thebes, and however inefficient the priest-pharaohs of the XXIst Dynasty, like all priest-kings, may have shown themselves, the priests of Amûn, in Egypt and in Ethiopia, succeeded in creating among the Ethiopians the firm belief that Ethiopia was the special domain of Amûn—a belief which in the end found expression in the fiction that Ethiopia was the original home of Amûn and his worship, and even of the Egyptian race. Gebel Barkal, the remarkable isolated rock which rises above the ruins of Napata, was looked upon as the Holy Mount of Amûnism, and the will of Amûn, as expressed through the priests of his temples at the

base of the Ethiopian Sinai, was more powerful than the sceptre of the Libyan kings of the land. Not that they ever thought of questioning the will of Amûn. On the contrary they accepted it, and used it to give sanction to their projects, and above all to the project of the conquest of Egypt.

When the Libyan kings of Ethiopia appeared in Egypt with a conquering army, it was as strenuous upholders of the ancient Amûnist tradition against the heresies and impieties which were dividing Egypt that they came; and their victory was the triumph of an orthodoxy more strict than that of Thebes herself. It will thus be seen that the conquest of Egypt by the so-called Ethiopian Dynasty was not the conquest of an ancient civilization by the barbarism of Central Africa, which it is sometimes described as being. On the contrary it was a conquest by a race which was essentially un-Ethiopian, ruling over and using for its own purposes the native tribes of the land; and it was a conquest made, not in the interests of barbarism as opposed to civilization, but in those of the ancient civilization of Egypt itself by men who, having accepted Egyptian culture, claimed to be more truly the champions of civilization than the Egyptians against whom they fought.

The conqueror of Egypt was Piankhy, the son of Kashta. He had already been nibbling at Upper Egypt for several years, and had established himself in control of it, when in 721 or 722 B.C. he was stirred up by the ceaseless wranglings and threatened attacks of the dynasts of Lower Egypt to make an end of them and to restore unity to the land by conquering it. His own narrative of the campaign which followed was engraved on a great stele which he set up at Napata on his return, and which is now in the Cairo Museum (No. 937, G 30, east). In this remarkable inscription, Piankhy reveals himself as no barbarian, but as a cultured and dignified sovereign, merciful to his enemies on their submission, tender-hearted also towards the brute creation, especially to horses, for whom he appears to have had a particular affection, as we shall see, and above all, orthodox in his devotion to the gods of Egypt, especially to Amûn, and diligent in his service of them.

He and his successors might have succeeded in accomplishing an Egyptian renaissance but for the fact that their work was scarcely begun before they were forced to meet the power of Assyria. The match was an utterly unequal one, and probably

would have been so, even had not Egypt been so far gone in decrepitude as she was. Shabaka, Piankhy's successor, Shabataka, Taharqa, and Tanutamûn all tried their fortune against the Assyrian armies, and all failed. Taharqa and Tanutamûn had each a gleam of success; but they had neither the men nor the training to stand against the professional soldiery of Assyria, and always the Assyrians wore them down in the end. Finally Tanutamûn gave up the hopeless struggle, and retreated to Napata for good, leaving the Assyrian conquerors in possession of Egypt. They were not destined to hold it for long.

Tanutamûn apparently died under the shadow of his defeat, for his pyramid at Kuru is a very humble structure. Thus the empire of the Ethiopian (so-called) Pharaohs was a very brief one, only lasting at the longest for about eighty-five years. But Ethiopia, though now shorn of an empire which she could never have held for long in any case, revived after her defeat, and the line of Libyo-Ethiopian kings continued at Napata for three hundred and sixty years (661-300 B.C.), when the sovereignty passed to the southern branch of the race, which reigned at Meroë till the final overthrow in A.D. 350. We have thus, in the Ethiopian monarchy the history of an Egyptian civilization maintaining itself for many centuries under the aegis of a tribe of Libyans, in the midst of the comparative barbarism of the Sudân; and we can trace the gradual stages by which the Egyptian culture, maintained at first, and for a considerable period, in comparative purity by constant contact with Egyptian standards and originals, at last declined, becoming more and more corrupt, until it had fallen far enough away from the level of its ancestry, and become almost worse than barbarous. The story of the Ethiopian kingdom is an interesting one, worthy of far more attention than it usually gets from the student of Ancient Egyptian history, and we owe the discovery of a great deal of the material which illustrates and confirms it to the work of Dr. Reisner which we have now to follow.

Following the course of the river in the up-stream direction, the first contact with the relics of the Ethiopian monarchy is made at Kuru, though the traveller who approaches by the branch line from Abu Hâmed to Kareima will, of course, reach Napata and Nuri earlier. Kuru lies about 8 miles down-stream from Kareima, and within a few minutes' walk from the Nile, on the east bank. Nearly opposite it, on the west

bank is the so-called pyramid-field of Tangassi, which, however, has no claim to such a title, as its tombs are merely tumuli-graves of late date. The same remark has to be made with regard to the other mis-named pyramid-field of Zuma, which lies on the east bank, some distance south-west from the pyramid-field of Kuru. The pyramids of Kuru are, however, genuine pyramids, with a number of mastabas and tumulus-graves of an earlier period beside them; and it was here that Dr. Reisner, in 1918-19, discovered the pyramids of four of the chief kings of the XXVth Dynasty, Piankhy, Shabaka, Shabataka, and Tanutamûn. These pyramids are poor ruined things; but their importance is much greater than their size or condition would suggest, and, in addition some of their pyramid-chapels, such as that of the humble tomb of the unfortunate Tanutamûn still show well-preserved reliefs, and are worth a visit as examples of Egyptian craftsmanship operating in an alien environment. The pyramid of Taharqa, the other king of the XXVth Dynasty, is not here, but at Nuri. The largest pyramid at Kuru is of much later date than those just named, and its date falls between the nineteenth and twentieth of the kings whose pyramids are found at Nuri—that is to say almost at the end of the Napatan line of kings altogether.

The pyramids of the kings of the XXVth Dynasty who were buried at Kuru are small—that of Shabaka, for instance, known as Ku. XV, is only about 39 feet square—and their construction is poor. They are of the slender type, quite different in appearance from the more solid type of Giza, and they are approached by a stairway which opens outside the doorway of the pyramid-chapel. Piankhy the conqueror was the first of the Libyo-Ethiopian kings to adopt the pyramid style for his tomb. His father, Kashta, built a mastaba tomb, as also did the three generations of chieftains before him. The two generations prior to these, however, used a method of sepulture even simpler than the mastaba. The first ancestor of the Libyan chieftains had merely a round tumulus-grave, and the second, while retaining the tumulus form, cased the mound in fine white stone, added a horse-shoe-shaped girdle-wall, and erected a mud-brick funerary chapel. Thus the tombs at Kuru show seven generations of funerary construction, the first two being of the tumulus type, the next three of the mastaba, the sixth also a mastaba, but duly oriented in the east-west direction, and the seventh showing the

pyramid type, which continued to be the normal type for the tombs of the royal line till the close of the Napatan line, when the succession was taken up by the southern line at Meroë.

The summit of the knoll at Kuru is crowned with a low heap of rubble, which marks the tumulus-grave of the 'First Ancestor'. On either side of this tumulus, and in front of it on the slope towards the river, are five other tumulus-graves. Then, between these and the large pyramid of the late king, stand eight tombs of the mastaba type, reaching right across the face of the slope. In front of these stand the pyramids of Piankhy, Shabaka, and Tanutamûn; while the pyramid of Shabataka lies farther back, behind the end of the row of mastabas. Near at hand to south and north are groups of queens' tombs. Unfortunately the tombs had all been thoroughly well looted. Nevertheless the objects found in them sufficiently demonstrated the continuance of the same fact which had been demonstrated at Kerma for the Middle Kingdom period—namely that the culture and art represented were not indigenous, but were truly Egyptian. Gradually the fine tradition of Egyptian art and craftsmanship becomes blurred and indistinct with the lapse of time and the constant contact with surrounding barbarism; but to the very end of the Napatan line it is recognizable as definitely Egyptian and not native, and the Meroitic line, when it takes up the succession, takes up the Ethiopian version of the Egyptian tradition where Napata left it off.

An interesting feature of Kuru was the horse-cemetery which was found a short distance from the tombs of Piankhy's queens. It contained four rows of horse-graves, of which the first held four horses of Piankhy, the second and third, eight graves of the horses of Shabaka and Shabataka, and the fourth four of those of Tanutamûn. Four horses made up therefore the standard number for each king; and it is manifest that these four were sacrificed so that their spirits might go with their royal master into the other world, for his service there, as did the spirits of the hundreds of servants slain in the tombs of Hepzefa. The highly favoured horses were all buried standing, and all with their heads looking to local south. No chariots were found, and the tombs had all been robbed; but enough was discovered to show that they were all equipped with full trappings, mostly of gilded silver. It is interesting to remember that Piankhy, who started this custom of horse-burial, was himself a great lover of

horses, as was curiously shown by his anger at finding, on the submission of one of the Egyptian dynasts after his city had been long besieged, that the horses in his enemy's stables had been half-starved. 'As I live, as I love Rê, as my nostrils are refreshed with life, very grievous are these things to my heart, the starving of my horses, more than any ill which thou hast done in the fulfilling of thine own desire.' It may be doubted whether the four chosen horses would appreciate their privilege of dying to accompany King Piankhy; but there is no doubt that he meant well.

The tombs at Kuru are shown by a guardian; but permission must be obtained from the authorities at Meroë.

About $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Kareima rises the great flat-topped rock of sandstone, more than $\frac{1}{2}$ mile long, and over 300 feet high, which is known as Gebel Barkal, beneath whose shadow the city of Napata, the capital of the earlier Ethiopian line of kings, rose on both sides of the Nile. It has already been explained how the Ethiopian province became the stronghold of Amûnism, and how Gebel Barkal was looked upon as the Holy Mountain of Amûn worship. The greatest and most brilliant period of Napata was, of course, during the XXVth Dynasty, when its Libyan kings were actually ruling Egypt as well as Ethiopia, and when Piankhy, Shabaka, Shabataka, Taharqa and Tanutamûn, in spite of the ill-success which attended the later kings in their struggle with Assyria, were actually very considerable monarchs. After the collapse of the Ethiopian effort in the reign of Tanutamûn, the prosperity of the kingdom seems to have declined for awhile; but his successors, though no longer claiming authority over Egypt, managed to restore a measure of prosperity to their land, perhaps because they were no longer saddled with the necessity of maintaining their suzerainty over a northern empire far bigger than they could control. Several of the later kings have left important remains of their work at Napata, which show that they had command of not inconsiderable resources, derived, of course, from their control of the trade-routes to the south and to the gold-fields.

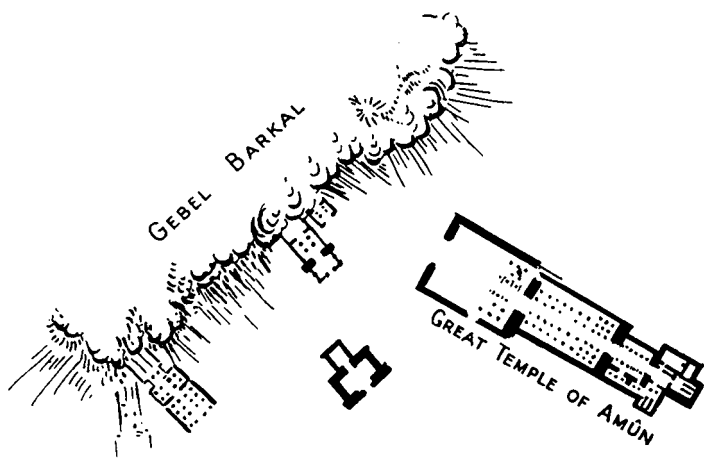
The existence of important ruins at Napata has long been known. Of the earlier visitors to the site, Hanbury, Waddington and Cailliaud, the last-named was the only one to make any considerable addition to our knowledge of the 'blameless Ethiopians'. Lepsius surveyed the site in his great expedition of

1844; but the systematic exploration of the place is due to Dr. Reisner, who began his excavations in January 1916, with the clearance of the small pyramids which lie behind Gebel Barkal, and with the excavation of the various temples which lie close to the Holy Mount, and continued the work with the excavation of the pyramid-field of Nuri, 1916-18, and with that of Kuru, already mentioned, in 1918-19.

The small pyramids behind the Gebel Barkal, which were first explored, proved disappointing. They had all been plundered long ago, and, save for fragments, yielded only a single bracelet in enamelled gold. Further, they proved to be, not the burying-places of the Napatan line of Kings, but of Meroitic date, about the first century B.C. The temples of Napata, however, proved more remunerative. The great temple of Amûn, which lies on the side of the Holy Mount nearest to the river, proved to be 'a vast place, equal to any of the great Egyptian temples except Karnak' (Reisner, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, vol. XV, No. 89, p. 28). Its position has, of course, long been known, and the earlier visitors to the site saw the pedestal of black granite and the grey granite altar, which bore respectively the name of Piankhy, the conqueror, and that of Taharqa, who was not so lucky as his ancestor, because his opponent was no less a soldier than Sennacherib. Of the actual temple, little remains that can be of interest to any but the archaeologist, as the various chambers are ruined almost down to the foundations. Dr. Reisner's excavations showed that the temple was first founded in the XIXth Dynasty by Haremhab, Seti, or Ramses II. Ramses built an additional chapel on the south (local south), and Piankhy another on the (local) north. Piankhy also cased the whole temple with a red sandstone wall, rebuilt the columns of the court, and possibly converted the hypostyle hall into three several chambers. This conversion, however, may have been the work of Taharqa. The temple was renovated between 550 and 500 B.C. and the broken statues of several of the Ethiopian kings were removed from the building, to await discovery by Reisner, as will be mentioned directly. The temple was again reconstructed in the early Meroitic period, and finally its varied history ended, so far as concerns construction, with a restoration of the walls in gray plaster some time in the Roman period.

Apart from the tracing of the history of the great temple, the most interesting result of the excavations was the discovery of

the broken statues of the kings which had been thrown out of the building during the reconstruction of 550-500 B.C. The fragments of the royal statues had been scattered widely; but in the course of excavation missing portions turned up in remarkable fashion, till at last it was found possible to reassemble altogether five nearly complete statues, of Taharqa, Tanutamûn, Amonanal, Aspalta, and Senka-amen-seken, as well as four headless statues, two of Tanutamûn, one of Amonanal, and one of



THE TEMPLES OF NAPATA WITH ITS HOLY MOUNTAIN

a queen Amenmernûfer. The statues of Taharqa, Tanutamûn, Amonanal and Aspalta, 'are of first-class Egyptian workmanship and show how completely the Egyptian traditions of art were kept up during their time'. The later statues, those of King Senka-amen-seken and Queen Amenmernûfer, 'show a certain deterioration, a loss of skill, or the loss of means with which to employ skill' (Reisner, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, vol. XV, No. 89, p. 30).

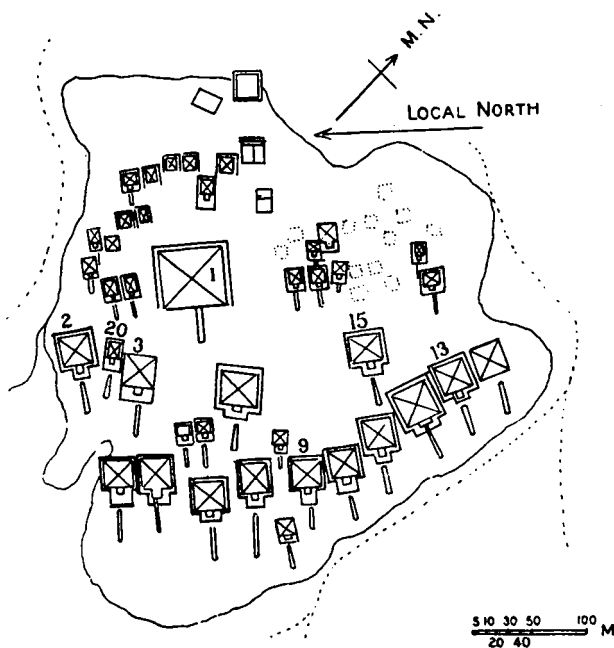
The so-called temple of Senka-amen-seken, which was also explored, proved to have been really founded and nearly finished

by a king named Atlanersa, who came between Aspalta and Senkaamen-seken, and reigned probably about 650 B.C. or later. It stood close to a temple of Tuthmosis IV (XVIIIth Dynasty) which was probably already ruined when the newer temple was built. Atlanersa chose an unfortunate site for his temple, as it was so close to the cliff that it was partly destroyed, on more than one occasion, by a heavy fall of rock from the top of the Holy Mount. The second fall of rock must have convinced the priests that Amûn was angry at the temple being built so close to his abode, for it was abandoned from this time, and was eventually used as a quarry. Since the time of Lepsius, another fall of rock has demonstrated that Amûn has not been appeased by the gradual ruin of the unlucky temple. Two small rock-temples lie wide on the left hand side of the great temple, at the angle of the great rock, and another small temple lies much nearer to the great temple on its left-hand side. This temple seems to have been founded by Kashta, or perhaps by Piankhy, to have been rebuilt, of reddish sandstone, by a later king, certainly later than 500 B.C., finally to have been rebuilt in the Meroëtic period, after the first century A.D.

Four miles above Kareima is the village of Nuri, from which the pyramid-field which lies in the desert, about 2 miles from the village, takes its name. It consists of one large pyramid, twice as large as any of the others, fourteen of approximately equal size, and more than twenty small ones. The Harvard-Boston Expedition started work at Nuri at the end of the season of 1916, and soon discovered that the pyramid which was first attacked was that of King Aspalta, the successor of Tanutamûn. This pyramid was found to be of good grey sandstone masonry. It had been plundered in ancient days; but, probably as the result of the collapse of the roof of one of the chambers, the thieves had been obliged to make a hasty departure, and a few fragments of their plunder were still scattered about the floor.

The Nuri pyramids stand on a low knoll not far from the Nile. The knoll has the form of a horse-shoe with its open end turned to local south, i.e. up-stream. (The points of orientation are determined locally, not by true north, etc., but by the flow of the river. Down-stream is north, up-stream is south, east and west are to the right and left of the river. As the stream at Nuri is flowing to true south-west, this means that, roughly speaking, the points of the compass are almost reversed.) The knoll is

bounded on the northern and western sides by a couple of wâdis, and on its eastern side the horse-shoe of pyramids is dominated by the large pyramid already mentioned, which has a base about 169 feet square. It is surrounded on three sides by a large



PYRAMID-FIELD AT NURI

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------|
| 1. Taharqa | 13. Harsiotet |
| 2. Astabarqaman | 15. Nastasen |
| 3. Senk-amen-seken | 20. Atlanersa |
| 9. Amtalqa | |

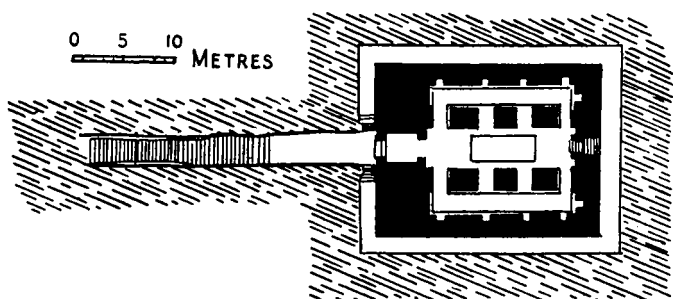
number of small pyramids, measuring from 7 to 12 metres square (about 23 to 39 feet). The toe of the horse-shoe, and its 'western' arm is occupied by fourteen large pyramids and five smaller ones.

The great pyramid was the first to be attacked in the 1916 campaign, on October 26. Its chapel was utterly destroyed;

but a fragment of a stone figure found in its stairway bore the name of Taharqa, the 'Tirhakah, King of Ethiopia' of 2 Kings, xix, and the successor of Shabataka. The pyramid-chambers were cut in the solid rock. The stairway led down to a small antechamber, whence a passage led into a great central hall divided by six square columns into a central avenue, and two side-aisles. On either side of the doorway into the antechamber a short flight of steps gave access to a corridor which ran completely round the central hall, and opened into it at the back by a doorway with a short flight of descending steps. The great difficulty of the excavation was the flooding of the chambers by water percolating from the Nile; but it was temporarily vanquished, and though the tomb had been plundered, over a thousand *shawabti* (*ushabti*) figures were discovered, with a few fragments of the coffin and funerary equipment, two Canopic jars, and a few gold ornaments, which the plunderers had dropped in their hurry. As the excavation progressed it was found that all the nineteen pyramids which were on the toe of the horseshoe and on the western arm were royal tombs belonging to the successors of Taharqa in the Napatan line; while the small pyramids, on the eastern arm, beside the Taharqa pyramid, fifty-three in number, were the tombs of queens and princesses of the line. The net result of the excavations, which continued through 1916-17-18, was that all the tombs of the kings and queens of Ethiopia of the northern line were excavated, save those of the line who were buried at Kuru, as already described, Kashta, Piankhy, Shabaka, Shabataka, and Tanutamûn, with their queens.

The Nuri pyramids, like those at Kuru, were of the slender type, with an angle of about 68°. Each stood in a small *temenos*, and had an offering-chapel placed against its (local) western face. At the (local) east end of the chapel a stele was set in the face of the pyramid, and two offering tables and an altar stood in the middle of the chapel floor in front of the stele. Outside the chapel door a long stairway descended to the underground chambers, of which there were usually two or three. The innermost chamber held the coffin, usually of wood, but in two cases of granite, in which was the mummy, enclosed further in two or three mummy cases. Around the walls of this chamber were ranged the *shawabtis*, and various boxes containing the funerary equipment, the pottery being mainly stored in the outer rooms.

All, however, had been robbed, probably soon after the abandonment of the cemetery, which must have taken place about 300-250 B.C. soon after the transference of the capital from Napata to Meroë. The robbers had, however, overlooked something in every tomb, so that the result of excavating so many royal pyramids was the accumulation of a considerable collection of articles whose importance is all the greater because they represent the best craft of Egyptianized Ethiopia, and are probably all that will ever be recovered of the work of the artists and craftsmen who wrought for the royal house which, for eighty years or so, dominated Egypt as well as Ethiopia, and for three



ENTRANCE AND INTERIOR CHAMBERS, PYRAMID OF
TAHARQA

centuries more ruled Ethiopia, with gradually dwindling power, and with a gradual decline of the Egyptian tradition. 'These', says Dr. Reisner, 'are all the remains which mankind is ever likely to recover of most of the Ethiopian crafts of this period' (*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, vol. XVI, No. 97, p. 82). Their value, therefore, is not to be measured by their intrinsic worth, or by the comparatively moderate standard of their craftsmanship, but by the consideration that they are the unique evidence for one of the most curious, if also one of the most neglected, episodes in the history of Ancient Egypt, and the world of the Ancient East.

(The small museum at Meroë (Merowe) contains some of the statues recovered from the temples at Gebel Barkal, including a

life-size black granite statue of Taharqa. It has also the granite sarcophagus of King Anlaman, from Nuri. These should be seen in order to arrive at an idea of the Egypto-Ethiopian art of the Napata period.)

Only one more site of importance needs to be noted, namely Meroë, the capital of the southern branch of the Libyan family which established itself in Ethiopia in the period beginning about 720 B.C. This branch apparently established itself at Meroë about the same time as the other group of the same race was establishing itself at Napata; but it did not rise to royal dignity until the Napatan branch was beginning to fail. This was proved by Dr. Reisner's excavation of the pyramids of Meroë, which lie about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of the Abu Hâmed-Khartûm railway, and some distance north-east of the station of El-Kabûshiya, on that line. There are three groups of these pyramids, which Dr. Reisner has called the North Cemetery, the South Cemetery and the West Cemetery. The pyramids are of the slender type seen already at Napata, and they had chapels in front of them with reliefs showing a gradual declension from the already decadent standard of the later Napatan sovereigns. The relationship of the three groups to each other was thus established. The southern cemetery was the earliest of the three. It was the old family cemetery of the Meroëtic branch of the royal family, and contained tombs ranging in time from about 720 to 300 B.C. It was only with the last nine tombs that the cemetery becomes a royal cemetery. These nine pyramids exhausted the available space, and the Meroëtic kings had to seek new ground for their pyramids.

They found it on a sandstone ridge north of the southern cemetery, and only about 200 yards away from it. In this northern cemetery they built forty-one pyramids, of which only two are those of crown princes, and five of queens, all the rest being those of kings. The five queens buried here seem to have been queens-regent, probably also the specially favoured crown princes may have exerted royal powers, as the cemetery is otherwise so exclusive. These pyramids of sovereigns and acting sovereigns begin with the close of the southern cemetery, about 300 B.C., and end about A.D. 350. The third group of pyramids is that called the western cemetery. It was begun about the same time as the northern cemetery, when the southern cemetery was getting too full to act any longer either as a royal cemetery

or as a family one ; and it contains the tombs of the royal family apart from those of the kings or regents, who were buried separate from the less distinguished members of the family, in the northern cemetery.

From these pyramids, and those at Kuru, Nuri and Napata, Dr. Reisner has been able to reconstruct the outline of the royal succession of both the lines of Ethiopian kings. The Napatan line begins, as we have seen, with Kashta, the father of Piankhy the conqueror, and ends with Nastasen, the twenty-sixth king of the line. It thus extends from about 750 to 308 B.C., a period of 442 years. The Meroëtic line takes up the succession practically where the Napatan left it off, and extends from 300 B.C. to A.D. 355, the line of kings numbering forty-one. Practically every king of the Napatan line has been identified by name, and, though the same cannot be said of the Meroëtic line, considerable progress has been made with the identification.

The ruins of the city of Meroë itself were excavated in 1909-14 by Professor Garstang. They are intersected by the railway ; and the temple of the sun, probably founded by King Aspalta, of the Napatan line, lies a short distance to the east of the line. It consists of several terraces, on the highest of which was the sanctuary, which had the remains of an obelisk. It will be remembered that the obelisk was always considered as the emblem of the sun-god, and that in the sun temples of the Vth Dynasty Pharaohs it was used in a clumsy and stunted form as the object of worship. The floor of the sanctuary and its sides were covered with plain tiles of blue and yellow glaze. Also to the east of the railway are two small temples, of which one is sacred to the Ethiopian lion-god, and had its stairway of approach guarded by two figures of lions, while other lion figures were found in the course of excavation. The other small chapel was possibly a Hathor shrine.

Near the village of Begrawiya, on the west side of the railway, are the ruins of the great temple of Amûn, which must have been almost as large as that at Napata. It was built about 300 B.C., when the Meroëtic line was coming into power on the decline of the Napatan, and it measures 443 feet in length, Napata, according to Hoskins, being 500 feet. Very little of the great building, which appears to have been mainly built of brick, now survives ; but the throne of the image of Amûn, which pronounced his oracles by nodding its head in answer to the questions put to it,

is to be seen, and also a carved altar. The work of the Meroitic line, however, is by no means so interesting as the earlier work of the Napatan line, except in so far as it shows the gradual degradation of the original Egyptian tradition which was the basis of the Libyo-Ethiopian civilization.

The late Ethiopian remains of Nâga, 22 miles south-east of the railway station of Wad Benâga, may be mentioned, but are scarcely of sufficient importance to warrant the journey to them. There are three temples, and several small shrines, besides a Roman shrine; one of them, the largest, being dedicated to an Ethiopian lion-god, who is represented as having three heads. The temple dates from about the beginning of our era, and its reliefs, while following the old Egyptian convention, show how far the workmen of Meroë had declined from the spirit of their original. 'Seeing Scotland, madam,' said Dr. Johnson once to Mrs. Thrale, 'is only seeing a worse England. It is seeing the flower gradually fade away to the naked stalk.' With this dreadful heresy we need not agree; but one must confess that in our passage through Ethiopia we have been pursuing the same course as he so tersely described, and have seen the flower of Egyptian culture 'gradually fade away to the naked stalk'.

CORRIGENDUM

Pages 60, 61, Nos. 3873, 3610, 3611 and 3612, and page 510, Tomb 55:

I have lately obtained good evidence that the so-called tomb of Queen Tiy was in reality a *câche* in which were deposited—probably by Tutankhamûn—the remains of her funerary furniture, together with the coffin, mummy and Canopic vases of Akhenaten's successor, Smenkhkêrê, who may well have been buried with her, after their burials had been plundered at El-'Amârna.

R. E.

APPENDIX I

TRANSLITERATION OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN AND ARABIC WORDS

THE transliteration of Egyptian words into European characters has always been a source of difficulty to those who bring out works intended for the general public, and of bewilderment to the reader. To take an example: the kings whom the Greeks called Tuthmosis are variously transcribed in modern works as Thothmes, Tahutimes, Tehutmes, Thutmose and Dhutmose. The ancient pronunciation was probably either T-hūtmōse or T-hūtmāse.

Ancient Egyptian, like the Semitic languages such as Arabic and Hebrew, is written consonantly, and the consonants differ very considerably from those of the European languages. But whereas in the case of Arabic (even when 'unpointed') the position, length and general nature of the long vowel can be ascertained, in ancient Egyptian there is no indication whatever of vowels, except that occasionally the presence of an initial or final vowel may be shown. In scientific works, Egyptian words are transcribed by the consonants only, many diacritical marks being required which are not available in ordinary founts of type. To use such a system in a guide-book is obviously impossible.

The last generation of archaeologists transcribed the eagle-sign, which was probably a smooth breathing, as *a*; the single reed-sign, which was either a *y* or an undetermined vowel, as *ā*, while the arm-sign, the Semitic throat-stop ('ayin), which is a pure consonant, they transcribed as *ā*. If the word was still unpronounceable, *e*'s were put in to taste. The resulting transcriptions sometimes contained three *a*'s in succession, and might be said never to reproduce the ancient pronunciation.

An intensive study of the vocalization and accent of the Coptic language—the descendant of Egyptian—has enabled scholars to determine, in many cases, where the vowel falls, and even whether it is long or short; and transcriptions of Egyptian personal and place names into Cuneiform and Aramaic have thrown more light on the subject; hence the modern tendency is an attempt to reproduce the ancient pronunciation as nearly as possible. Where the classical forms are well known, however, and when they appear to be close to the ancient form they are generally retained (Amenophis, Cheops,

Chephren, Tuthmosis, etc.). The well-known Sesostris is surely a blundered form, and has been rejected in favour of the reconstructed form Senusret; similarly, Haremhab has been preferred to the classical (H)armais, since the transcription of the king's name was almost impossible in the Greek alphabet. In a very few cases a popular, but incorrect, form has been retained. Seti has been used instead of the classical Sethos, Hatshepsut instead of the possibly more correct form Hatshepsôwe(t). Ramses—not necessarily incorrect—has also been used instead of the Greek form Ramesses.

The subject of transliteration of ancient Egyptian words bristles with difficulties. The final feminine *-t*, for instance, had dropped off very early in the history of the language, except in certain combinations, so that the classical form Amenemmês, which we transcribe Amenemhêt, might be more correctly given as Amenemhê. Further, an unaccented vowel—even in divine names—can lose its length and even change its nature. Thus we have Amûn changing to Amên-, Hôr (Horus) to Hâr-, and Rê to Râ-. Our knowledge of the exact conditions under which the changes take place, though they occur to a certain extent in Coptic, the latest form of the language, is still very imperfect.

In the spelling of modern Egyptian place-names, the forms in the new 1/100000 Atlas are generally used. The diacritical marks distinguishing the pairs of *t*'s, *d*'s, *s*'s, and *z*'s, however, are omitted, since they convey no meaning to the general public. A circumflex accent over a vowel denotes that it is long and carries the accent.

R. E.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF BOOKS REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

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The Cambridge Ancient History. Vols. I-III (1924-25). Edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock.

A Brief Description of the Principal Monuments of the Cairo Museum (revised annually).

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Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York.

Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania.

INDEX

In transcribing ancient Egyptian names (see Appendix I), unless indications are available from cuneiform, Greek, or Coptic sources, the use of the vowels a, e, or i is largely a matter of taste, and the same remark applies to the use of o, u, and w. The 'Hand-sign' is transcribed both by d and t (the latter being perhaps more correct), and the 'Snake-sign' by dj and z. These points should be borne in mind when searching for a word in the index. Further, an Arabic name not found under a or i should be looked for under e, since Arabic makes no distinction between a and e, or between i and e. It has not been possible to be entirely consistent in the transcriptions, since many names have become very generally known under one form or another. Many common variants, however, are given in the index.

From considerations of space, place-names which have no archaeological interest are omitted. In the ancient Egyptian personal names, only those of the owners of a tomb are given, unless there is a reason for the contrary. The names of the owners of the Theban tombs, listed on pp. 528-623, who are not mentioned elsewhere, have also been omitted.

Abbreviations used: K. = King; Q. = Queen; G. = God; Gs. = Goddess; T. = Temple (on which a king has done work); t., ts. = Tomb or Tombs of; Exc. = Excavations by; Exp. = Expedition of.

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